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LIVES OF EMINENT

AND

ILLUSTRIOUS ENGLISHMEN.

LIVES OF EMINENT

AND

ILLUSTRIOUS ENGLISHMEN,

FROM

ALFRED THE GREAT TO THE LATEST TIMES,

On an Original Plan.

EDITED BY

GEORGE GODFREY CUNNINGHAM.

ILLUSTRATED BY A SERIES OF FINELY EXECUTED PORTRAITS, SELECTED FROM THE MOST AUTHENTIC SOURCES, AND ENGRAVED BY EMINENT ARTISTS.

VOLUME VII.

GLASGOW:
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LIVES OF EMINENT

AND

ILLUSTRIOUS ENGLISHMEN.

Charles James Fox.

BORN A. D. 1749.—DIED A. D. 1806.

CHARLES JAMES FOX, third son of the Right Honourable Henry Fox, created Baron Holland of Foxley in 1763, and of Lady Georgina Caroline Fox, daughter of Charles, second duke of Richmond, was born in 1749.

From his birth he was the darling of his father, and experienced an amount of indulgence which most parents would pronounce in the highest degree culpable. His education was, however, conducted with the greatest care, and chiefly at Eton, where he highly distinguished himself. At the age of fourteen his father permitted him to accompany him to Spa, at that time a place of highly fashionable resort. This visit, and the imprudent indulgence of his father in allowing him, at this tender age, to mingle in all the gaieties and dissipation of the place, laid a permanent foundation for that love of gaming, and other habits, which obscured and embittered so much of a life which might have been spent in infinitely higher pursuits. The vivacities of the young Etonian were the theme of conversation long after he had left that seminary, and were indeed spoken of with more candour than is generally bestowed upon school-boy levities by sometimes suffering neighbourhoods, because, however eccentric, he never appears to have had the smallest particle of malice in his composition; but, on the contrary, when he had 'gone too far,' was always ready to own, and, if possible, to repair his error, with a veracity and generosity which at once denoted principle and good nature.

From Eton, young Fox went to Hertford college, Oxford, where also he distinguished himself at once by his talents and dissipation; and seemed as if born to show the instability of affluence, and the mischievous consequences of the most brilliant talents, when unguided by prudence and sobriety. An allowance almost unlimited was not equal to the claims that arose upon it from his early taste for every species of extravagance and dissipation. At a period when quires of bills from Stephen and Charles Fox were presented to their father, a punster in one of the newspapers, (Lloyd's Evening Post,) stated that the Right Honourable Henry Fox was about to sue the county of Middlesex, and that there was no doubt of his success, because he could easily prove that

he had been robbed betwixt sun and sun! With a genius able to compass what to many would have been the study of a month, in a few hours, and a spirit and constitution that distanced all his companions, he spent his college life in one fascinating round betwixt the calm of learning and the storms of licentious indulgence. It is easy to conceive that, when emancipated from college, his habits and propensities expanded with the expansion of his sphere of action and gratification. Though the same ardent desire of scientific acquisition operated, and many an instance in his public life showed how ready he was to avail himself of every opportunity to store his mind with elegant, accurate, and useful knowledge of every description, still, perhaps, it is to be lamented that the extreme brilliancy of his faculties, and the energy of his genius, enabled him to discriminate characters, to develope circumstances, and to appreciate things almost instantaneously and intuitively, as this mental facility only afforded him more time for dissipation. We have more pleasure in observing that while at college young Fox was extremely partial to the Greek writers, of whom Longinus and Homer were his favourites. His familiar acquaintance with the works of the latter is displayed in the following anecdote: "A clergyman, eminent for his knowledge of Greek, was endeavouring to prove that a verse in the Iliad was spurious, because it contained measures not used by Homer. Fox instantly recited twenty other verses of the same measure, to show that the deviation from the usual feet was no evidence of interpolation. He was, indeed, capable of conversing with a Longinus on the beauty, sublimity, and pathos of Homer; with an Aristotle on his delineations of man; and with a pedagogue on his dactyls, spondees, and anapaests."—After a short residence at Oxford, he made a tour on the continent, during which he is said to have contracted vast debts in every capital which he visited; at Naples alone his liabilities amounted to £16,000. Alarmed at his boundless prodigality, Lord Holland at length summoned him home, and he returned one of the most egregious coxcombs in Europe. "It will be scarcely supposed," says a writer in the 'Monthly Magazine' for October, 1806, "by those who have seen Mr Fox, or examined his dress at any time during the last twenty years, that he had been once celebrated as a *beau garcon;* but the fact is, that at this period he was one of the most fashionable young men about town, and there are multitudes now living who still recollect his *chapeau bras*, his red-heeled shoes, and his blue hair-powder."

At the general election in 1768, Charles Fox, notwithstanding his nonage, was returned for Midhurst in the county of Sussex. He entered parliament a decided ministerialist, and soon became one of the most strenuous defenders of an unpopular administration. He made his maiden-speech on the 15th April, 1769, on the presentment of Wilkes's petition from the king's bench; and he subsequently defended the legality of general warrants, and loudly declaimed against the proceedings of 'the Friends of the People.' We shall here introduce a sketch of the young member from the 'Public Characters' originally inserted in the Advertiser paper, and afterwards collectively published in 1777. It has the advantage of being a fresh and contemporary sketch, however imperfectly executed in many respects: "Having had curiosity to inspect this young gentleman's parish-register, we find born in the month of March, 1749; and, consequently, that he

united in his own person talents and circumstances unparalleled in the annals of parliament, or the strange vicissitudes of state-intrigue: for he was appointed a lord of the admiralty,—resigned in disgust,—was a second time appointed,—was afterwards removed to the treasury board, —whence he was dismissed some few weeks before he completed the twenty-fifth year of his age,—namely, on the 17th or 18th of February, 1774. Two other circumstances strongly mark his political career; before he was twenty-four years old, he was by much the most able support the minister had in the course of a whole session, and within a year after, one of his most powerful and dangerous antagonists.

"The political history of this extraordinary young orator furnishes very few things worthy of notice. His conduct, as long as he remained in office, was that of the most violent and unreserved courtier. He not only discharged his duty as a mere placeman, called upon by his situation to defend the measures of administration, to cover their blunders, to urge their propriety, to predict the salutary consequences that must flow from them, and the whole science of augmenting and diminishing at pleasure,—but he caught the decisive tone of a violent partisan, in a kind of state of war and open hostility against every man who dared to differ from him, or question the ministerial infallibility of his leader and financial creator.[1]

"His parliamentary operations, in this line, were chiefly directed against Mr Burke, and a few other leaders in opposition. This part of his task he performed with remarkable punctuality and alacrity, and with no small degree of success. Some detached part of Mr Burke's speech, not perhaps at all essential to the main subject of debate, was misquoted or misrepresented; the fallacy or absurdity of its pretended contents was pointed out and animadverted upon; and the whole thrown into a ridiculous light; a laugh was created in every ministerial corner of the house; the treasury bench was set in a roar, and Charles smacked the clerk's table with his hand, and moulded his feathered hat into ten thousand different forms. Burke's fine speeches were thus cut up; Charles was applauded; and every tool of administration, from his lordship down to Robinson, Eden, and Brummel 'at the door,' or in the gallery, loudly proclaimed victory. This office is now occupied by his particular friend and worthy associate.[2] There were two other gentlemen on whom he bestowed a great deal of attention in the same way. They at length perceived their folly, and the justice of his ridicule so much, that one[3] of them changed places with him, and the other[4] accepted of a white wand, as a public testimony of his conversion.

"In the midst of victory, flushed with success, and running at the rate of fourteen knots an hour, with every sail set, and in the warmest expectation of at least procuring at a short day the chancellorship of the exchequer, his friend and patron having frequently assured him, in confidence, that he wished to divide the fame, profits, and labour of conducting public affairs with him,—our hero, like a certain well-known ambitious young man of Ovidian memory, was thrown from the box, as he says, by the baseness and treachery of the first coachman.

[1] He was appointed a commissioner of the treasury, through the interest of Lord North, in the room of Charles Jenkinson.

[2] Mr Thurlow, attorney-general. [3] Mr Cornewall.

[4] Sir William Meredith.

To drop all allegory, terrene or marine, the following trifling matter was what produced the sad catastrophe! The speaker, a few days before, having put the question on a petition against an inclosing bill, a letter, said to have been written by the celebrated Parson Horne, appeared three or four days after in a morning-paper. The letter was conceived in very coarse terms, and betrayed an ignorance of both the usages of the house, of the truth of the transaction, and indeed of every rule of decency. A complaint was accordingly made by a member, of the unjustifiable liberties that had been taken with Sir Fletcher Norton, of the injustice of the charge, and the necessity there was for bringing the author or authors to the most exemplary punishment. The printer was ordered to attend: he complied with the order, and gave up his author, the parson. What happened on that occasion is recent in every body's memory; it is now enough to observe, that the charge not being brought home to Mr Horne, the displeasure of the house fell on the printer. Mr Fox either misunderstanding the previous instructions given him that morning by the minister, or the minister forgetting them, or choosing to forget them,—the former insisted that the printer should be committed to Newgate, while the latter moved that he should be committed to the Gatehouse. At length the question on Colonel Herbert's original motion being put, for 'committing the printer to the custody of the serjeant-at-arms,' it was carried by a great majority.

"This unexpected desertion of the minister and his faithful coadjutor, bore, it is true, a very awkward appearance. Charles and his patron recriminated on each other; Charles said he would have carried his concerted motion, if the minister had not deserted and betrayed him; the latter as strenuously insisted that he must have prevailed, if the other had not distracted and divided the friends of administration. Be that as it may, it was necessary that the blame should be laid somewhere, in order to mitigate the displeasure of the junto; it was all therefore laid on our hero's shoulders, in the following concise but comprehensive manner. The next day but one, Charles and his noble patron were sitting on the treasury bench; after chatting of indifferent matters, particularly of the business of the day coming on, and what passed the preceding day at the treasury board, which intervened between the night the difference of opinion arose and the transaction here related, Pearson,[5] or his substitute, threw a sign, which Charles understanding, went to the door, where he received a billet, couched in the following laconic terms: 'His majesty has thought proper to order a new commission of the treasury to be made out, in which I do not perceive your name.

'NORTH.'

"From that very hour to the present he has been as violent in opposition as he was before for the court. Luckily however for him, in point of consistency, during the busy scene he acted in, and the very conspicuous part he took, the affairs of America never came under formal or solemn discussion. In about a fortnight or three weeks after he ed patriot, Colonel Jennings, as has been before observed, as apelled the minister to take the state of that country into

[5] The door-keeper of the house of commons.

consideration; the first decided part Charles took therefore in that business was against administration. The ground he has taken is pretty nearly the same as Lord Camden's in the other house; with this additional circumstance, that besides arraigning the injustice, cruelty, impolicy, and impracticability of succeeding in an attempt to subdue America, or compel its inhabitants to consent to the terms of unconditional submission, he has from time to time alternately foretold and demonstrated the inefficacy, folly, and madness of the several measures as they were proposed in parliament, and the ignorance, temerity, and dangerous designs of their authors, supporters, and defenders. Besides this general disapprobation of the conduct of those to whom the direction of public affairs has been intrusted, he has very frequently exercised his wit and his spleen on the minister; sometimes charging him with indolence and inability; at others with incapacity, duplicity, and the most ill-founded affectation of candour and independency; again with being the real author of the present civil war in America, by refusing to repeal the whole of the Port-duties; or, lastly, supposing (which was what he said his lordship sometimes affects to insinuate, and wishes his friends to insinuate for him) that he disapproves of the measures he supports himself in parliament, his conduct is still the more reprehensible, because in one event he can be supposed to act wrong through prejudice or incapacity only, whereas in the other he must be guilty from a premeditated perversion of his understanding.

"Mr Fox is certainly one of the first native orators in the house, but he is extremely negligent. His discourses are frequently finished pieces of argumentation, abounding in the best pointed observations, and the justest conclusions; and supported by a weight of reasoning, a manly boldness and energy of expression, almost unequalled, and never, within the course of our knowledge or experience, surpassed. His extemporary speeches on facts, arguments, and details, not immediately arising nor connected with the proper subject of debate, at least not foreseen, are truly admirable. They bear every appearance of the most studied and laboured harangues, in every thing but the delivery, which, however rapid, is not able to keep pace with the crowded conceptions of the speaker. His ideas are inexhaustible, and are ever ready at his command; but even if this were all, we could account for it easily; but we must listen in silent astonishment, when we observe him rise upon some sudden unexpected incident, and discuss perhaps a deep intricate subject for an hour, with an ability, perspicuity, and precision, that would induce such as are unacquainted with his habits, or are ignorant of his talents, to be persuaded that he came to the house previously prepared and informed, in order to deliver his opinion. With these almost unrivalled gifts which nature has bestowed, Mr Fox is far from being a pleasing or persuasive orator. His utterance is rapid, disagreeable, and sometimes scarcely intelligible. He speaks always as if he was in a passion, and the arguments of passionate people do not come well-recommended. He sometimes descends to personal attacks, to anecdotes and puerilities, much beneath the dignity of a British senator, particularly a man of his consummate talents. Another circumstance which takes away from the weight and consequence of what he urges in debate, is, that his patriotism is presumed to have originated in pique, and to have taken a taint of personal rancour and

personal persecution towards the noble lord at the head of the treasury, on account of what he deemed a mixture of treachery and mean revenge, in procuring his dismission from the treasury board. On the whole, with all Mr Fox's superior advantages, we do not esteem him as rendering his party any very essential service, though we must allow he would be a valuable acquisition to his old friends, who would probably receive him like the prodigal son, were it not for the powerful obstacle which stands in the way, the irreconcileable personal difference which subsists between him and the minister."

Previous to his breach with Lord North, young Fox had formed an intimate acquaintance with Burke, who now became his political Mentor. But while, to use the language of another contemporary, the latter "argued against the American war, chiefly on the ground of its policy, Fox, young, bold, and impetuous, attacked it on account of its injustice. Liberated at length from the seductions of wine and play, he rose with a giant's might, and being armed with the better cause, his adversaries, although arrayed in all the power and influence of the state, appeared but as pigmies before him. The friend and associate of Camden, of Chatham, of Shelburne, and of Portland—who supported the same cause in the house of peers—he was already considered as the second man of the whig party, and in reality was the first, for he who excelled others was alone entitled to direct them."

In the summer of 1778 overtures were made him to join the ministry, which he promptly rejected. He was now the leading-commoner in the Rockingham party, and shared with it the triumph when the celebrated resolution against the further prosecution of the American war was carried in the commons. When that honest and upright nobleman was nominated first lord of the treasury, in 1782, Mr Fox obtained the office of secretary for foreign affairs. The sudden death of the nobleman just mentioned, at once afflicted the nation and divided the friends of liberty, while the ex-minister and his adherents knew how to derive advantage from the storm, and benefit from the dismay that unhappily ensued. A dispute—as had been foreseen—immediately took place about who should succeed as first lord of the treasury. The candidates were, Lord Shelburne, afterwards marquess of Lansdowne, and the duke of Portland; the favour of the king made the interest of the former preponderate, and a schism having ensued, Mr Fox retired in disgust. As the earl of Chatham was accustomed to observe that he would never be responsible for actions which he did not direct, so the secretary of state, when he withdrew, remarked, that he had determined never to connive at plans in private, which he could not publicly avow. "What those plans may have been," says the writer of a memoir of Fox in the 'Monthly Magazine,' "we are left to guess. We have reason to believe, that the only ostensible dispute in the cabinet was relative to the independence of America, which Mr Fox wished to grant as a boon, while Lord Shelburne desired to confer it in the manner of a bargain; the secret, and perhaps leading cause, on the present occasion, originated in friendship to the duke of Portland, then a very popular nobleman, whose exclusion had produced the most fatal jealousies among the best friends of liberty.

"Mr Fox now resumed his old seat, facing the treasury bench, while his former colleague, the earl of Shelburne, was busied in con-

cluding a peace with France, Spain, Holland, and the United States of America. This nobleman, although possessed of great talents, forgot to adopt the most obvious means for insuring his own safety. In the first place, he did not call a new parliament, and in the next, he omitted to secure the immense advantages resulting from the press, which in a free country will always influence, if not govern, the nation. But even as it was, he would have triumphed, but for a most odious as well as impolitic coalition, supposed to be bottomed on ambition alone, and destitute of any common principle of union." Such is the language in which this celebrated coalition has been often spoken of;[6] and, in truth, it does seem to us to have been a very questionable measure on the part of Fox. But let us hear the candid and judicious remarks of Sheridan's eloquent biographer on this subject, and on the general principle of political coalitions: "To the general principle of coalitions," says Mr Moore, "and the expediency and even duty of forming them, in conjunctures that require and justify such a sacrifice of the distinctions of party, no objection, it appears to me, can rationally be made by those who are satisfied with the manner in which the constitution has worked, since the new modification of its machinery introduced at the Revolution. The Revolution itself was, indeed, brought about by a coalition, in which tories, surrendering their doctrines of submission, arrayed themselves by the side of whigs, in defence of their common liberties. Another coalition, less important in its object and effects, but still attended with results most glorious to the country, was that which took place in the year 1757, when, by a union of parties from whose dissension much mischief had flowed, the interests of both king and people were reconciled, and the good genius of England triumphed at home and abroad. On occasions like these, when the public liberty or safety is in peril, it is the duty of every honest statesman to say, with the Roman, 'Non me impedient privatæ offensiones, quo minus pro republicæ salute etiam cum inimicissimo consentiam.' Such cases, however, but rarely occur; and they have been in this respect, among others, distinguished from the ordinary occasions, on which the ambition or selfishness of politicians resorts to such unions, that the voice of the people has called aloud for them in the name of the public weal; and that the cause round which they have rallied has been sufficiently general, to merge all party titles in the one undistinguishing name of Englishman. By neither of these tests can the junction between Lord North and Mr Fox be justified. The people at large, so far from calling for this ill-omened alliance, would, on the contrary—to use the language of Mr Pitt—have 'forbid the banns;' and though it is unfair to suppose that the interests of the public did not enter into the calculations of the united leaders, yet, if the real watchword of their union were to be demanded of them in 'the Palace of Truth,' there can be little doubt that the answer of each would be, distinctly and unhesitatingly, 'Ambition.' It has been truly said of coalitions, considered abstractedly, that such a union of parties, when the public good requires

[6] "This alliance," said a cotemporary, "seemed so much beyond the usual pliancy even of politicians,—the personal violence of their former hostility seemed so repugnant to every idea of junction,—that the natural integrity of the people felt the coalition as one of those public violations of consistency,—one of those public derelictions of principle,—which destroy all future confidence, and forfeit all future esteem."

it, is to be justified on the same grounds on which party itself is vindicated. But the more we feel inclined to acknowledge the utility of party, the more we must dread and deprecate any unnecessary compromise, by which a suspicion of unsoundness may be brought upon the agency of so useful a principle—the more we should discourage, as a matter of policy, any facility in surrendering those badges of opinion, on which the eyes of followers are fondly fixed, and by which their confidence and spirit are chiefly kept alive. 'Court and country,' says Hume, 'which are the genuine offspring of the British government, are a kind of mixed parties, and are influenced both by principle and by interest. The heads of the factions are commonly most governed by the latter motive; the inferior members of them by the former.' Whether this be altogether true or not, it will, at least, without much difficulty be conceded, that the lower we descend in the atmosphere of party, the more quick and inflammable we find the feeling that circulates through it. Accordingly, actions and professions, which, in that region of indifference, high life, may be forgotten as soon as done or uttered, become recorded as pledges and standards of conduct, among the lower and more earnest adherents of the cause; and many a question, that has ceased to furnish even a jest in the drawing-rooms of the great, may be still agitated, as of vital importance, among the humbler and less initiated disputants of the party. Such being the tenacious nature of partisanship, and such the watch kept upon every movement of the higher political bodies, we can well imagine what a portent it must appear to distant and unprepared observers, when the stars to which they trusted for guidance are seen to 'shoot madly from their spheres,' and not only lose themselves for the time in another system, but unsettle all calculations with respect to their movements for the future. If, indeed, in that barter of opinions and interests, which must necessarily take place in coalitions between the partisans of the people and of the throne, the former had any thing like an equality of chance, the mere probability of thus gaining any concessions in favour of freedom might justify to sanguine minds the occasional risk of the compromise. But it is evident that the result of such bargains must generally be to the advantage of the crown,—the alluvions of power all naturally tend towards that shore. Besides, where there are places as well as principles to be surrendered on one side, there must in return be so much more of principles given up on the other as will constitute an equivalent to this double sacrifice. The centre of gravity will be sure to lie in that body which contains within it the source of emoluments and honours, and the other will be forced to revolve implicitly round it."

Ministers being at length outvoted by the coalition, resigned their seals; and after a lapse of several weeks—during which the nation was left without a government, from the reluctance of the king to accept Fox and Lord North as his ministers—a new administration was formed early in April, 1783. Fox and his old enemy were the principal secretaries of state; the duke of Portland became the nominal premier; and Pitt took the lead in opposition. All the first measures of government were triumphantly carried; and on the 18th of November Fox brought forward his India bill. This measure excited a great sensation in the house. It was espoused with zeal and enthusiasm by the friends of the minister, and attacked by his opponents with all the vehemence

of indignation, and all the energy of invective. On one side of the house it was extolled as a master-piece of genius, virtue, and ability; while on the other it was reprobated as a deep and dangerous design, fraught with mischief and ruin. Pitt said, he would acknowledge "that India indeed wanted a reform, but not such a reform as this. The bill under consideration included a confiscation of the property, and a disfranchisement of the members of the East India company. The influence which would accrue from this bill—a new, enormous, and unexampled influence—was indeed in the highest degree alarming. Seven commissioners, chosen ostensibly by parliament, but really by administration, were to involve in the vortex of their authority the patronage and treasures of India! The right honourable mover had acknowledged himself to be a man of ambition,—and it now appeared that he was prepared to sacrifice the king, the parliament, and the people at the shrine of his ambition! He desired to elevate his present connections to a situation in which no political convulsions, and no variations of power, might be able to destroy their importance, and terminate their ascendancy." On the other hand, Fox with astonishing eloquence and ability vindicated the bill. "The arguments of his opponents, he said, might have been adopted with additional propriety, by James the Second. James might have claimed the property of dominion; but what had been the language of the people? No! you have no property in dominion; dominion was vested in you, as it is in every chief magistrate, for the benefit of the community to be governed. It was a sacred trust delegated by compact; you have abused it. You have exercised dominion for the purpose of vexation and tyranny,—not of comfort, protection, and good order; we therefore resume the power which was originally ours. I am also," continued the orator, "charged with increasing the influence, and giving an immense accession of power to the crown. But certainly this bill as little augments the influence of the crown as any measure that could be devised for the government of India, with the slightest promise of success. The very genius of influence consists in hope or fear,—fear of losing what we have, or hope of gaining more. Make the commissioners removable at will, and you set all the little passions of human nature afloat. Invest them with power, upon the same tenure as the British judges hold their station,—removable upon delinquency, punishable upon guilt, but fearless of danger if they discharge their trust,—and they will be liable to no seducement, and will execute their functions with glory to themselves, and for the common good of the country and mankind. This bill presumes the possibility of bad administration; for every word in it breathes suspicion. It supposes that men are but men; it confides in no integrity; it trusts to no character. It annexes responsibility, not only to every action, but even to the inaction of the powers it has created. He would risk, he said, his all upon the excellence of this bill. He would risk upon it whatever was most dear to him, whatever men most valued,—the character of integrity, of talents, of honour, of present reputation and future fame,—all these he would stake upon the constitutional safety, the enlarged policy, the equity and wisdom of the measure. Whatever might be the fate of its authors, he had no fear but it would produce to this country every blessing of commerce and revenue; and, by extending a generous and humane government over those millions whom the in-

scrutable dispensations of Providence had placed under us in the remotest regions of the earth, would consecrate the name of England among the noblest of nations."

While the bill was pending in the commons, a petition was presented by the East India company, representing the measure as subversive of their charter, and operating as a confiscation of their property without charging against them any specific delinquency,—without trial, without conviction,—a proceeding contrary to the most sacred privileges of British subjects; and praying to be heard by counsel against the bill. The city of London also took the alarm, and presented a strong petition to the same effect. But it was carried with uncommon rapidity through all its stages in the house of commons by decisive majorities, the division on the second reading being 217 to 103.

On the 9th of December, Fox, attended by a numerous train of members, presented the bill at the bar of the house of lords. The second reading of the bill took place on the 15th of December, when counsel was heard at the bar in behalf of the Company. On the 17th it was moved that the bill be rejected. On this occasion Lord Camden spoke with great ability against the bill, which his lordship affirmed to be "in the highest degree pernicious and unconstitutional. To divest the company of the management of their own property and commercial concerns, was to treat them as idiots; and he regarded the bill not so much in the light of a commission of bankruptcy as of lunacy! But as a means of throwing an enormous addition of weight into the scale, not of legal but ministerial influence, it was still more alarming. Were this bill to pass into a law, his lordship declared, we should see the king of England and the king of Bengal contending for superiority in the British parliament." After a vehement debate, the motion of rejection was carried by 95 against 76 voices.

Such was the concluding scene of an administration from whose vigour its partisans had conceived the most sanguine hopes. As the first divisions in the upper house were favourable to the bill, it will naturally be imagined that such a sudden and remarkable change of sentiment must have been occasioned by the intervention of some very powerful though hidden cause. On the 11th of December, Earl Temple had a conference with his majesty which appears principally to have turned on the bill then pending in parliament. A card was immediately written, stating "that his majesty allowed Earl Temple to say, that whoever voted for the India bill was not only not his friend, but would be considered by him as his enemy. And if these words were not strong enough, Earl Temple might use whatever words he might deem stronger or more to the purpose." An interference of so extraordinary a nature was not likely to pass without animadversion and censure. It was, accordingly, moved in the house of commons on the 17th,—the very day that the bill was rejected by the lords,—"That it was now necessary to declare, that to report any opinion, or pretended opinion, of the king upon any bill, or other proceeding depending in either house of parliament, with a view to influence the votes of the members, was a high crime and misdemeanor." After an animated debate the house divided upon the question, when the resolution was carried by a majority of 73.

An entire change of administration was now determined upon. At

midnight on the 18th of December a royal message was sent to the secretaries of state, demanding the seals of their several departments, and at the same time directing that they should be delivered to the sovereign by the under-secretaries, as a personal interview would be disagreeable. Early next morning letters of dismission, signed Temple, were sent to the other members of the cabinet. In a few days after Pitt was declared first lord of the treasury, and chancellor of the exchequer; the marquess of Carmarthen and Thomas Townshend, created Lord Sydney, were nominated secretaries of state; Lord Thurlow was reinstated as lord-chancellor, and Earl Gower as president of the council; the duke of Rutland was constituted lord-privy-seal; Lord Howe placed at the head of the admiralty; and the duke of Richmond over the ordnance. The earl of Northington was recalled from his government of Ireland, to which Lord Temple—who had retained the seals of secretary only three days—was again appointed to succeed.

The tide of popularity now set in so strongly against Fox, that at the general election, in 1784, above seventy of his friends lost their seats in the house; and his own return for Westminster was, after a contest of 47 days, only gained by 235 votes, although he was supported by all the influence of the Portland and Devonshire families. From 1784 to 1792 Fox headed a most powerful opposition in the commons, and displayed transcendent genius in all the great questions that came before the house, such as the Westminster scrutiny, the Regency bill, the Libel bill, the trial of Hastings, and the motion for repeal of the corporation and test acts. On two great occasions the talents of Mr Fox proved eminently serviceable to the nation: one, when Mr Pitt, at the instigation of the court of Berlin, wished to wage an unprofitable war with Russia relative to the possession of Oczakow; the other, when, in the wantonness of power, he urged a contest with Spain. In 1788, worn out, and perhaps disgusted with public business, he repaired to the continent, in company with the lady whom he afterwards acknowledged as his wife,[7] and after spending a few days with Gibbon, the historian, at Lausanne, entered the classic regions of Italy. But he was suddenly recalled, in consequence of the alarming illness of the king; and the business of the Regency bill was so ably managed by his rival, who now perceived it to be for his interest to stand on constitutional grounds, that the opposition rather lost than gained popularity

[7] Mrs Armstead, a widow, it was believed, who, for some time, had resided in his house at St Anne's hill; and whom, after a lapse of nearly ten years, he acknowledged as his wife. Some accounts state that his marriage with her took place in 1780, while, according to others, it did not occur until 1794. The ceremony was privately performed by special license; and, whatever were his reasons, Fox was evidently very reluctant to the alliance being made public, although she was handsome, accomplished, and evidently attached to him. Fox, on his part, seems to have loved her sincerely. On the 24th of January, 1799, his birth-day, and the completion of his fiftieth year, he presented her, while at the breakfast table, with the following lines, written, as it is said, extemporaneously:—

'Of years I have now half a century pass'd,
And none of the fifty so bless'd as the last.
How it happens my troubles thus daily should cease,
And my happiness thus with my years should increase;
This defiance of Nature's more general laws
You alone can explain, who alone are the cause.'

by this measure. The following letter from Mr Gibbon to Lord Sheffield, is a striking testimony to the conversational merits of Fox:—

"LAUSANNE, *October 4th*, 1788.

"The man of the people escaped from the tumult, the bloody tumult of the Westminster election, to the lakes and mountains of Switzerland, and I was informed that he was arrived at the Lion d'Or. I sent a compliment; he answered it in person, and settled at my house for the remainder of the day. I have ate and drank, and conversed and sat up all night with Fox in England; but it never happened, perhaps it never can happen again, that I should enjoy him as I did that day, alone, from ten in the morning till ten at night. Poor Deyverdun, before his accident, wanted spirits to appear, and has regretted it since. Our conversation never flagged a moment; and he seemed thoroughly pleased with the place and with his company. We had little politics; though he gave me, in a few words, such a character of Pitt as one great man should give of another, his rival; many of books, from my own, on which he flattered me very pleasantly, to Homer and the Arabian nights; much about the country, my garden—which he understands far better than I do—and, upon the whole, I think he envies me, and would do so were he minister. The next morning I gave him a guide to walk him about the town and country, and invited some company to meet him at dinner. The following day he continued his journey to Berne and Zurich, and I have heard of him by various means. The people gaze on him as a prodigy, but he shows little inclination to converse with them."[8]

With the first movements in the French revolution Fox sympathized as a sincere lover of the liberties of mankind. The last session of the parliament elected in 1784 opened on the 21st of January, 1790. The speech from the throne slightly glanced at the affairs of France. His majesty observed that "the internal situation of the different parts of Europe had been productive of events which had engaged his most serious attention." Lord Valletort, in moving the address, took occasion to contrast the tranquil and prosperous situation of England with the anarchy and licentiousness which, he said, now reigned in France, and to stigmatize the revolution in that country as an event the most disastrous and fatal to the interests of the French which had ever taken place since the foundation of their monarchy. This language was highly applauded by the old prerogative phalanx, and was a tolerable indication of the light in which the recent transactions in France were viewed by the British court. The subject was resumed upon the debate which took place on February the 9th relative to the army-estimates. Mr Burke observed, "that on a review of all Europe, he did not find that politically we stood in the smallest degree of danger from any one state or kingdom it contained; or that any foreign powers, but our own allies, were likely to gain a preponderance in the scale. The French had shown themselves the ablest architects of ruin that had hitherto appeared in the world. In one short summer they had completely pulled down their monarchy, their church, their nobility, their law, their army, and their revenue! Were we absolute conquerors,

[8] 4to. Edition, vol. i, of Memoirs, p. 192.

and France to lie prostrate at our feet, we should blush to impose upon them terms so destructive to all their consequence as a nation, as the durance they had imposed upon themselves. Our danger, from the example of a people whose character knew no medium, was, with regard to government, a danger from licentious violence,—a danger of being led from admiration to imitation of the excesses of an unprincipled, plundering, ferocious, bloody, and tyrannical democracy,—of a people whose government is anarchy, and whose religion is atheism! He declared he felt great concern that this strange thing, called a revolution in France, should be compared with the glorious event commonly called the revolution in England. In truth, the circumstances of our revolution, as it is called, and that of France, were just the reverse of each other in almost every particular, and in the whole spirit of the transaction. What we did was, in truth and substance, not a revolution made but prevented. We took solid securities; we settled doubtful questions; we corrected anomalies in our law. In the stable fundamental parts of our constitution we made no revolution; no! nor any alteration at all. We did not impair the monarchy. The nation kept the same ranks, the same subordinations, the same franchises; the same order in the law, the revenue, and the magistracy; the same lords, the same commons, the same corporations, the same electors. The church was not impaired. Her estates, her majesty, her splendour, her orders and gradations continued the same. She was preserved in her full efficiency, and cleared only of that intolerance which was her weakness and disgrace. Was little done then because a revolution was not made in her constitution? No! every thing was done; because we commenced with reparation, not with ruin. The state flourished; Great Britain rose above the standard of her former self; all the energies of the country were awakened; and a new era of prosperity commenced, which still continues, not only unimpaired, but is receiving growth and improvement under the wasting hand of time." After this philippic, Mr Fox, notwithstanding his personal regard and friendship for Burke, thought it necessary, in justice to his own character, to declare "his total dissent from opinions so hostile to the general principles of liberty; and which he was grieved to hear from the lips of a man whom he loved and revered,—by whose precepts he had been taught,—by whose example he had been animated to engage in their defence. He vindicated the conduct of the French army in refusing to act against their fellow-citizens from the aspersions of Burke, who had charged them with abetting an abominable sedition by mutiny and desertion; declaring, that if he could view a standing military force with less constitutional jealousy than before, it was owing to the noble spirit manifested by the French army, who, on becoming soldiers, had proved that they did not forfeit their character as citizens, and would not act as the mere instruments of a despot. The scenes of bloodshed and cruelty that had been acted in France, no man could hear of without lamenting. But when the grievous tyranny that the people had so long groaned under was considered, the excesses they had committed in their efforts to shake off the yoke could not excite our astonishment so much as our regret. And as to the contrast Mr Burke had exhibited, respecting the mode in which the two revolutions of England and France were conducted, it must be remembered, he said, that the situation of the two kingdoms

was totally different. In France a new constitution was to be created; in England, it wanted only to be secured. If the fabric of government in England suffered less alteration, it was because it required less alteration; if a general destruction of the ancient constitution had taken place in France, it was because the whole system was radically hostile to liberty, and that every part of it breathed the direful spirit of despotism."

Mr Burke, says Moore in his 'Life of Sheridan,' "had published his celebrated 'Reflections' in the month of November, 1790; and never did any work, with the exception, perhaps, of the 'Eikon Basilike,' produce such a rapid, deep, and general sensation. The Eikon was the book of a king, and this might, in another sense, be called the Book of Kings. Not only in England, but throughout all Europe,—in every part of which monarchy was now trembling for its existence,—this lofty appeal to loyalty was heard and welcomed. Its effect upon the already tottering whig party was like that of 'the voice,' in the ruins of Rome, 'disparting towers.' The whole fabric of the old Rockingham confederacy shook to its base. Even some, who afterwards recovered their equilibrium, at first yielded to the eloquence of this extraordinary book,—which, like the era of chivalry, whose loss it deplores, mixes a grandeur with error, and throws a charm round political superstition, that will long render its pages a sort of region of royal romance, to which fancy will have recourse for illusions that have lost their last hold on the reason. The undisguised freedom with which Mr Fox and Mr Sheridan expressed every where their opinions of this work and its principles had, of course, no small influence on the temper of the author, and, while it confirmed him in his hatred and jealousy of the one, prepared him for the breach which he meditated with the other. This breach was now, indeed, daily expected, as a natural sequel to the rupture with Mr Sheridan in the last session; but, by various accidents and interpositions, the crisis was delayed till the 6th of May, when the recommitment of the Quebec bill,—a question, upon which both orators had already taken occasion to unfold their views of the French revolution,—furnished Burke with an opportunity, of which he impetuously took advantage, to sever the tie between himself and Mr Fox for ever. This scene,—so singular in a public assembly, where the natural affections are but seldom called out, and where, though bursts of temper like that of Burke are common, such tears as those shed by Mr Fox are rare phenomena,—has been so often described in various publications, that it would be superfluous to enter into the details of it here. The following are the solemn and stern words in which sentence of death was pronounced upon a friendship, that had now lasted for more than the fourth part of a century. 'It certainly,' said Mr Burke, 'was indiscretion at any period, but especially at his time of life, to provoke enemies, or to give his friends occasion to desert him; yet, if his firm and steady adherence to the British constitution placed him in such a dilemma, he would risk all, and as public duty and public prudence taught him, with his last words exclaim, "Fly from the French constitution."' [Mr Fox here whispered, that 'there was no loss of friendship.'] Mr Burke said, 'Yes, there was a loss of friendship;—he knew the price of his conduct;—he had done his duty at the price of his friend;—their friendship was at an

end.' In rising to reply to the speech of Burke, Mr Fox was so affected as to be, for some moments, unable to speak:—he wept, it is said, even to sobbing; and persons who were in the gallery at the time declare, that, while he spoke, there was hardly a dry eye around them."

On the opening of parliament on the 13th of December, 1792, it was intimated in the speech from the throne that "his majesty had judged it necessary to embody a part of the militia, and to call the parliament together within the time limited for that purpose," and the grounds of these strong measures were stated to be "the seditious practices which had been discovered, and the spirit of tumult and disorder shown in acts of riot and insurrection which required the interposition of a military force in support of the civil magistrate. The industry employed to excite discontent on various pretexts, and in different parts of the kingdom, appeared," it was added, "to proceed from a design to attempt the destruction of our happy constitution and the subversion of all order and government; and this design had evidently been pursued in connection and concert with persons in foreign countries. I have," said his majesty, "carefully observed a strict neutrality in the present war on the continent, and have uniformly abstained from any interference with respect to the internal government of France; but it is impossible for me to see without the most serious uneasiness the strong and increasing indications which have appeared there, of an intention to excite disturbances in other countries,—to disregard the rights of neutral nations, and pursue views of conquest and aggrandizement,—as well as to adopt towards my allies, the states-general, measures which are neither conformable to the law of nations, nor to the positive stipulations of existing treaties." Under these circumstances his majesty thought it right to have recourse to those means of prevention and internal defence with which he was intrusted by law, and to make some augmentation of his naval and military force. On moving the address, in answer to the speech, a memorable debate arose; and never did the strength and superiority of Fox's genius appear so conspicuous as in this moment of national infatuation.

He began by observing, "that his majesty's speech contained a variety of assertions of the most extraordinary nature. It was the duty of that house to inquire into the truth of these assertions; and in discharging this part of his duty, he should consider the speech from the throne as the speech of the minister, which his majesty's confidential servants had advised him to deliver; and as they were responsible for that advice, to them every observation of his should be addressed. I state it, therefore," said Fox, "to be my firm opinion and belief that there is not one fact asserted in his majesty's speech which is not false; not one assertion or insinuation which is not unfounded. Nay, I cannot be so uncandid as to believe that ministers themselves think them true! The leading and prominent feature of the speech is a wanton and base calumny on the people of Great Britain; an insinuation of so black a nature that it demands the most rigorous inquiry, and the most severe punishment. The next assertion is, that there exists at this moment an insurrection in this kingdom. An insurrection!—Where is it? Where has it reared its head? Good God! an insurrection in Great Britain? The speech goes on in the same strain of falsehood and ca-

lumny, and says, 'the industry employed to excite discontent on various pretexts, and in different parts of the kingdom, has appeared to proceed from a design to attempt the destruction of our happy constitution, and the subversion of all order and government.' I desire gentlemen to consider these words, and I demand of their honour and truth, if they believe this assertion to be founded in fact. There have been, as I understand, and as every one must have heard, some slight riots in different parts; I have heard of a tumult at Shields; of another at Leith; of some riot at Yarmouth; and of something of the same nature at Perth and Dundee. But I ask gentlemen if they believe that in each of these places the avowed object of the complaints of the people was not the real one—that the sailors at Shields, Yarmouth, and other places, did not really want some increase of their wages, but were actuated by a design of overthrowing the constitution? Is there a man in England who believes this insinuation to be true?"

Fox next adverting to what had fallen from Wallace, who, in seconding the motion of address, adduced as a proof that there existed in this country a dangerous spirit, 'the drooping and dejected aspect of many persons, when the tidings of Dumourier's surrender arrived in England,' said—"Admitting the fact in its utmost extent, could any man who loves the constitution of England, who feels its principles in his heart, wish success to the duke of Brunswick, after reading a manifesto which violated every doctrine that Englishmen hold sacred,—which trampled under foot every principle of justice, humanity, and true government? It is rather extraordinary that we should think it right to abuse republics at the very moment we are called upon to protect the republic of Holland; to spread the doctrine that kings only have divine right, may indispose our allies to receive our proposed succour. They may not choose to receive into their country our admirals and generals, who being appointed by this king, in divine right, must partake of the same anger, and be sworn enemies to all forms of government not so sanctified. Surely, independent of the falsehood and the danger at home of such doctrines, it is the height of impolicy at this time to hold them in regard even to our neighbours.

"His majesty, in the next passage of his speech," continued Fox, "brings us to the apprehension of a war. I shall refrain at this time from saying all that occurs to me on this subject, because I wish to keep precisely to the immediate subject; but never surely had this country so much reason to wish for peace; never was a period so little favourable to a rupture with France, or with any power. I am not ready to subscribe exactly to the propriety of a resolution never to go to war unless we are attacked; but I wish that a motion was proposed by some person to express our disapprobation of entering upon any war, if we can by any honourable means avoid it. Let no man be deterred by the dread of being in a minority. A minority saved this country from a war against Russia. And surely it is our duty, as it is true policy, to exert every means to avert that greatest of national calamities. In 1789 we all must remember that Spain provoked this country by an insult, which is a real aggression; we were all agreed on the necessity of the case, but did we go headlong to war? No! we determined with becoming fortitude on an armed negotiation. We did negotiate, and we avoided a war. But now we disdain to negotiate.

Why? Because we have no minister at Paris! Why have we no minister there? Because France is a republic! And so we are to pay in the blood and treasure of the people for a punctilio! If there are discontents in the kingdom, Sir, this is the way to inflame them. It is of no consequence to any people what is the form of government with which they may have to treat; it is with the governors, whatever may be the form, that in common sense and policy they can have to do, and if they should change their form and change their governors, their course would remain the same. Having no legitimate concern with the internal state of any independent people, the road of common sense is simple and direct. That of pride and punctilio is as tangled as it is serpentine. Is the pretext the opening of the Scheldt? I cannot believe that such an object can be the real cause. I doubt, even if a war on this pretext would be undertaken with the approbation of the Dutch. What was the conduct of the French themselves under their depraved old system, when the good of the people never entered into the contemplation of the cabinet? The emperor threatened to open the Scheldt in 1786. Did the French go to war with him instantly to prevent it? No! they opened a negotiation, and prevented it by interfering with their good offices. Why have not we so interfered? Because, forsooth, France is an unanointed republic! Oh! miserable, infatuated Frenchmen! Oh! lame and inconsiderate politicians! Why, instead of breaking the holy vial of Rheims, why did you not pour some of the sacred oil on the heads of your executive council, that the pride of states might not be forced to plunge themselves and you into the horrors of war, rather than be contaminated by your acquaintance! The people will not be cheated. They will look round and demand where this danger is to be seen. Is it in England? they see it overflowing in expressions of loyalty, and yet they libel it with imputations of insurrection. In Ireland you know there is danger, and dare not own it; though you know that there a most respectable and formidable convention (I call it formidable, because I know nothing so formidable as reason, truth, and justice) will oblige you, by the most cogent reasons, to give way to demands which the magnanimity of the nation ought to have anticipated—in justice to subjects as attached to their king, as abundantly endowed with every manly virtue, as those of any part of the united kingdom. And while the claims of generous and ill-treated millions are thus protracted, there is a miserable mockery held out of alarms in England which have no existence, but which are made the pretext of assembling the parliament in an extraordinary way, in order in reality to engage you in a foreign contest. What must be the fatal consequence when a well-judging people shall decide —what I sincerely believe—that the whole of this business is a ministerial manœuvre? A noble lord says he will move for a suspension of the habeas corpus act. I hope not! I have a high respect for the noble lord; but no motive of personal respect shall make me inattentive to my duty. Come from whom it may, I shall, with my most determined powers, oppose so dreadful a measure. What, it may be asked, would I propose to do in hours of agitation like the present? I will answer openly. If there is a tendency in the dissenters to discontent, because they conceive themselves unjustly suspected and cruelly calumniated, what should I do? I would instantly repeal the test and cor-

poration acts, and take from them thereby all cause of complaint. If there were any persons tinctured with a republican spirit, because they thought that the representative government was more perfect in a republic, I would endeavour to amend the representation of the commons, and to prove that the house of commons, though not chosen by all, should have no other interest than to prove itself the representative of all. If there were men dissatisfied in Scotland, or Ireland, or elsewhere, on account of disabilities and exemptions, of unjust prejudices, and of cruel restrictions, I would repeal the penal statutes, which are a disgrace to our law-book. If there were other complaints of grievances, I would redress them where they were really proved; but, above all, I would constantly, cheerfully, patiently listen—I would make it known, that if any man felt, or thought he felt, a grievance, he might come freely to the bar of this house and bring his proofs. And it should be made manifest to all the world, that where they did exist they should be redressed; where they did not, that it should be made manifest. If I were to issue a proclamation, this should be my proclamation—'If any man has a grievance, let him bring it to the bar of the commons' house of parliament, with the firm persuasion of having it honestly investigated.' These are the subsidies that I would grant to government. What instead of this is done? Suppress the complaint,—check the circulation of knowledge,—command that no man shall read,—or, that as no man under one hundred pounds a year can kill a partridge, that no man under twenty pounds or thirty pounds shall dare to read or think!

"I love the constitution as it is established," he continued, "it has grown up with me as a prejudice and as a habit, as well as from conviction. I know it is calculated for the happiness of man, and that its constituent branches of king, lords, and commons could not be altered or impaired without entailing on this country the most dreadful miseries. It is the best adapted to England, because, as the noble earl truly said, the people of England think it the best; and the safest course is to consult the judgment and gratify the predilections of a country. Heartily convinced as I am, however, that to secure the peace, strength, and happiness of the country, we must maintain the constitution against all innovation, yet I do not think so highly and superstitiously of any human institution as to believe it is incapable of being perverted; on the contrary, I believe that it requires an increasing vigilance on the part of the people to prevent the decay and dilapidations to which every edifice is subject. I think too that we may be laid asleep to our real danger by these perpetual alarms to loyalty, which, in my opinion, are daily sapping the constitution. Under the pretext of guarding it from the assaults of republicans and levellers, we run the hazard of leaving it open on the other and more feeble side. We are led insensibly to the opposite danger,—that of increasing the power of the crown, and of degrading the influence of the house of commons. Let us only look back to the whole course of the present administration, and we shall see that from their outset to the present day, it has been their invariable object to degrade the house of commons in the eyes of the people, and to diminish its power and influence in every possible way. It was not merely in the outset of their career, when they stood up against the declared voice of the house of commons,

that this spirit was manifested,—but uniformly, progressively through their whole ministry, the same disposition has been shown, until at last it came to its full undisguised demonstration on the question of the Russian war, when the house of commons was degraded to the lowest state of insignificance and contempt, in being made to retract its own words, and to acknowledge that it was of no consequence or avail what were its sentiments on any one measure. The minister has regularly acted upon this sort of principle, to the vilification of the popular branch of the constitution. What is this but to make it appear that the house of commons is in reality what Thomas Paine, and writers like him, say it is, namely, that it is not the true representative and organ of the people. Is it not wonderful that all the true constitutional watchfulness of England should be dead to the only true danger that the day exhibits; and that they should be roused only by the idiotic clamour of republican frenzy, and of popular insurrection which do not exist?

"Sir," he concluded, "I have done my duty. I have—with the certainty of exposing myself to the furor of the day—delivered my opinion at more length than I intended; and perhaps I have intruded too long on the indulgence of the house. I have endeavoured to persuade you against the indecent haste of committing yourselves to these assertions of an existing insurrection, until you shall make a rigorous inquiry where it is to be found; to avoid involving the people in the calamity of a war, without at least ascertaining the internal state of the kingdom, and prevent us from falling into the disgrace of being, as heretofore, obliged perhaps in a week to retract every syllable that we are now called upon to say."

He concluded with moving an amendment, simply pledging the house, "that inquiry should be made into the facts stated in his majesty's speech."

In the debate of the 1st of February, 1793, on Pitt moving an address of thanks to his majesty, Fox, after arguing that no just pretext for going to war with France existed, said: "That war was unjust which told not an enemy the ground of provocation, and the measure of atonement; it was as impolitic as unjust,—for without the object of contest clearly and definitely stated, what opening could there be for treating of peace? Before going to war with France, surely the people who must pay and suffer, ought to be informed on what object they were to fix their hopes for its honourable termination! After five or six years' war, the French might agree to evacuate the Netherlands as the price of peace; was it clear that they would not do so now, if we would condescend to propose it in intelligible terms? Surely in such an alternative, the experiment was worth trying. But then we had no security against the French principles:—What security would they be able to give us, after a war, which they could not give now? If there were any danger from French principles, to go to war without necessity was to fight for their propagation. On these principles, as reprobated in the proposed address, he would freely give his opinion. It was not the principles that were bad and to be reprobated, but the abuse of them; from the abuse, not the principles, had flowed all the evils that afflicted France. The use of the word *equality* by the French was deemed highly objectionable. When taken as they meant

it, nothing was more innocent; for what did they say? 'all men are equal in respect of their rights.' To this he assented; all men had equal rights,—equal rights to unequal things; one man to a shilling,—another to a thousand pounds; one man to a cottage,—another to a palace; but the right in both was the same,—an equal right of enjoying, an equal right of inheriting or acquiring,—and of possessing inheritance or acquisition. The effect of the proposed address was to condemn, not the abuse of those principles,—and the French had much abused them,—but the principles themselves. To this he could not assent, for they were the principles on which all just and equitable government was founded. He had already differed sufficiently with a right honourable gentleman (Burke) on this subject, to wish not to provoke any fresh difference; but, even against so great an authority, he must say, that the people are the sovereigns in every state; that they have a right to change the form of their government, and a right to cashier their governors for misconduct, as the people of this country cashiered James II.,—not by parliament, or any regular form known to the constitution, but by a convention speaking the sense of the people; that convention produced a parliament and a king. They elected William to a vacant throne, not only setting aside James—whom they had justly cashiered for misconduct—but his innocent son. Again they elected the house of Brunswick, not individually, but by dynasty; and that dynasty to continue while the terms and conditions on which it was elected are fulfilled, and no longer. He could not admit the right of doing all this but by acknowledging the sovereignty of the people as paramount to all other laws. But it was said, that although we had once exercised this power, we had in the very act of exercising it, renounced it for ever. We had neither renounced it, nor, if we had been so disposed, was such a renunciation in our power. We elected first an individual,—then a dynasty,—and lastly, passed an act of parliament in the reign of queen Anne, declaring it to be the right of the people of this realm to do so again without even assigning a reason. If there were any persons among us who doubted the superior wisdom of our monarchical form of government, their error was owing to those who changed its strong and irrefragable foundation in the right and choice of the people to a more flimsy ground of title. The justifiable grounds of war," he argued, "were insult, injury, or danger. For the first, satisfaction; for the second, reparation; for the third, security, was the object. Each of these too was the proper object of negotiation, which ought ever to precede war, except in case of an attack actually commenced. How had we negotiated? When the triple league was formed to check the ambition of Louis XIV., the contracting parties did not deal so rigorously by him as we were now told it was essential to the peace of Europe that we should deal by the French. They never told Louis that he must renounce all his conquests, in order to obtain peace. But then it was said to be our duty to hate the French for the part they took in the American war.—He had heard of a duty to love, but a duty to hate was new to him. That duty, however, ought to direct our hatred to the old government of France, not to the new, which had no hand in the provocation. Unfortunately the new French government was admitted to be the successor of the old in nothing but its faults and its offences. It was a successor to be hated and to be

warred against; but it was not a successor to be negotiated with. He feared, however, that war would be the result; and from war apprehending greater evils than he durst name, he should have shrunk from his duty if he had not endeavoured to obtain an exposition of the distinct causes. Of all wars he dreaded that the most which had no definite object, because of such a war it was impossible to see the end. Our war with America had a definite object,—an unjust one indeed, but still definite; and after wading through years on years of expense and blood, after exhausting invectives and terms of contempt on the vagrant congress, one Adams, one Washington, &c. &c., we were compelled at last to treat with this very congress, and those very men. The Americans, to the honour of their character, committed no such horrid acts as had disgraced the French; but we were as liberal of our obloquy to the former then as to the latter now. If we did but know for what we were to fight, we might look forward with confidence, and exert ourselves with unanimity; but while kept thus in the dark, how many might there not be who would believe that we were fighting the battles of despotism? To undeceive those who might fall into this unhappy delusion, it would be no derogation from the dignity of office to grant an explanation."

In the course of this year, a meeting of noblemen and gentlemen took place in London for the purpose of expressing their gratitude to Mr Fox for his exertions in opposing the war with France, and their admiration of the talents and consistency he had displayed throughout a long political career. It was resolved to purchase for Mr Fox a handsome annuity, which, it was well-known, his circumstances required. In reply to the preliminary communication from the committee appointed to carry this measure into effect, Mr Fox addressed the following manly letter to its chairman, Serjeant Adair:

"ST ANNE'S HILL, *June 6th*, 1793.

"Dear Sir,—You will easily believe that it is not a mere form of words, when I say, that I am wholly at a loss how to express my feelings upon the event which you have in so kind a manner communicated to me. In difficult cases it is not unusual to inquire what others have said or done in like circumstances; but, in my situation, this resource is denied me; for where am I to look for an instance of such a proof of public esteem, as that which is offered to me? To receive at once from the public such a testimony of the disinterestedness of my conduct, and such a reward as the most interested would think their lives well-spent in obtaining, is a rare instance of felicity which seems to have been reserved for me. It would be gross affectation, if, in my circumstances, I were to pretend that what is intended me is not in itself of the highest value. But it is with perfect sincerity that I declare, that no manner in which a fortune could have come to me, would have been so gratifying to the feelings of my heart. I accept, therefore, with the most sincere gratitude, the kindness of the public; and consider it as an additional obligation upon me, if any were wanting, to continue steady to the principles which I have uniformly professed; and to persevere in the honest and independent line of conduct, to which alone I am conscious that I am indebted for this, as well as for every other mark of public approbation. I hope I need not add, my dear

Sir, that I could not have received this honourable message through a more acceptable channel. I am, &c."

In 1796 Fox was again elected for Westminster. In the course of the next year, as a privy-councillor, he obtained an audience of the king, and represented to him in energetic language the alarming state of the kingdom, and the necessity of adopting public measures conceived in a different strain of policy from those now pursuing by his ministers. Soon after this, finding himself supported only by a small minority of the house, he, and his principal political friends, seceded from parliament. He passed the years from 1797 to 1802 chiefly in the retirement of his little establishment at St Anne's hill. "I knew Mr Fox," says Mr Trotter, who for some years acted as his private secretary, "at a period when his glories began to brighten,—when a philosophical and noble determination had, for a considerable time, induced him to renounce the captivating allurements and amusements of fashionable life, —and when, resigning himself to rural pleasures, domestic retirement, and literary pursuits, he became a new man, or, rather more justly may I say, he returned to the solid enjoyment of a tranquil, yet refined, rural life, from which he had been awhile withdrawn, but had never been alienated."[9] "The domestic life of Mr Fox," says Mr T., "was equally regular and agreeable. In summer, he arose betwixt six and seven; in winter, before eight. The assiduous care and excellent management of Mrs Fox rendered his rural mansion the abode of peace, elegance, and order, and had long procured her the gratitude and esteem of those private friends whose visits to Mr Fox, in his retirement at St Anne's Hill, made them the witnesses of this amiable woman's exemplary conduct. I confess I carried with me some of the vulgar prejudices respecting this great man. How completely was I undeceived! After breakfast, which took place betwixt eight and nine in the summer, and a little after nine in winter, he usually read some Italian author with Mrs Fox, and then spent the time preceding dinner in his literary studies, in which the Greek poets bore a principal part. A frugal but plentiful dinner took place at three, or half-past two, in summer, and at four in winter, and a few glasses of wine were followed by coffee. The evening was dedicated to walking and conversation till tea-time, when reading aloud in history commenced, and continued till near ten. A light supper of fruit, pastry, or something very trifling, finished the day; and at half-past ten the family were gone to rest." This, we learn, was the diurnal system of a man whose gaiety, perhaps exaggerated, was once the theme of every tongue, but who, certainly, when forming the central point of one political hemisphere, could not, however he might wish to shrink from the continual stretch of mental energy, and pant for a philosophical retreat, at a less price than the abandonment of his connexions, obtain it."

In July, 1802, Mr and Mrs Fox set out for Paris. His principal object in this visit was to examine materials for his projected historical work on the reign of James II. which were deposited in the Scotch college there. He was received with great courtesy and even public honours. On his entering the theatre, "every eye was fixed on him,

[9] Preface to 'Memoirs of the Latter Years of the Right Hon. Charles James Fox.'

and every tongue resounded, Fox! Fox! The whole audience stood up, and the applause was universal. He alone, to whom all this admiration was paid, was embarrassed. His friends were gratified by the honour bestowed on this great man by a foreign, and, till lately, hostile people. It was that reward which crowned heads cannot purchase—respect and gratitude from his fellow-men for his exertions in favour of humanity." He was introduced to Buonaparte by the British ambassador. Mr Trotter thus describes the interview of these two great men: "We reached the interior apartment where Buonaparte, first consul, surrounded by his generals, ministers, senators, and officers, stood betwixt the second and third consuls, Le Brun, and Camberceres, in the centre of a semicircle, at the head of the room! The numerous assemblage from Salle des Ambassadeurs formed into another semicircle, joined themselves to that at the head of which stood the first consul. Buonaparte, of a small, and by no means commanding figure, dressed plainly, though richly, in the embroidered consular coat, without powder in his hair, looked, at first view, like a private gentleman, indifferent as to dress, and devoid of all haughtiness in his air. The two consuls, large and heavy men, seemed pillars too cumbrous to support themselves, and, during the levee, were sadly at a loss what to do,—whether the snuff-box or pocket-handkerchief was to be appealed to, or the left leg exchanged for the right. The moment the circle was formed, Buonaparte began with the Spanish ambassador; then went to the American, with whom he spoke some time, and so on, performing his part with ease, and very agreeably, until he came to the English ambassador, who, after the presentation of some English noblemen, announced to him Mr Fox. He was a good deal flurried, and, after indicating considerable emotion, very rapidly said: 'Ah, Mr Fox, I have heard with pleasure of your arrival; I have desired much to see you; I have long admired in you the orator and friend of his country, who, in constantly raising his voice for peace, consulted that country's best interests—those of Europe—and of the human race. The two great nations of Europe require peace; they have nothing to fear; they ought to understand and value one another. In you, Mr Fox, I see with much satisfaction that great statesman, who recommended peace because there was no just object for war,—who saw Europe desolated to no purpose, and who struggled for its relief.' Mr Fox said little or rather nothing in reply; to a complimentary address to himself he always found invincible repugnance to answer, nor did he bestow one word" expressive "of admiration or applause upon the extraordinary and elevated character who addressed him. A few questions and answers relative to Mr Fox's tour terminated the interview."

After the renewal of the war, he again withdrew into seclusion at St Anne's Hill; but, on the dismissal of the Addington administration, and the resumption of power by Pitt, he once more stood forth to confront and oppose his great rival. On the death of his illustrious antagonist, Fox coalesced with Grenville, and accepted the office of secretary of state for foreign affairs. "I am," says Mr Trotter, "much inclined to think that Mr Fox had determined to devote himself to history previously to Mr Pitt's death; nor do I think that event would have altered his intentions, unless the voice of the people reaching the throne had concurred in seeing placed at the head of the ministry a

friend to the just equilibrium between regal authority and popular rights, a man of commanding genius and extensive knowledge. Assailed, however, by persuasion, and willing to sacrifice his own opinions for the good of his country, his judgment and feelings gave way, and he consented to take part of the ministry, in conjunction with Lord Grenville." Doubtless his desire to negotiate a peace for his country formed a prevailing motive with him in again entering upon the toils of public life; and, indeed, before the symptoms of that disease which terminated his life had manifested themselves in his constitution, he had begun a negotiation for that main object of his past efforts. The complaint of which he died was dropsy, hastened, no doubt, if not altogether occasioned, by the fatigues of office, and the harassing nature of that warfare which night after night he was called upon to sustain in the house against his political opponents. We shall here introduce his secretary's account of the closing scene of this great man's life:—

"I read this evening to him," says Mr Trotter, "the chief part of the fourth book of the Æneid. He appeared relieved, and to forget his uneasiness and pains; but I felt this recurrence to Virgil as a mournful omen of a great attack upon his system, and that he was already looking to abstract himself from noise, and tumult, and politics. Henceforth his illness rapidly increased; and was pronounced a dropsy. I have reason to think that he turned his thoughts very soon to retirement at St Anne's Hill, as he found the pressure of business insupportably harassing." Mr Trotter then notices various symptoms of melancholy foreboding which the dying statesman exhibited in the earlier part of his illness. One of these, he observes, "I thought was shown in his manner at Holland-house. Mrs Fox, he, and I drove there several times before his illness confined him, and when exercise was strongly urged. He looked around him the last day he was there with a farewell tenderness that struck me very much. It was the place where he had spent his youthful days. Every lawn, garden, tree, or walk, was viewed by him with peculiar affection. He pointed out its beauties to me; and, in particular, showed me a green lane, or avenue, which his mother, the late Lady Holland, had made by shutting up a road. He was a very exquisite judge of the picturesque; and mentioned to me how beautiful this road had become, since converted into an alley. He raised his eyes in the house, looking round, and was earnest in pointing out every thing he liked and remembered. Soon, however, his illness alarmingly increased. He suffered dreadful pains, and often rose from dinner with intolerable suffering. His temper never changed, and was always serene and sweet; it was amazing to behold so much distressing anguish and so great equanimity."—"I was," he again says, "nearly as much struck on entering the beautiful and classic villa of the duke of Devonshire, at Mr Fox's appearance, as I had been when I saw him at St Anne's Hill. The change of air and scene had already benefited him. I found him walking about and looking at the pictures,—he wore a morning gown,—his air was peculiarly noble and august,—it was the Roman consul, or senator, retired from the tumult of a busy city, and enjoying the charms of rural retirement, surrounded by the choicest productions of art. All care seemed removed from his mind. His soul expatiated on something sublime; and Mr Fox stood before me in a new, and, I may truly say awful, point of view,—as a

Christian philosopher, abstracted from the world, having taken a long farewell of it: serene, composed, cheerful, and willing, as long as he remained, to be pleased with life; participating in social converse with as much ease as if his latter moments were far distant." Mr Fox wished to return to St Anne's Hill; but, says Mr Trotter, "he grew daily worse; his size became very inconvenient; and it was determined, by his physicians, that he ought again to undergo the operation of tapping. Mr Fox, during the whole operation, conversed with the physicians with all his usual force, accuracy, and pleasant natural manners. He mentioned to them his opinion, that, in all difficult cases, his own or any other, it would be advisable for each to write down his opinion, seal it up, and that it should not be examined till the deceased person had been opened, and then the erroneous conclusions drawn would appear."

His last moments are thus described: "The scene which followed was worthy of the illustrious name of Fox. As his breathing became painfully difficult he no longer spoke; but his looks, his countenance, gradually assumed a sublime yet tender air. He seemed to regret leaving Mrs Fox solitary and friendless; and, as he fixed his eyes repeatedly upon her, threw into them such an expression of consolation as looked supernatural: there was also in it a tender gratitude which breathed unutterable thanks, and, to the last, the disinterested and affectionate, the dying husband, mourned for another's sufferings, and strove to make his own appear light. There was the pious resignation of the Christian, who fearlessly abandons his fleeting spirit to a merciful Deity visible throughout the day,—the unbeliever who 'came to scoff' must have remained to pray.' It was now that Mr Fox gathered the fruits of his glorious life: his departure was unruffled by remorse,—he had sacrificed every thing that was personal to his country's good,—and found his last moments blessed by the reflection, that his last effort had been conformable to the religion he professed, to give peace to an afflicted world. The hovering angel who waited to receive his spirit saw that he had tarried long enough upon earth; the evening advanced, and shrinking nature saw that his end approached—'I die happy!' said he, fixing again and again his eyes upon Mrs Fox." He expired betwixt five and six o'clock in the afternoon of the 13th of September, 1806, leaving a political reputation which will for ever adorn the history of his country. His remains were interred, with great pomp, in Westminster abbey, within a few feet of those of his great rival, Pitt, on the 10th of October, the anniversary of his first election for Westminster:—

"The mighty chiefs sleep side by side.
Drop upon Fox's grave the tear,
'Twill trickle on his rival's bier;
O'er Pitt's the mournful requiem sound,
And Fox's shall the notes rebound.
The solemn echo seems to cry—
'Here let their discord with them die.'
Speak not for those a separate doom,
Whom Fate made brothers in the tomb.
But search the land of living men,
Where wilt thou find their like agen?"[10]

[10] Marmion, Canto i. p. 12.

We shall now collect a few of the opinions which have been expressed and characters which have been sketched of Fox, by those of his contemporaries who were best fitted to estimate the talents, endowments, and principles of the man. The following passages occur in a most elaborate character of Fox, by Dr Parr: "If you had been called upon to select a friend from the whole human race, where could you have found one endowed as he was with the guileless playfulness of a child, and the most correct and comprehensive knowledge of the world: or distinguished as he was, by profound erudition, by well-founded reverence for the constitution of his country, and the keenest penetration into the consequences, near and remote, of all public measures? Where could you have found a statesman with such extensive and noble views? Where could you have found an orator, gifted with properties of eloquence so many and so great?—always exciting attention by his ardour, and rewarding it by his good sense; always adapting his matter to the subject, and his diction to the matter; never misrepresenting, where he undertook only to confute, nor insulting because he had vanquished; instructive without a wish to deceive, and persuasive without an attempt to domineer; manfully disdaining petty controversy; eager for victory only as the price of truth; holding up the most abstruse principles in the most glowing colours; and dignifying the most common by new combinations; at one moment incorporating it with argument, and at the next ascending from historical details to philosophical generalization; irresistible from effort, captivating without it; and by turns, concise and copious, easy and energetic, familiar and sublime! His memory seems never to have been oppressed by the number, or distracted by the variety, of the materials which it gradually accumulated; and his companions can never forget the readiness, correctness, and glowing enthusiasm, with which he repeated the noblest passages in the best English, French, and Italian poets, and in the best epic and dramatic writers of antiquity." "His speeches," said Sheridan, "were among the finest examples of argumentation;—abounding in pointed observations and just conclusions, clothed in forcible expression, and delivered with manly boldness. The leading characteristic of his oratory was a ready, and as it were, intuitive power of analysis, which he possessed beyond any man now living; and it would not exceed the truth, perhaps, if it were added, equal to any man that has ever lived."

"Fox, as an orator," says Godwin, "seemed to come immediately from the forming hand of nature. He spoke well, because he felt strongly and earnestly. His eloquence was impetuous as the current of the river Rhone—nothing could arrest its course. His voice would insensibly rise to too high a key; he would run himself out of breath. Every thing showed how little artifice there was in his oratory. Though on all great occasions he was throughout energetic, yet it was by sudden flashes and emanations that he electrified the heart and shot through the blood of his hearer. I have seen his countenance brighten up with more than mortal ardour and goodness; I have been present when his voice has been suffocated with the sudden bursting forth of a flood of tears!"

Sir James Mackintosh has thus sketched the character of his illustrious friend: "Mr Fox united, in a most remarkable degree, the seemingly repugnant characters of the mildest of men and the most ve-

hement of orators. In private life he was gentle, modest, placable, kind, of simple manners, and so averse from dogmatism, as to be not only unostentatious, but even something inactive in conversation. His superiority was never felt but in the instruction which he imparted, or in the attention which his generous preference usually directed to the more obscure members of the company. The simplicity of his manners was far from excluding that perfect urbanity and amenity which flowed still more from the mildness of his nature, than from familiar intercourse with the most polished society of Europe. The pleasantry perhaps of no man of wit had so unlaboured an appearance. It seemed rather to escape from his mind, than to be produced by it. He had lived on the most intimate terms with all his contemporaries distinguished by wit, politeness, or philosophy; by learning, or the talents of public life. In the course of thirty years he had known almost every man in Europe, whose intercourse could strengthen, or enrich, or polish the mind. His own literature was various and elegant. In classical erudition, which by the custom of England is more peculiarly called learning, he was inferior to few professed scholars. Like all men of genius, he delighted to take refuge in poetry, from the vulgarity and irritation of business. His own verses were easy and pleasant, and might have claimed no low place among those which the French call *vers de société*. The poetical character of his mind was displayed by his extraordinary partiality for the poetry of the two most poetical nations, or at least languages of the west, those of the Greeks and of the Italians. He disliked political conversation, and never willingly took any part in it. To speak of him justly as an orator, would require a long essay. Every where natural, he carried into public something of that simple and negligent exterior which belonged to him in private. When he began to speak, a common observer might have thought him awkward; and even a consummate judge could only have been struck with the exquisite justness of his ideas, and the transparent simplicity of his manners. But no sooner had he spoken for some time, than he was changed into another being. He forgot himself and every thing around him. He thought only of his subject. His genius warmed and kindled as he went on. He darted fire into his audience. Torrents of impetuous and irresistible eloquence swept along their feelings and conviction. He certainly possessed above all moderns that union of reason, simplicity, and vehemence, which formed the prince of orators. He was the most Demosthenean speaker since the days of Demosthenes. 'I knew him,' says Mr Burke, in a pamphlet written after their unhappy difference, 'when he was nineteen; since which time he has risen, by slow degrees, to be the most brilliant and accomplished debater the world ever saw.' The quiet dignity of a mind roused only by great objects, the absence of petty bustle, the contempt of show, the abhorrence of intrigue, the plainness and downrightness, and the thorough good nature which distinguished Mr Fox, seem to render him no unfit representative of the old English character, which, if it ever changed, we should be sanguine indeed to expect to see it succeeded by a better. The simplicity of his character inspired confidence, the ardour of his eloquence roused enthusiasm, and the gentleness of his manners invited friendship. 'I admired,' says Mr Gibbon, after describing a day passed with him at Lausanne, 'the powers of a superior man,

as they are blended, in his attractive character, with all the softness and simplicity of a child: no human being was ever more free from any taint of malignity, vanity, or falsehood.' The measures which he supported or opposed may divide the opinion of posterity, as they have divided those of the present age. But he will most certainly command the unanimous reverence of future generations, by his pure sentiments towards the commonwealth; by his zeal for the civil and religious rights of all men; by his liberal principles, favourable to mild government, to the unfettered exercise of the human faculties, and the progressive civilization of mankind; by his ardent love for a country, of which the well-being and greatness were, indeed, inseparable from his own glory; and by his profound reverence for that free constitution which he was universally admitted to understand better than any other man of his age, both in an exactly legal and in a comprehensively philosophical sense."

These are all highly eulogistic sketches, and, in many respects, are only faithful to the talents and qualities of their subject. But, it is not to be concealed that they overlook, or attempt to palliate, the vices and the weaknesses of the great man they praise. "Why was it,"—the reader of such eulogiums must often have been tempted to inquire,—"how came it to pass that a man of such overwhelming powers after all effected so little for the good of his country? Why did he seem so emphatically 'to labour in vain, and spend his strength for nought?'" The question has been answered by an anonymous writer at once in terms so eloquent and with a profundity of remark and cogency of reasoning so forcible and striking, that we cannot withhold them from our readers, to the generality of whom they will be new:

"Fox's name stands conspicuous on the list of those who have failed to accomplish the commission on which their wonderful endowments would seem to tell that they had been sent to the world, by the Master of human and all other spirits. It is thus that mankind are doomed to see a succession of individuals rising among them, with capacities for rendering them the most inestimable services, but faithless, for the most part, to their high vocation, and either never attempting the generous labours which invite their talents, or combining with those labours the vices which frustrate their efficacy. Our late distinguished statesman's exertions for the public welfare were really so great, and in many instances, we have no doubt, so well-intended, that it is peculiarly painful to behold him defrauding such admirable powers and efforts of their effect, by means of those parts of his conduct, in which he sunk to a level with the least respectable of mankind; and we think no man within our memory has given so melancholy an example of this self-counteraction. It is impossible for the friends of our constitution and of human nature not to feel a warm admiration for Fox's exertions, whatever their partial motives and whatever their occasional excesses might be, in vindication of the great principles of liberty, in hostility to the rage for war, and in extirpation of the slave-trade. This last abomination, which had gradually lost, even on the basest part of the nation, that hold which it had for a while maintained by a delusive notion of policy, and was fast sinking under the hatred of all that could pretend to humanity or decency, was destined ultimately to fall by his hand, at a period so nearly contemporary with the end of his career, as

to give the remembrance of his death somewhat of a similar advantage of association to that by which the death of the Hebrew champion is always recollected in connexion with the fall of Dagon's temple. A great object was accomplished, and it is fair to attribute the event, in no small degree, to his persevering support of that most estimable individual who was the leader of the design: but as to his immense display of talent on the wide ground of general politics, on the theory of true freedom and popular rights; on the great and increasing influence of the crown; on the corruption and reform of public institutions; on severe investigation of public expenditure; on the national vigilance proper to be exercised over the conduct of government; and on the right of any nation to change, when it judges necessary, both the persons and the form of its government, we have observed with the deepest mortification, times without number, the very slight and transient effect on the public mind of a more argumentative and luminous eloquence, than probably we are ever again to see irradiating those subjects, and urging their importance. Both principles and practices, tending toward arbitrary power and national degradation, were progressively gaining ground during the much greater part of the time that he was assaulting them with intellectual fire and sword; and the people, notwithstanding it was their own cause he was maintaining by this persevering warfare, though they were amused indeed with his exploits, could hardly be induced to regard him otherwise than as a capital prize-fighter, and scarcely thanked him for the fortitude and energy which he devoted to their service. He was allowed to be a most admirable man for a leader of opposition, but not a mortal could be persuaded to regard that opposition, even in his hands, as bearing any resemblance to that which we have been accustomed to ascribe to Cato, an opposition of which pure virtue was the motive, and all corruptions whatever the object. If the very same things which were said by Fox, had been advanced by the person whose imaginary character we have sketched in the preceding pages, they would have become the oracles of the people from Berwick to Land's End; corrupters and intriguers would have felt an impression of awe when he rose to speak: no political doctors or nostrums could have cured their nerves of a strange vibration at the sound of his words, a vibration very apt to reach into their consciences or their fears; there would have been something mysterious and appalling in his voice, a sound as if a multitude of voices articulated in one; and though his countenance should have looked as candid and friendly as Fox's did, these gentlemen would have been sometimes subject to certain fretful peevish lapses of imagination, much like those in which Macbeth saw the apparition of Banquo, and would have involuntarily apostrophised him as the dreaded agent of detection and retribution. They would have felt themselves in the presence of their master, for they would have been taught to recognise, in this one man, the most real representative of the people, whose will would generally be soon declared as substantially identical with his opinions.

"How then did it come to pass, that Fox had no such influence on the national mind, or on the government? The answer is perfectly obvious, and it forms a very serious admonition to all patriots who really wish to promote the welfare of the people, by an opposition to corruptions of the state. The talents, and the long and animated ex-

ertions, of the most eloquent of all our countrymen failed, plainly because the people placed no confidence in his virtue, or, in other words, because they would never be persuaded to attribute virtue to his character.

"A signal notoriety of dissipation accompanied the outset of his public career. While the political party which he opposed might be very reasonably astonished, that the engagements of the turf, of the bagnio, and of the sanctuaries dedicated to the enshrined and associated imps of chance and fraud, should seem to divert no part of the energy with which they were attacked in their quarters at St Stephen's, and while the tribes of bloods, bucks, rakes, and other worthy denominations and fraternities might be proud to have for their leader a genius, who could at the same time beat so many grey-beards of the state on their own ground, the sober part of the nation deplored or despised, according to the more generous or more cynical character of the individuals, the splendid talent which could degrade itself to so much folly and immorality. Too great a share of the same fatal reputation attended the distinguished statesman, with whatever truth, during the much greater part of his life. We say, with whatever truth; for we know no more of his private history than what has been without contradiction circulated in the talk and the printed chronicles of scandal; with exaggerations and fictions, no doubt; but no public man can have such a reputation without having substantially such a character. And by a law, as deep in human nature as any of its principles of distinction between good and evil, it is impossible to give respect or confidence to a man who habitually disregards some of the primary ordinances of morality. The nation never confided in our eloquent statesman's integrity; those who admired every thing in his talents, and much in his qualities, regretted that his name never ceased to excite in their minds the idea of gamesters and bacchanals, even after he was acknowledged to have withdrawn himself from such society. Those who held his opinions were almost sorry that he should have held them, while they saw with what malicious exultation they who rejected them could cite his moral reputation, in place of argument, to invalidate them. In describing this unfortunate effect of the character, we are simply asserting known matter of fact. There is not one advocate of the principles or of the man, who has not to confess what irksome and silencing rebuffs he has experienced in the form of reference to moral character; we have observed it continually for many years, in every part of England which we have frequented; and we have seen practical and most palpable proof, that no man, even of the highest talents, can ever acquire, or at least retain, much influence on the public mind in the character of remonstrant and reformer, without the reality, or at any rate the invulnerable reputation, of virtue, in the comprehensive sense of the word, as comprising every kind of morality prescribed by the highest moral code acknowledged in a Christian nation. Public men and oppositionists may inveigh against abuses, and parade in patriotism, as long as they please; they will find that even one manifest vice will preclude all public confidence in their principles, and therefore render futile the strongest exertions of talent; a slight flaw, in otherwise the best tempered blade of Toledo, will soon expose the baffled wight that wields it to either the scorn or pity of the spectators, and to the victorious arm of his antago-

nist. It has possibly been said, that a man may maintain nice principles of integrity in the prosecution of public affairs, though his conscience and practice are very defective in matters of private morality. But this would never be believed, even if it were true: the universal conviction of mankind rejects it, when it is attempted, in practical cases, to be made the foundation of confidence. So far is this from being believed, that even a conspicuous and complete reformation of private morals, if it be but recent, is still an unsatisfactory security for public virtue; and a very long probation of personal character is indispensable, as a kind of quarantine for a man once deeply contaminated to undergo, in order to engage any real confidence in the integrity of his public conduct; nor can he ever engage it in the same degree, as if an uniform and resolute virtue had marked his private conduct from the beginning. But even if it were admitted, that all the virtues of the statesman might flourish in spite of the vices of the man, it would have been of no use, as an argument for confidence in the integrity of Fox's principles as a statesman, after the indelible stigma which they received in the famous coalition with Lord North. In what degree that portion of the people, that approved Fox's political opinions, really confided in his integrity as a firm and consistent statesman, was strongly brought to the proof at the time of his appointment as one of the principles of the late administration. His admirers in general expressed their expectations in terms of great reserve; they rather wished, than absolutely dared, to believe, that it was impossible he should not prefer a fidelity to those great principles and plans of extensive reform which he had so strenuously inculcated, to any office or associates in office that should require the sacrifice of those plans, and that he would not surely have taken a high official station, without some stipulations for carrying them, at least partially, into effect. But they recollected the tenor of his life; and though they were somewhat disappointed, and deeply grieved, to find him at his very entrance on office proposing and defending one of the rankest abuses, and afterwards inviolably keeping the peace with the grand total of abuses, in both the domestic and the Indian government, they did, at least many of them, confess that they had always trembled for the consequence of bringing to such an ordeal a political integrity which, while they had sometimes for a moment almost half believed in it, they had always been obliged to refer to some far different principle from a firm personal morality, supported by a religious conscience.

"We have remarked on the slight hold which our great orator had on the mind of the nation at large; it was mortifying also to observe, how little ascendency his prodigious powers maintained over the minds of senators and ministers. It was irksome to witness that air of easy indifference with which his most poignant reproaches were listened to; that readiness of reply to his nervous representations of the calamities or injustice of war; the carelessness often manifested while he was depicting the distresses of the people; and the impudent gaiety and sprightliness with which arrant corruption could show, and defend and applaud itself in his presence. It is not for us to pretend to judge of what materials ministers and senators are composed; but we did often think, that if eloquence of such intensity, and so directed, had been corroborated in its impetus by the authoritative force which severe

virtue can give to the stroke of talent, some of them would have been repressed into a very different kind of feeling and manners from those which we had the mortification to behold: we did think that a man thus armed at once with the spear and the ægis, might have caused it to be felt by stress of dire compulsion, 'How awful goodness is.'

"On the whole, we shall always regard Fox as a memorable and mournful example of a gigantic agent, at once determined to labour for the public, and dooming himself to labour almost in vain. Our estimate of his talents precludes all hope or fear of any second example of such powerful labours, or such humiliating failure of effect. We wish the greatest genius on earth, whoever he may be, might write an inscription for our eminent statesman's monument, to express, in the most strenuous of all possible modes of thought and phrase, the truth and the warning, that no man will ever be accepted to serve mankind in the highest departments of utility, without an eminence of virtue that can sustain him in the noble defiance, 'Which of you convicts me of sin?' "[11]

William Pitt.

BORN A. D. 1759.—DIED A. D. 1806.

WILLIAM PITT, the second son of the first Earl of Chatham, by Hesther Grenville, sister of Richard, Earl Temple, was born at Hayes, in the county of Kent, on the 28th May, 1759. His gifted father early perceived such indications of genius in the boy as determined him to train him from his most juvenile years for political life. His education was commenced under the immediate eye of his father, who took great delight in personally superintending his studies.

At the age of fourteen he was sent to Pembroke college, Cambridge. "Although," says his biographer, Bishop Tomline, "Mr Pitt was little more than fourteen years of age when he went to reside at the university, and had laboured under the disadvantage of frequent ill health, the knowledge which he then possessed was very considerable; and, in particular, his proficiency in the learned languages was probably greater than ever was acquired by any other person in such early youth. In Latin authors he seldom met with difficulty; and it was no uncommon thing for him to read into English six or seven pages of Thucydides, which he had not previously seen, without more than two or three mistakes, and sometimes without even one. He had such an exactness in discriminating the sense of words, and so peculiar a penetration in seizing at once the meaning of a writer, that, as was justly observed by Mr Wilson, he never seemed to learn, but only to recollect. Whenever he did err in rendering a sentence, it was owing to the want of a correct knowledge of grammar, without which no language can be perfectly understood. This defect, too common in a private education, it was my immediate endeavour to supply; and he was not only soon

[11] These remarks are from an article on Fox's 'History of the Early Part of the Reign of James II.' which appeared in the 'Eclectic Review' for 1808, and which we are persuaded must have flowed from no other pen than that of the gifted and profound author of the essays on 'Popular Ignorance,' and 'Decision of Character.'

master of all the ordinary rules of grammar, but taking great pleasure in the philological disquisitions of critics and commentators, he became deeply versed in the niceties of construction and peculiarities of idiom, both in the Latin and Greek languages. He had also read the first six books of Euclid's Elements, Plane Trigonometry, the elementary parts of Algebra, and the two quarto volumes of Rutherford's Natural Philosophy, a work in some degree of repute while Mr Wilson was a student at Cambridge, but afterwards laid aside. Nor was it in learning only that Mr Pitt was so much superior to persons of his age. Though a boy in years and appearance, his manners were formed, and his behaviour manly. He mixed in conversation with unaffected vivacity; and delivered his sentiments with perfect ease, equally free from shyness and flippancy, and always with strict attention to propriety and decorum. Lord Chatham, who could not but be aware of the powers of his son's mind and understanding, had encouraged him to talk without reserve upon every subject, which frequently afforded opportunity for conveying useful information, and just notions of persons and things. When his lordship's health would permit, he never suffered a day to pass without giving instruction of some sort to his children; and seldom without reading a chapter of the Bible with them. He must indeed be considered as having contributed largely to that fund of knowledge, and to those other advantages, with which Mr Pitt entered upon his academical life."

On leaving his Alma Mater, young Pitt entered Lincoln's inn, nearly at the same time with Mr Addington. At the end of three years, he was called to the bar, and—as is customary with junior counsel—selected one of the circuits as the scene of his first professional efforts. A gentleman who was very intimate with Pitt, on the western circuit, and afterwards, till they were separated, in 1792, by a difference of political opinions, thus writes of him at this stage of his career: "Among lively men of his own time of life, Mr Pitt was always the most lively and convivial in the many hours of leisure which occur to young unoccupied men on a circuit; and joined all the little excursions to Southampton, Weymouth, and such parties of amusement as were habitually formed. He was extremely popular. His name and reputation of high acquirements at the university, commanded the attention of his seniors. His wit, his good humour, and joyous manners, endeared him to the younger part of the bar. In some bribery causes from Cricklade, he was retained as junior counsel; but even in that subordinate character, he had an opportunity of arguing a point of evidence with extraordinary ability. I remember also, in an action of crim. con. at Exeter, as junior counsel, he manifested such talents in cross-examination, that it was the universal opinion of the bar that he should have led the cause. During his short stay in the profession he never had occasion to address a jury; but upon a motion in the court of king's bench, for an habeas corpus to bring up a man to be bailed, who was charged with murder, Mr Pitt made a speech which excited the admiration of the bar, and drew down very complimentary approbation from Lord Mansfield. When he first made his brilliant display in parliament, those at the bar who had seen little of him, expressed surprise; but a few who had heard him once speak in a sort of mock debate at the Crown and Anchor tavern, when a club, called the Western Circuit Club, was dissolved, agreed

that he had then displayed all the various species of eloquence for which he was afterwards celebrated. Before he distinguished himself in the house of commons, he certainly looked seriously to the law as a profession. The late Mr Justice Rooke told me that Mr Pitt dangled seven days with a junior brief and a single guinea fee, waiting till a cause of no sort of importance should come on in the court of common pleas. At Mr Pitt's instance an annual dinner took place for some years at Richmond hill, the party consisting of Lord Erskine, Lord Redesdale, Sir William Grant, Mr Bond, Mr Leycester, Mr Jekyll, and others; and I well remember a dinner with Mr Pitt and several of his private friends, at the Boar's Head in Eastcheap, in celebration of Shakspeare's Falstaff. We were all in high spirits, quoting and alluding to Shakspeare the whole day; and it appeared that Mr Pitt was as well and familiarly read in the poet's works as the best Shakspearians present. But to speak of his conviviality is needless. After he was minister he continued to ask his old circuit intimates to dine with him, and his manners were unaltered."

But he was soon called to a different sphere of life. He had been bred a statesman from his boyhood; and he always contemplated the house of commons as the goal whence he was to start in his political career. At the request of many of his friends he first offered himself to represent the university of Cambridge, but was unsuccessful. Sir James Lowther, afterwards Earl of Lonsdale, then procured his return for Appleby, on the solicitation of the duke of Rutland, and with the express understanding that the young commoner should enter parliament totally unfettered. On the 26th of February, 1781, the future premier made his maiden-speech. "The subject of debate," says his biographer, "was Mr Burke's bill for economical reform in the civil list. Lord Nugent was speaking against the bill; and Mr Byng, member for Middlesex, knowing Mr Pitt's sentiments upon the measure, asked him to reply to his lordship. Mr Pitt gave a doubtful answer; but, in the course of Lord Nugent's speech, he determined not to reply to him. Mr Byng, however, understood that Mr Pitt intended to speak after Lord Nugent; and the moment his lordship sat down, Mr Byng, and several of his friends, to whom he had communicated Mr Pitt's supposed intention, called out, in the manner usual in the house of commons, Mr Pitt's name as being about to speak. This probably prevented any other person from rising; and Mr Pitt, finding himself thus called upon, and observing that the house waited to hear him, thought it necessary to rise. Though really not intending to speak, he was from the beginning collected and unembarrassed. Before Mr Pitt had a seat in parliament he had been a constant attendant in the gallery of the house of commons, and near the throne in the house of lords, upon every important debate; and whenever he heard a speech of any merit on the side opposite to his own opinions, he accustomed himself to consider, as it proceeded, in what manner it might be answered; and when the speaker accorded with his own sentiments, he then observed his mode of arranging and enforcing his ideas, and considered whether any improvement could have been made, or whether any argument had been omitted. To this habit, and to the practice already mentioned, of reading Greek and Latin into English, joined to his wonderful natural endowments, may be attributed that talent for

reply, and that command of language, for which he was from the first so highly distinguished." The young statesman seemed to have been pleased himself with his first essay. On the next day he wrote to his tutor at Cambridge, that "he had heard his own voice in the house of commons, and had reason to be satisfied with the success of his first attempt at parliamentary speaking." On the 31st of May, he spoke again on a motion relative to the commissioners of public accounts; and, for the third and last time during the session, on the 12th of June, in a debate respecting the American war. He expressed himself, on this occasion, in the most indignant terms, reprobating "the cruelty and impolicy of the contest with our colonies. It was conceived," he said, "in injustice; it was nurtured and brought forth in folly; its footsteps were marked with blood, slaughter, persecution, and devastation. In short, every thing that went to constitute moral depravity and human turpitude were to be found in it. It was pregnant with mischief of every kind, while it meditated destruction to the miserable people who were the devoted objects of the black resentments which produced it." Strong to violence as such language was, his speeches elicited the following encomium from Dundas, afterwards Viscount Melville: "I cannot say to Mr Pitt's face, what truth would extort from me, were he absent; yet even now I must declare that I rejoice in the good fortune of my country, and my fellow-subjects, who are destined to derive the most important services from so happy an union of first-rate abilities, high integrity, bold and honest independency of conduct, and the most persuasive eloquence." At the close of the session, some one having observed that Pitt promised to be one of the first speakers ever heard in the house of commons, Fox instantly replied, "He is so already." Some time afterwards, in allusion to a speech delivered by Pitt in support of a motion against the lords of the admiralty, Dunning confessed "that nearly all the sentiments which he had collected in his own mind on the subject, had vanished like a dream on the bursting forth of a torrent of eloquence from the greatest prodigy that ever perhaps was seen, in this or in any other country,—a gentleman, possessing the full vigour of youth, united with the wisdom and experience of the maturest age."

Notwithstanding his success in parliament Pitt still continued at the bar: on the following circuit he held briefs in several election causes of considerable importance at Salisbury; and had the satisfaction of being spoken of in high terms, as well by Mr Justice Buller as the famous Dunning, afterwards Lord Ashburton. In the ensuing session he voted with Fox and the opposition; strongly censuring the conduct of ministers, Lord North, and his friends, particularly with regard to the American war.

Lord North and his friends were at length compelled to resign; but Pitt, as he was not offered a seat in the cabinet, declined taking office under Lord Rockingham, who succeeded to the premiership. On the 22d of May, 1782, he made an unsuccessful motion for a committee to inquire into the state of the representative system. On this occasion he spoke to the following import:—

"The representation of the commons in parliament," he observed, "was a matter so truly interesting, that it had at all times excited the admiration of men the most enlightened; while the defects found in it

had given them reason to apprehend the most alarming consequences. That it had lately undergone material alterations, by which the commons' house of parliament had received an improper and dangerous bias, he believed it would be idle for him to attempt to prove. That beautiful frame of government, which had made us the envy and admiration of mankind, and in which the people were entitled to hold so distinguished a share, was so far dwindled and departed from its original purity, that the representatives ceased in a great degree to be connected with the people. It was not his intention to enter into any inquiry respecting the proper mode of reform, or to consider what would most completely tally and square with the original frame of the constitution: this he left to a committee; but he still felt it his duty to state some facts and circumstances which, in his opinion, made this object of reform essentially necessary. He believed, indeed, that there was no member of that house who would not acknowledge that the representation was incomplete. It was perfectly understood that there were some of the boroughs under the influence of the treasury, and others totally possessed by them. It was manifest that such boroughs had not one quality of representation in them. They had no share or concern in the general interests of the country; and they had in fact no stake for which to appoint guardians in the popular assembly. The influence of the treasury in some boroughs was also contested, not by the electors of those boroughs, but by some powerful man, who assumed or pretended to an hereditary property in what ought only to be the rights and privileges of the electors. There were other boroughs, which had now in fact no actual existence but in the return of members to that house. They had no existence in property, in population, in trade, or in weight of any kind. Another set of boroughs and towns claimed to themselves the right of bringing their votes to market. They had no other market, no other property, and no other stake in the country, than the property and price which they procured for their votes. Such boroughs were the most dangerous of all others. So far from consulting the interests of their country in the choice which they made, they held out their borough to the best purchaser; and in fact some of them belonged more to the nabob of Arcot, than they did to the people of England. They were towns and boroughs more within the jurisdiction of the Carnatic, than the limits of the empire of Great Britain; and it was a fact pretty well known, and generally understood, that the nabob of the Carnatic had no less than seven or eight members in that house. There was no man in that house who possessed more reverence for the constitution, and more respect even for its vestiges, than himself. But he was afraid that the reverence and enthusiasm which Englishmen entertained for the constitution would, if not suddenly prevented, be the means of destroying it; for, such was their enthusiasm, that they would not even remove its defects, for fear of touching its beauty. But so great was his reverence for the beauties of that constitution, that he wished to remove those defects, as he clearly perceived that they were defects which altered the radical principles of the constitution. That a reform of the present parliamentary representation was indispensably necessary, was the sentiment of some of the first and greatest characters in the kingdom; and he should also observe that he well knew it to be the sentiment of his much honoured father, the late earl of Chatham,

who was firmly of opinion that a reform of the representation was absolutely requisite for the security of the liberties of the people of this country." He concluded with moving "that a committee should be appointed to inquire into the state of the representation in parliament, and to report to the house their observations thereon." This proposition was seconded by Alderman Sawbridge, and supported by Sir George Saville. Mr Fox, although then a minister, spoke in favour of reform; and instanced the county of Middlesex, which, he said, was so little represented, that although it contained one-eighth part of the whole number of the electors of Great Britain,—although it paid one-sixth part of the land-tax, and a full third of all other taxes,—yet it had not more than a fifty-fifth part of the representation. The motion, however, on a division, was rejected; but the majority was small, for it only consisted of 40, the numbers being 161 to 121.

When Lord Shelburne became premier, Pitt—then only twenty-three years of age—was called to the office of chancellor of the exchequer; and when, in the course of a few months, the Coalition drove his lordship from office, the premiership itself was offered by the king to the youthful chancellor, but declined. Bishop Tomline praises this act, and regards it "as sufficient to refute the charge of inordinate ambition which has been sometimes urged against Mr Pitt;" but it may fairly be asked whether this act was not one quite as much of mere prudence as self-denial? What chance could he and his party have had at this juncture, in resisting a coalition so powerful and indefatigable as that which had just prevailed against Shelburne,—a coalition too against which—as has been well observed—after Fox's East India bill had trebled its unpopularity—he himself with so much difficulty kept his ground. The Coalition, however, would have gladly availed themselves of Pitt's talents by retaining him in the office of chancellor; but he peremptorily declined any negotiation with the party. When the ill-fated India bill was brought before the house, it experienced a systematic and determined opposition from the ex-chancellor of the exchequer, who chiefly insisted upon two objections: the one founded in the infringement, or rather the violation, of the charter,—the other on the new and unconstitutional influence it was calculated to create. He allowed that the government of India wanted reform, but he contended that this was a tyrannical alteration that broke through every principle of justice and integrity. By the bill before the house an attack was made on the most solemn charters; it also pointed a fatal blow against the integrity and the faith of parliament; and, in addition to this, it broke through every tie by which man was bound to man. The charter in question, he argued, was not indebted for its birth or its pretensions to the foolish prepossession, or the mad prodigality, of a Plantagenet, a Tudor, or a Stuart: it was a fair purchase made of the public, an equal compact for reciprocal advantages between the proprietors and the nation at large. The Coalition having wrecked itself upon this bill, and the king being determined to shake off his ministers whatever the effort might cost, Pitt was again solicited to accept the premiership, and at last consented to make the bold experiment. He was now only in his twenty-fifth year; the opposition he knew he would have to encounter was headed by men of the highest talents; and the Coalition party was still paramount in the house. Yet, in the face of all these obsta-

cles, the young statesman undertook the premiership, and ultimately triumphed by an appeal to the people in a general election, in which upwards of 160 of his opponents were unseated, and he gained the original object of his ambition in being returned for Cambridge, although but a few months before, on his repeating his attempt to stand for that university, some of the heads of houses had almost shut the door in his face, and expressed great astonishment "at the young man's impudence in daring so to disturb the peace of the university!" He now passed an India bill, differing in several points from that which he had unsuccessfully proposed in the preceding parliament. But the new minister was placed in a very delicate and embarrassing situation by a motion of Mr Alderman Sawbridge, (June 16th, 1784,) "that a committee be appointed to inquire into the present state of the commons of Great Britain in parliament." The alderman affected to be desirous of resigning this business to the chancellor of the exchequer, who had on a former occasion brought forward questions upon the same subject, and in whose hands, he conceived, it would assuredly be attended with a greater prospect of success. Mr Pitt, however, extricated himself with great adroitness; but from that moment he appears to have lost all pretensions to consistency. He declined the proposal on account, he said, of the pressure of public business which did not leave his mind sufficiently at leisure to enter on the disquisition and arrangement of a subject so peculiarly complicated and extensive. He added, that "this was not, in his opinion, the proper time for bringing forward the question; and that it might be urged with a greater probability of success on some future occasion." He declared his own resolution to offer something on the subject early in the next session; and although the precipitate discussion had not his approbation, the business itself should have every support he was able to afford it. The previous question was moved and carried by his friend, Lord Mulgrave, towards the close of the debate! Mr Pitt being now invested with full power as premier, exercised all the functions of office, without check or control. Finding that he possessed a decisive majority, both in the cabinet and the two houses of parliament, he appears from this moment to have yielded himself wholly up to a temperament naturally lofty in the extreme, and to have cared but little for that popularity which he had courted with equal assiduity and success so long as it was necessary to his advantage.

On the 29th of March, 1786, he proposed, in a speech of six hours' duration,[1] his famous scheme of a Sinking fund. The proposition which he submitted to the house was, the appropriation of the annual sum of one million to be invariably applied to the liquidation of the national debt. This annual million he proposed to vest in the hands of certain commissioners, to be by them applied regularly to the purchase of stock; so that no sum should ever lie within the grasp large enough to tempt him to violate this sacred deposit. The interests annually dis-

[1] Pitt's facility as a speaker was strikingly shown on this occasion. He had passed the morning in making calculations on the subject, and in preparing the resolutions he intended to bring forward; after having taken a short walk, to arrange his ideas, he dined with his sister and another lady, with whom he conversed with great gaiety and apparent unconcern, for some time; he then went down to the house, and delivered his elaborate and far-extended speech, as Fox properly termed it, without committing a single blunder of calculation, or omitting one necessary argument.

charged, were, conformably to this plan, to be added to, and incorporated with, the original fund,—so that it would operate with a determinate and accelerated velocity. This fund was also to be assisted by the annuities granted for different terms, which would from time to time fall in within the limited period of twenty-eight years; at the expiration of which, he calculated that the fund would produce an income of four millions per annum! The commissioners to be nominated under the act, were the chancellor of the exchequer, the speaker of the house of commons, the master of the rolls, the governor and deputy-governor of the bank of England, and the accomptant-general of the high court of chancery. Strange to say, this clumsy and ridiculous scheme was received with approbation by all parties. The only amendment of any material consequence suggested on Pitt's plan was, in the progress of the bill, offered by Fox, "that whenever a new loan should hereafter be made, the commissioners should be empowered to accept the loan, or such proportion of it, as should be equal to the cash then in their hands; the interest and douceur annexed to which should be applied to the purposes of the sinking fund." This amendment was readily and candidly accepted by Pitt, and the bill finally passed with great approbation. The merest tyro in political arithmetic of our own days would have told the minister that, as in the family so in the state, the excess of income above expenditure is the only real sinking fund by which any debt, whether private or public, can be discharged.[2]

In 1788 the famous Regency question was brought on by the illness of his majesty. A motion was made by Pitt, for the appointment of a committee to inspect the journals for precedents. "With respect to precedents, there were," said Fox, "notoriously none which applied to the present instance; and he affirmed that all that was requisite to their ultimate decision was now embodied in a report upon their table. By that report they had ascertained the incapacity of the sovereign; and he advanced, as a proposition deducible from the principles of the constitution, and the analogy of the law of hereditary succession, that whenever the sovereign was incapable of exercising the functions of his high office, the heir-apparent, if of full age and capacity, had as indisputable a claim to the exercise of the executive authority, in the name and on the behalf of the sovereign, during his incapacity, as in the case of his natural demise."[3] Pitt immediately, with much apparent warmth, declared, "that the assertion which had been made by Fox was little short of treason against the constitution; and he pledged himself to prove, that the heir-apparent, in the instance in question, had no more legal right to the exercise of the executive power than any other of his majesty's subjects; and that it belonged entirely to the two remaining branches of the legislature to make such a provision for supplying the temporary deficiency as they might think proper. To assert an inherent right in the prince of Wales to assume the government, he said, was virtually to revive those exploded ideas of the divine and indefeasi-

[2] On this subject, and the nature and operation of 'Sinking funds' in general, we have pleasure in referring the reader to an admirable article in the 'Edinburgh Review,' vol. xxxix.

[3] When Fox first stated his opinion in parliament on this important subject, Pitt, it is said, exultingly slapped his thigh, and exclaimed, "I'll un-whig the gentleman for the remainder of his life!"

ble authority of princes, which had so justly sunk into contempt and almost into oblivion. Kings and princes derive their power from the people; and to the people alone, through the organ of their representatives, did it appertain to decide in cases for which the constitution had made no specific or positive provision." Thus, in this famous political question, it was remarkable that Fox, the steady, uniform, and powerful advocate of the people, appeared to lean to prerogative; while Pitt, who had been loudly and justly accused of deserting the principles of liberty, stood forth their intrepid and zealous assertor. All those popular arguments and primary axioms of government on which the friends of liberty delight to dwell were upon this occasion urged by Pitt with energy and eloquence. If he was sincere in this, his sentiments, as will appear in the sequel, afterwards underwent an entire revolution.

At the opening of the session of 1792, the table of the house of commons was covered with petitions from all parts of the kingdom, imploring the abolition of the slave-trade. On the 2d of April Wilberforce moved the question of abolition in a most eloquent speech, in which he declared "that from his exertions in this cause he had found happiness, though not hitherto success. It enlivened his waking, and soothed his evening-hours; and he could not recollect without singular satisfaction, that he had demanded justice for millions who could not ask it for themselves." Whitebread distinguished himself by the energy and animation of his remarks. He observed, "that a fatality attended the arguments of those who defended this detestable and shocking trade. In an account of selling the stock of a plantation, one of the evidences in favour of the slave-merchants said, 'that the slaves fetched less than the common price, because they were damaged.' Damaged! what is this but an acknowledgment that they are worn down by labour, sickness, by every species of ill treatment. A trade attended with such dreadful evils ought not to be thought of; it cannot be mentioned without horror, nor continued without violating every moral and religious obligation!" Dundas, now advanced to the dignity of secretary of state by the resignation of the duke of Leeds, recommended to the house the adoption of a middle and moderate plan, such as would reconcile the interests of the West India islands with the eventual abolition of the trade; and concluded by moving "that the word gradual might be inserted before abolition." But Pitt declared his decided disapprobation of the amendment; and in a speech fraught with argument and eloquence, conjured the house not to postpone even for an hour the great and necessary work of abolition. "Reflect," said he, "on the eighty thousand persons annually torn from their native land! on the connections which are broken! on the friendships,—attachments,—relationships that are burst asunder! There is something in the horror of this trade that surpasses all the bounds of imagination! How shall we repair the mischiefs we have brought upon that continent! If, knowing the miseries we have caused, we refuse even now to put a stop to them, how greatly aggravated will be the guilt of Britain!" On the 27th of the same month he thus expressed himself on the same subject: "I do not understand complimenting away the lives of so many human beings. I do not understand the principle on which a few individuals are to be complimented, and their minds set at rest, at the expense, and total sacrifice, of the interest, the security, the happiness, of a whole

quarter of the world, which, from our foul practices, has, for a vast length of time, been a scene of misery and horror. I say, because I feel, that every hour you continue this trade you are guilty of an offence beyond your power to atone for; and by your indulgence to the planters thousands of human beings are to be miserable for ever. I feel its infamy so heavily, I am so clearly convinced of its impolicy, that I am ashamed I have not been able to prevail upon the house to abandon it altogether at an instant,—to pronounce with one voice immediate and total abolition. There is no excuse for us, seeing this infernal traffic as we do. It is the very death of justice to utter a syllable in support of it. Sir, I know I state this subject with warmth. I feel it is impossible for me not to do so; or if it were, I should detest myself for the exercise of moderation."

On the bursting forth of the French revolution, Pitt—after some hesitation, we think—joined in the cry against French principles, or rather against the mode of asserting these principles.[4] On the 1st of February, 1793, in moving the address on his majesty's speech, the member began by adverting to the execution of the French king, "that act of outrage to every principle of religion, justice, and humanity; an act which in this country, and throughout Europe, had excited but one general sentiment of indignation and abhorrence, and could not fail to excite the same sentiments in every civilized nation. He should, indeed, better consult his own feelings and those of the house, could he draw a veil over this melancholy event. It was in all its circumstances so full of grief and horror, that it must be a wish in which all united to tear it, if possible, from their memories,—to expunge it from the page of history,—and remove it for ever from the observation or comments of mankind:

> 'Excidat ille dies ævo, nec postera credant
> Secula? nos certe taceamus, et obruta multa
> Nocte tegi nostræ patiamur crimina gentis.'

Such," he continued, "were the words applied by an author of their own, to a transaction (the massacre of St Bartholomew) which had always been deemed the standing reproach of the French nation, and the horrors and cruelties of which had only been equalled by those atrocious and sanguinary proceedings which had been witnessed in some late instances. But whatever might be their feelings of indignation and abhorrence with respect to that dreadful and inhuman event to which he had set out with calling their attention, that event was now past; it was impossible that the present age should not now be contaminated with the guilt and ignominy of having witnessed it, or that the breath of tradition should be prevented from handing it down to posterity. They could only now enter their solemn protestation against that act, as contrary to every sentiment of justice and humanity, as violating the most sacred authority of laws and the strongest principles of natural feeling. Hence, however, they might derive a useful theme of reflection,—a lesson of salutary warning: for, in this dreadful transaction they saw concentrated the effect of those principles pushed to their ut-

[4] See apology for the alarmists of this period in our notice of Canning, in this volume.

most extent, which set out with dissolving all the bonds of legislation by which society were held together,—which are in opposition to every law, divine and human,—and which, presumptuously relying on the authority of wild and delusive theories, rejected all the advantages of the wisdom and experience of former ages, and even the sacred instructions of revelation. While therefore he directed their attention to this transaction, he paid not only a tribute to humanity, but he suggested to them a subject of much useful reflection; for, by considering the consequences of these principles, they might be duly warned of their mischievous tendency, and taught to guard against their progress. Indeed he wished that this subject might on the present occasion be considered rather as matter of reason and reflection, than of sentiment. Sentiment was now unavailing; but reason and reflection might yet be attended with the most beneficial effects; and while they pointed out the horrid evils which had disgraced and ruined another country, might preserve our own from becoming a scene of similar calamity and guilt. No consideration indeed could be of greater importance, than what tended to avert in this country such transactions as had taken place in a neighbouring state; here, where a monarch, clothed with that inviolability which was essential to the exercise of the sovereign power, formed an essential part of the government; where the legislature was composed of a mixture of democracy and aristocracy; and where, by the benefits of this system, we had been exempted from those mischiefs which in former ages had been produced by despotism, and which were only to be exceeded by those still more horrid evils which in the present time had been found to be the fruits of licentiousness and anarchy. The situation of the country, he must, indeed, compare to the temperate zone, which was the situation in every respect best fitted for health and enjoyment; and where, enjoying a mild, beneficial, regulated influence, the inhabitants were equally protected from the scorching heats of the torrid, and the rigorous frosts of the frigid zones. Compared with this country, where equal protection was extended to all, and there existed so high a sum of national felicity, dreadful indeed was the contrast afforded in the present situation of France, where prevailed a system of the utmost licentiousness and disorder, and where anarchy through a thousand organs operated to produce unnumbered mischiefs. Such a system could surely never find its way into this happy country, unless industriously imported; and to guard against the introduction of such a system was their first duty and their most important care.

"His majesty had declined taking any part in the internal government of France, and had made a positive declaration to that effect. When he took that wise, generous, and disinterested resolution, he had reason to expect that the French would in return have respected the rights of himself and his allies; and most of all, that they would not have attempted any internal interference in this country. A paper on the table contained, on their part, a positive contract to abstain from any of those acts by which they had provoked the indignation of this country. In this paper they disclaimed all views of aggrandizement; they gave assurances of their good conduct to neutral nations; they protested against their entertaining an idea of interfering in the government of the country or making any attempts to excite insurrection,

upon the express ground that such interference and such attempts would be a violation of the law of nations. They had themselves, by anticipation, passed sentence upon their own conduct; and the event of this evening's discussion would decide, whether that sentence would be confirmed by those who had actually been injured. During the whole summer, while France had been engaged in the war with Austria and Prussia, his majesty had in no shape departed from the neutrality which he had engaged to observe, nor did he, by the smallest act, give any reason to suspect his adherence to that system. But what, he would ask, was the conduct of the French! Had they also faithfully observed their part of the agreement, and adhered to the assurances which, on the ground of his majesty's neutrality, they had given, to reject all views of aggrandizement,—not to interfere with neutral nations,—and to respect the rights of his majesty and his allies? What had been their conduct would very soon appear from a statement of facts. They had showed how little sincere they were in their first assurances, by immediately discovering intentions to pursue a system of the most unlimited aggrandizement. The first instance of their success in Savoy had been sufficient to unfold the plan of their ambition. They had immediately adopted the course to annex it for ever to their own dominions, and had displayed a resolution to do the same wherever they should carry their arms. That they might not leave any doubt of their intentions, by a formal decree they had stated their plan of overturning every government, and substituting their own; they threatened destruction to all who should not be inclined to adopt their system of freedom; and, by a horrid mockery, offered fraternization, where, if it was refused, they were determined to employ force,—and to propagate their principles, where they should fail to gain assent, by the mouths of cannon! They established, in the instructions to the commissioners whom they appointed to enforce the decree with respect to the countries entered by their armies, a standing revolutionary order; they instituted a system of organizing disorganization. And what was the reason they assigned for all this? 'The period of freedom,' said they, 'must soon come; we must then endeavour, by all means in our power, to accomplish it now, for should this freedom be accomplished by other nations, what then will become of us? Shall we then be safe?' It is a question indeed which they might well put, 'What will become of us?' for justly might they entertain doubts of their safety. They had rendered the Netherlands a province in substance as well as name, entirely dependent upon France. The system pursued by the Jacobin societies, in concert with their correspondents, had given a more fatal blow to liberty than any which it had ever suffered from the boldest attempts of the most aspiring monarch. What had been the circumstances which had attended the triumphal entry of General Dumourier? Demonstrations of joy inspired by terror! illuminations imperiously demanded by an armed force! And when the primary assembly met to deliberate, in what circumstances did they assemble? With the tree of liberty planted amidst them, and surrounded by a hollow square of French soldiers,—a situation surely equally conducive to the ease of their own thoughts, and the freedom of their public deliberations! And what had happened, even since the French had professed their intention of evacuating the territories which they had en-

tered, at the conclusion of the war? A deputation had been received from Hainault, requesting that it might be added as an eighty-fifth department. And how had this deputation been received? Had the request been rejected? No; it had only been postponed till a committee should be able to prepare instructions, how those nations, who should be desirous of the same union, should be able to incorporate themselves with France in a regular and formal manner,—in other words, till the preliminaries should be settled by which it should subject to its government, and add to its territories, every country which should be so unfortunate as to experience the force of its arms, and give to its wild and destructive ambition only the same limits with those of its power. It was matter of serious consideration how far such conduct not only ought to rouse the indignation, but might tend to affect the interests of this country. To show how the French had behaved with respect to neutral nations, he need only refer to their decree of the 19th of November, which had already been so often mentioned and so amply discussed. Some pretended explanations had indeed been given of this decree, but of all these explanations he should say nothing but what had already been stated by the noble secretary of state,—that they contained only an avowal and a repetition of the offence. The whole of their language, institutions, and conduct, had been directed to the total subversion of every government. To monarchy particularly they had testified the most decided aversion; and so violent was their enmity, that they could be satisfied with nothing less than its entire extermination. The bloody sentence, which the hand of the assassin had lately carried into execution against their own monarch, was passed against the sovereigns of all countries! Were not these principles intended to be applied in their effects to this government? No society in this country, however small in number, however contemptible, however even questionable in existence, had sent addresses to their assembly, in which they had expressed sentiments of sedition and treason, which had not been received with a degree even of theatrical extravagance, and cherished with all the enthusiasm of congenial feeling. Need he then ask if England was not aimed at in this conduct, and if it alone was to be exempted from the consequences of a system, the profession of which was anarchy, and which seemed to aspire to establish universal dominion upon the ruin of every government?

"On the subject of the violation of the rights of his majesty and his allies, he had already on a former occasion spoken at some length. He had stated, that the only claim which the French could have to interfere in the navigation of the Scheldt, must either be in the assumed character of sovereign of the Low Countries, or as taking to themselves the office of the arbiters of Europe. There were the most solemn engagements of treaties to protect the Dutch in their exclusive right of navigating the Scheldt. An infringement of treaties more notorious and more flagrant perhaps never had occurred than that which now appeared in the instance of their conduct with respect to the Scheldt. For this infringement they had advanced some pretences, [illegible]ng that the exclusive privilege of navigating the Scheldt was con[illegible] to certain principles with respect to the rights of rivers. Capri[illegible]ed wild in their theory, and in entire contradiction to whatever [illegible]en sanctioned by established practice, they likewise pretend that

the treaty on which was founded the exclusive right of navigating the Scheldt was antiquated and obsolete, and had become no longer binding; though they had, upon receiving the assurances of his majesty's intentions of neutrality, pledged themselves to an observance of all the subsisting treaties. The pretences which they alleged upon this occasion were indeed such as equally went to weaken the force of every treaty,—to remove every obligation,—and to destroy all confidence between nations. From what had passed in a former part of the evening, he understood that it would be urged, that the Dutch had made no formal requisition for the support of this country, in order to resist the opening of the Scheldt by the French, and to enable them to maintain their right to the exclusive navigation of that river. He granted that no such formal requisition had been made. But might there not be prudential reasons for not making this requisition on their part, very different from those which should induce this country to withhold its support? When the French opened the Scheldt, the Dutch entered their solemn protest against that invasion of their rights, which left them at liberty at any time to take it up as an act of hostility. If, from the sudden progress of the French arms, and the circumstances of their forces being at their very door, they either from prudence or fear did not think proper to take it up as an immediate commencement of hostilities,—because they had been timid,—would England think itself entitled to leave its allies, already involved in a situation of imminent danger, to that certain ruin to which they were exposed in consequence of a system the principles of which threatened also destruction to England, to Europe, and to the whole of mankind?

"Thus, in all those three assurances which they had given of their intention to reject any system of aggrandizement, to abstain from interfering in the government of any neutral country, and to respect the rights of his majesty and of his allies, they had entirely failed, and in every respect completely reversed that line of conduct which they had so solemnly pledged themselves to adopt. Whatever they had offered under the name of explanations contained nothing that either afforded any compensation for the past, or was at all satisfactory with respect to the future. They had stated, that they would evacuate the Netherlands at the conclusion of the war—upon a promise so illusory there could not be the smallest grounds of dependence. With respect to the decree of the 19th November, they had made no apology for the manner in which they had received seditious addresses from this country. They stated, indeed, that it was injurious to them to suppose that they would interfere in any government without a previous express declaration of the national will; but they had left themselves to judge what was sufficient to constitute that declaration of the national will; and thus allowed this decree—which in fact was nothing else than an advertisement for sedition in every country—to remain in full force. And what in their opinion was to constitute a declaration of the national will we could only judge of from the manner in which they had received seditious addresses from a minority in this country,—so small, that those who were disposed to put the conduct of the French in the most favourable point of view, held them out as too contemptible for notice: these addresses they received as expressive of the sentiments of the people of Great Britain, the great majority of whom he was, however,

happy to say, detested their principles,—principles which, if once adopted, would involve in them the ruin of our happy constitution, and the destruction of our country, and introduce anarchy and all those scenes of horror with which the country which had hatched them was now afflicted.

"But the patience of the house and his strength would fail him should he proceed to state all the facts connected with the propositions which he now meant to lay before them. On the 27th of December M. Chauvelin, on the part of the executive council, had presented the note complaining of the injurious construction of the decree of the 19th of November. On the 31st of December a member of that executive council (minister of the marine) addressed a letter to all the friends of liberty in the sea-ports; from which he would now read some passages: 'The government of England is arming, and the king of Spain, encouraged by this, is preparing to attack us. These two tyrannical powers, after persecuting the patriots on their own territories, think, no doubt, that they shall be able to influence the judgment to be pronounced on the tyrant Louis. They hope to frighten us; but no,—a people who have made themselves free,—a people who have driven out of the bosom of France, and as far as the distant borders of the Rhine, the terrible army of the Prussians and Austrians,—the people of France will not suffer laws to be dictated to them by a tyrant! The king and his parliament mean to make war against us. Will the English republicans suffer it? Already these free men show their discontent, and the repugnance which they have to bear arms against their brothers the French—Well! we will fly to their succour!—We will make a descent on the island—We will lodge there fifty thousand caps of liberty—We will plant there the sacred tree, and we will stretch out our arms to our republican brethren—the tyranny of their government will soon be destroyed!' He called the attention of the house to this declaration, which distinguished the English people from the king and the parliament. While such declarations were made, what could be thought of any explanations which were pretended to be given, or what credit was due to the assertions, that they entertained no intentions hostile to the government of this country? From all these circumstances he concluded, that the conduct and pretensions of the French were such as were neither consistent with the existence or safety of this country,—such as that house could not, and he was confident, never would acquiesce in. Their explanations had only been renewed insults, and instead of reverting to those assurances with which they had originally set out, they now showed themselves determined to maintain the ground, such as it was, upon which they stood with respect to this country. In the last paper which had been delivered, they had given in an ultimatum, stating that, unless you accept such satisfaction as they have thought proper to give, they will prepare for war,—unless you then recede from your principles, or they withdraw it, a war must be the consequence. As to the time,—the precise moment,—he should not pretend to fix it; it would be left open to the last for any satisfactory explanation; but he should deceive them if he should say, that he thought any such explanation would be given, or that it was probable that a war could be avoided. Rather than recede from our principles, war was preferable to a peace, which could neither be con-

sistent with the internal tranquillity nor external safety of this country!" He then moved an address of thanks to his majesty.[5]

The union with Ireland was a favourite project of Pitt's, and mainly effected by his zeal, skill, and determination; but it was speedily followed by the minister's resignation, when he found that he could not fulfil the hopes he had held out to the Irish Catholics, pending the Union negotiations, of the removal of all their political disabilities. On the 31st of January, 1801, he addressed the following note to his majesty:

"Mr Pitt would have felt it, at all events, his duty, previous to the meeting of parliament, to submit to your majesty the result of the best consideration which your confidential servants could give to the important questions respecting the Catholics and Dissenters, which must naturally be agitated in consequence of the Union. The knowledge of your majesty's general indisposition to any change of the laws on this subject, would have made this a painful task to him; and it is become much more so, by learning from some of his colleagues, and from other quarters, within these few days, the extent to which your majesty entertains, and has declared, that sentiment.

"He trusts your majesty will believe that every principle of duty, gratitude, and attachment, must make him look to your majesty's ease and satisfaction, in preference to all considerations, but those arising from a sense of what, in his honest opinion, is due to the real interest of your majesty and your dominions. Under the impression of that opinion, he has concurred in what appeared to be the prevailing sentiments of the majority of the cabinet—that the admission of the Catholics and Dissenters to offices, and of the Catholics to parliament, (from which latter the Dissenters are now excluded,) would, under certain conditions to be specified, be highly advisable, with a view to the tranquillity and improvement of Ireland, and to the general interest of the United Kingdom.

"For himself, he is, on full consideration, convinced that the measure would be attended with no danger to the established church, or to the Protestant interest in Great Britain or Ireland: that, now the Union has taken place, and with the new provisions which make part of the plan, it could never give any such weight in office, or in parliament, either to Catholics or Dissenters, as could give them any

[5] Mr Pitt, says Nicholls, in his 'Recollections,' "was ignorant not only of the causes of the French revolution, but of the strength of France; he was so little acquainted with the resources of that country, and with the energies of which she was capable when her whole force was put in motion, that he had persuaded himself that France could not carry on the war for six months; he held this language to M. Bigot de St Croix, who had been minister for foreign affairs in France, on the 10th of August, 1792. M. de St Croix had emigrated to England between the 10th of August and the end of that year. When the resolution to declare war against France was about to be taken, Mr Pitt discoursed on the subject with this gentleman; he pointed out to M. de St Croix, that it would be impossible for France to continue the war for more than six months, as she had no finances. M. de St Croix replied to him, 'Sir, if you knew the resources of France as well as I know them, you would know that she is capable of carrying on war for a great length of time.' When Mr Pitt pressed him on the circumstance of her finances, M. de St Croix answered, 'Sir, France is more powerful because she has not what you call finances; those who are in possession of the government will put all property in requisition.' I had the account of this conversation from M. de St Croix himself, and he added, that from that hour Mr Pitt's door was always shut against him."

new means (if they were so disposed) of attacking the establishment:—that the grounds, on which the laws of exclusion now remaining were founded, have long been narrowed, and are since the Union removed;—that those principles, formerly held by the Catholics, which made them be considered as politically dangerous, have been for a course of time gradually declining, and, among the higher orders particularly, they have ceased to prevail. That the obnoxious tenets are disclaimed in the most positive manner by the oaths which have been required in Great Britain, and still more by one of those required in Ireland, as the condition of the indulgences already granted, and which might equally be made the condition of any new ones. That if such an oath, containing (among other provisions) a denial of the power of absolution from its obligations, is not a security from Catholics, the sacramental test is not more so. That the political circumstances under which the exclusive laws originated, arising either from the conflicting power of hostile and nearly balanced sects, from the apprehension of a Popish queen or successor, a disputed succession, and a foreign Pretender, and a division in Europe between Catholic and Protestant powers, are no longer applicable to the present state of things. That with respect to those of the Dissenters, who, it is feared, entertain principles dangerous to the constitution, a distinct political test, pointed against the doctrine of modern Jacobinism, would be a much more just and more effectual security than that which now exists, which may operate to the exclusion of conscientious persons well-affected to the state, and is no guard against those of an opposite description. That with respect to the Catholics of Ireland, another most important additional security, and one of which the effect would continually increase, might be provided, by gradually attaching the popish clergy to the government, and for this purpose making them dependent for a part of their provision (under proper regulations) on the state, and by also subjecting them to superintendence and control:—that, besides these provisions, the general interests of the established church, and the security of the constitution and government, might be effectually strengthened by requiring the political test, before referred to, from the preachers of all Catholic or Dissenting congregations, and from the teachers of schools of every denomination.

"It is on these principles Mr Pitt humbly conceives a new security might be obtained for the civil and ecclesiastical condition of this country, more applicable to its present circumstances, more free from objection, and more effectual in itself, than any which now exists, and which would at the same time admit of extending such indulgences as must conciliate the higher orders of the Catholics, and by furnishing to a large class of your majesty's Irish subjects a proof of the good-will of the united parliament, afford the best chance of giving full effect to the great object of the Union—that of tranquillizing Ireland, and attaching it to this country.

"It is with inexpressible regret, after all he now knows of your majesty's sentiments, that Mr Pitt troubles your majesty, thus at large, with the general grounds of his opinion, and finds himself obliged to add, that this opinion is unalterably fixed in his mind. It must therefore ultimately guide his political conduct, if it should be your majesty's pleasure, that, after thus presuming to open himself fully to your

majesty, he should remain in that responsible situation, in which your majesty has so long condescended graciously and favourably to accept his services. It will afford him, indeed, a great relief and satisfaction, if he may be allowed to hope that your majesty will deign maturely to weigh what he has now humbly submitted, and to call for any explanation which any parts of it may appear to require.

"In the interval which your majesty may wish for consideration, he will not, on his part, importune your majesty with any unnecessary reference to the subject; and will feel it his duty to abstain himself from all agitation of this subject in parliament, and to prevent it, as far as depends on him, on the part of others. If, on the result of such consideration, your majesty's objections to the measure proposed should not be removed, or sufficiently diminished to admit of its being brought forward with your majesty's full concurrence, and with the whole weight of government, it must be personally Mr Pitt's first wish to be released from a situation which he is conscious that, under such circumstances, he could not continue to fill but with the greatest disadvantage.

"At the same time, after the gracious intimation which has been recently conveyed to him, of your majesty's sentiments on this point, he will be acquitted of presumption in adding, that if the chief difficulties of the present crisis should not then be surmounted, or very materially diminished, and if your majesty should continue to think that his humble exertions could, in any degree, contribute to conducting them to a favourable issue, there is no personal difficulty to which he will not rather submit, than withdraw himself at such a moment from your majesty's service. He would even, in such a case, continue for such a short further interval as might be necessary, to oppose the agitation or discussion of the question, as far as he can consistently with the line, to which he feels bound uniformly to adhere, of reserving to himself a full latitude on the principle itself, and objecting only to the time, and to the temper and circumstances of the moment. But he must entreat that, on this supposition, it may be distinctly understood, that he can remain in office no longer than till the issue (which he trusts on every account will be a speedy one) of the crisis now depending, shall admit of your majesty's more easily forming a new arrangement; and that he will then receive your majesty's permission to carry with him into a private situation that affectionate and grateful attachment, which your majesty's goodness, for a long course of years, has impressed on his mind—and that unabated zeal for the ease and honour of your majesty's government, and for the public service, which he trusts will always govern his conduct.

"He has only to entreat your majesty's pardon for troubling you on one other point, and taking the liberty of most respectfully, but explicitly, submitting to your majesty the indispensable necessity of effectually discountenancing, in the whole of the interval, all attempts to make use of your majesty's name, to influence the opinion of any individuals, or descriptions of men, on any part of this subject."

To this statement the king returned the following answer:—

"QUEEN'S HOUSE, *February 1st*, 1801.

"I SHOULD not do justice to the warm impulse of my heart, if I

entered on the subject most unpleasant to my mind, without first expressing that the cordial affection that I have for Mr Pitt, as well as high opinion of his talents and integrity, greatly add to my uneasiness on this occasion; but a sense of religious as well as political duty has made me, from the moment I mounted the throne, consider the oath that the wisdom of our forefathers has enjoined the kings of this realm to take at their coronation, and enforced by the obligation of instantly following it in the course of the ceremony, with taking the sacrament, as so binding a religious obligation on me to maintain the fundamental maxims on which our constitution is placed, namely, the church of England being the established one, and that those who hold employments in the state must be members of it, and consequently obliged not only to take oaths against popery, but to receive the holy communion agreeably to the rites of the church of England.

"This principle of duty must, therefore, prevent me from discussing any proposition tending to destroy this groundwork of our happy constitution, and much more so that now mentioned by Mr Pitt, which is no less than the complete overthrow of the whole fabric.

"When the Irish propositions were transmitted to me by a joint message from both houses of the British parliament, I told the lords and gentlemen sent on that occasion, that I would with pleasure, and without delay, forward them to Ireland; but that, as individuals, I could not help acquainting them, that my inclination to an union with Ireland was principally founded on a trust that the uniting the established churches of the two kingdoms would for ever shut the door to any farther measures with respect to the Roman Catholics.

"These two instances must show Mr Pitt that my opinions are not those formed on the moment, but such as I have imbibed for forty years, and from which I never can depart; but, Mr Pitt once acquainted with my sentiments, his assuring me that he will stave off the only question whereon I fear, from his letter, we can never agree,—for the advantage and comfort of continuing to have his advice and exertions in public affairs, I will certainly abstain from talking on this subject, which is the one nearest my heart. I cannot help if others pretend to guess at my opinions, which I have never disguised; but if those who unfortunately differ with me will keep this subject at rest, I will, on my part, most correctly on my part, be silent also; but this restraint I shall put on myself from affection for Mr Pitt, but further I cannot go, for I cannot sacrifice my duty to any consideration.

"Though I do not pretend to have the power of changing Mr Pitt's opinion, when thus unfortunately fixed, yet I shall hope his sense of duty will prevent his retiring from his present situation to the end of my life, for I can with great truth assert, that I shall, from public and private considerations, feel great regret, if I shall ever find myself obliged, at any time, from a sense of religious and political duty, to yield to his entreaties of retiring from his seat at the board of treasury."

This answer left the minister no resource but retirement. On the 3d of February he intimated that it was "his wish to be released as soon as possible from his present situation." His majesty continuing inflexible,* a new ministry was called into office, in which the appoint-

* "I have reason to believe that the displeasure which the king, in 1801, had con-

ments of first lord of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer were conferred upon Addington, the speaker of the house of commons. The secretaryship for foreign affairs, hitherto held by Lord Grenville, was given to Lord Hawkesbury. Earl St Vincent was placed at the head of the admiralty, in the place of Earl Spencer; Lord Eldon, chief justice of the common pleas, formerly Sir John Scott, succeeded Lord Loughborough in the court of chancery; Lord Hobart and Pelham were nominated secretaries of state, in the room of Dundas and the Duke of Portland; York succeeded Windham as secretary-at-war; his brother, the Earl of Hardwicke, was destined to the vice-regal office in Ireland; and Lord Lewisham was placed at the head of the board of control. In this general change the Duke of Portland and Lord Westmoreland alone retained their stations in the cabinet,—the former as president of the council, and the latter as lord-privy-seal. The agitation of the king's mind had, however, so materially affected the state both of his bodily and mental health, that the new arrangements, although nearly completed, were not formally announced, and the former ministers continued to discharge the duties of their respective offices, until the recovery of the king, when the appointments of the new ministers were announced in the accustomed form, and on the 17th of March Addington was sworn into the two offices which Pitt had so long enjoyed. The ex-minister, however, supported most of the measures of his successor in office, until the renewal of the war in 1803, when, apparently from an impatience to resume office, he added his influence to the opposition maintained by Fox, and accused the admiralty board of imbecility. Mr Addington upon this retired, and Pitt resumed his former seat on the treasury-bench.

On the meeting of parliament, January 15th, 1805, Mr Pitt strenuously defended the war with Spain, and carried the motion for an address by a majority of 207. The next objects that engaged his attention were the Irish Habeas Corpus suspension bill, and the budget for 1805, two articles of which were contested with no common degree of warmth. One of these, the Salt Duty bill, was carried by a majority of 38; but the other, the Horse Duty bill, was combated with equal spirit and success on the part of its opponents, and at length lost on a division, by a majority of three. During the recess, the premier was surrounded with difficulties. But he employed his time and talents in forming a third coalition against France; which, in consequence of the capitulation of Ulm, and the battle of Austerlitz, proved more fatal and inauspicious than the two former. From that period the necessity of a change in the cabinet seemed to be generally allowed. In the mean time a gouty habit, a predisposition to which disease appears to

ceived against Mr Pitt, arose from other causes. The Austrian armies had been so repeatedly defeated by the French that they were completely disheartened; their discouragement was so great that they could no longer be brought to face French soldiers in the field. Mr Pitt probably stated this circumstance to the king, and pointed out to him, that if the war against France was to be carried on by continental armies, the king of Prussia was the only sovereign who could supply the means; and he proposed to the king, that, to induce the king of Prussia to afford this assistance, his majesty should cede to him some part of his German dominions. The king was indignant at the proposal; it not only induced him to dismiss Mr Pitt, but it occasioned a return of that unfortunate malady with which his majesty had been visited in 1788."—*Nicholls.*

have been inherited from his father, and was perhaps greatly increased by his own manner of living and frequent recourse to stimulants, assailed a constitution never very strong. In addition to this, the total miscarriage of all his schemes, and the melancholy aspect of continental affairs, are said to have preyed upon his mind. He tried the Bath waters in December, 1805, but without effect. On the 10th of January, 1806, he returned to his seat at Putney, where his illness rapidly gained upon him. On the 19th he was able to give some little attention to public business, but he soon became so lethargic, that the awful intelligence of his approaching death had scarcely any effect upon him. On the return of consciousness he was solicited to join with Bishop Tomline in devotion. "I fear," replied the expiring statesman, "that I have, like many other men, neglected my religious duties too much to have any ground for hope that they can be efficacious on a death-bed. But," added he, making an effort to rise as he spoke, "I throw myself entirely on the mercy of God!" His death took place on the 23d of January, 1806. His last words, according to a statement made by Mr Rose, in the house of commons, were "Save my country, heaven!"

His death was considered as a virtual dissolution of the ministry. Every attempt to form an administration from the late cabinet having proved unsuccessful, his majesty called in the assistance of Lord Grenville, and on the 3d of February the new ministerial arrangements were finally settled, embracing the leading members of the three parties, designated by the appellation of the old and new opposition, and the Sidmouth party. The cabinet was composed of the following members: Earl Fitzwilliam, president of the council; Lord Erskine, lord-chancellor; Viscount Sidmouth, lord-privy-seal; Lord Grenville, first lord of the treasury; Lord Howick, (late Mr Grey,) first lord of the admiralty; Earl Moira, master-general of the ordnance; Earl Spencer, Mr Fox, and Mr Windham, secretaries of state for the home, foreign, and war-departments; and Lord Henry Petty, chancellor of the exchequer. Lord-chief-justice Ellenborough was also admitted to a seat in the cabinet. The duke of Bedford went to Ireland as lord-lieutenant accompanied by Elliot as chief secretary. Ponsonby was appointed chancellor and keeper of the seals in Ireland, and Sir John Newport chancellor of the Irish exchequer; Lord Minto was appointed president of the board of control; Sheridan, treasurer of the navy; General Fitzpatrick, secretary at war; Sir Arthur Pigott and Sir Samuel Romilly, attorney and solicitor-general.

Pitt was the ablest debater that ever appeared in the British senate, though inferior to more than one of his contemporaries in mere oratory. "His eloquence was of a kind peculiarly adapted to the situation which he filled so long:—he was stately and dignified in manner; clear and distinct in unravelling the details of the most complicated subject; declamatory at once and argumentative, so as to furnish the best pretexts to those who wished to follow him, while he cheered and encouraged those who might be in dread of his adversaries; but, above all, he excelled in the use of both topics and language with a view to produce the effect he desired, and never commit himself; he could balance his expressions so nicely,—conceal or bring forward parts of his subject so artistly,—approach, and yet shun dangerous points so dexterously,—

often seeming to say so much while he told so little, and almost always filling the ear more than the mind, and frequently leaving it doubtful upon reflection what had in substance been carried away,—that a celebrated contemporary was scarcely chargeable with exaggeration in saying, that 'he verily believed Mr Pitt could speak a king's speech off hand.'

"To these qualities, so eminently fitting him for a ministerial orator, he added others of a higher description. His fluency of language was almost preternatural, and yet it never grew tiresome; for though it seldom rose to any great beauty, yet it was generally characteristic and appropriate; and from time to time it did contain expressions of more than ordinary felicity, if, at its common level, it too much resembled the diction of a state-paper. He was rather loud and vehement than impassioned; and appeared to declaim more from the head than the heart: but then he reasoned closely, and arranged both quickly and accurately; or, at least, he seemed to be always arguing and distinguishing, and to address the understanding rather than the passions, over which he hardly had any other control than that which subjects the nerves of an audience to a sonorous and most powerful voice, itself under strict discipline. In one part of eloquence, and only in one, could he be deemed an orator of the highest genius: his sarcasm was at once keen and splendid; it was brilliant, and it was concise. In the rest of his speaking he resembled the Italian prose writers. In this he came nearer Dante, and could dispose of an adversary by a sentence or a single phrase; or, without stepping aside, get rid of him in a parenthesis, and then go forward to his object: thus increasing the contemptuousness of the expression by its brevity and indifference, as if his victim had been too insignificant to give any trouble."

Such is the opinion of one who has shown himself no admirer of the minister's state-craft and general policy. On these latter points an eminent difference of opinion still divides politicians; but the same critic we have just quoted makes the following generous remarks on his talents as a statesman: "The difficulties of his situation were of a nature wholly unparalleled in history; a person of great steadiness might well have faltered in his course through such a sea of troubles; and the resources of a very fertile mind might have easily been exhausted by the strange and novel exigencies of the crisis. Nor have we a right severely to blame him who met this demand, rather by extraordinary devices than happy ones. A minister may well be deemed able whom we must allow to have been equal to such novel emergencies; and much of greatness may be attached to the name of Mr Pitt, while we are compelled wholly to reject the extravagant praises which his followers have lavished upon him. In the policy which he pursued during the more ordinary times which preceded the Revolution, far less appears to censure; and, with the exception of the Russian armament and negotiation, his conduct in relation to foreign powers was firm, consistent, and prosperous. The able and successful measures adopted in the affairs of Holland gained the unqualified approbation of all parties, and the French commercial treaty was never impeached with any effect."

All parties concur in representing his private character to have been unimpeachable; he acquired his power by no meanness, and he used it with perfect integrity.

Barry, Lord Avonmore.

BORN A. D. 1736.—DIED A. D. 1805.

THIS distinguished lawyer was educated at Trinity college, Dublin, and was called to the bar in 1764. He rose rapidly into repute, and in 1776 was returned to the Irish house of commons, where he at first espoused the popular side in politics, but afterwards changed his sentiments, and was rewarded with the attorney-generalship. In 1795 he was made an Irish peer by the title of Baron Avonmore; and in 1800, a viscount.

Sir Jonah Barrington has drawn the following portrait of this nobleman: "It would be difficult to do justice to the lofty and overwhelming elocution of this distinguished man, during the early period of his political exertions. To the profound, logical, and conclusive reasoning of Flood; the brilliant, stimulating, epigrammatic antithesis of Grattan; the sweet-toned, captivating, convincing rhetoric of Burgh; or the wild fascinating imagery, and varied pathos of the extraordinary Curran, he was respectively inferior;—but in powerful, nervous language, he excelled them all. His talents were alike adapted to public purposes as his private qualities to domestic society. In the common transactions of the world he was an infant; in the varieties of right and wrong, of propriety and error, a frail mortal; in the senate and at the bar, a mighty giant; it was on the bench that, unconscious of his errors, and in his home, unconscious of his virtues, both were most conspicuous. That deep-seated vice, which, with equal power, freezes the miser's heart and inflames the ruffian's passions, was to him a stranger: he was always rich and always poor; but, though circumstances might sometimes have been his guide, avarice never was his conductor: like his great predecessor, frugality fled before the carelessness of his mind, and left him the victim of his liberality, and, of course, in many instances, a monument of ingratitude. His character was entirely transparent, it had no opaque qualities; his passions were open; his prepossessions palpable; his failings obvious; and he took as little pains to conceal his faults as to publish his perfections. As a judge he certainly had some of those marked imperfections too frequently observable in judicial officers: he received impressions too soon, and perhaps too strongly; he was indolent in research and impatient in discussion; the natural quickness of his perception hurried off his judgment, before he had time to regulate it, and sometimes left his justice and his learning idle spectators of his reasons and his determination; while extraneous considerations occasionally obtruded themselves upon his unguarded mind, and involuntarily led him away from the straight path of calm deliberation. This distinguished man, at the critical period of Ireland's emancipation, burst forth as a meteor in the Irish senate: his career in the commons was not long, but it was busy and important; he had connected himself with the duke of Portland, and continued that connection uninterrupted till the day of his dissolution. But through the influence of that nobleman, and the absolute necessity of a family provision, on the question of the Union, the radiance of his public character was obscured for

ever; the laurels of his early achievements fell withered from his brow; and, after having with zeal and sincerity laboured to attain independence for his country in 1782, he became one of its sale-masters in 1800; and, mingling in a motley crowd, uncongenial to his native character, and beneath his natural superiority, he surrendered the rights, the franchises, and the honours of that peerage, to which, by his great talents and his early virtues, he had been so justly elevated."

He and Curran were to dine together at the house of a mutual friend, and a large party was assembled, many of whom witnessed the occurrences of the morning. Curran, contrary to all his usual habits, was late for dinner, and at length arrived in the most admirably affected agitation. "Why, Mr Curran, you have kept us a full hour waiting dinner for you," grumbled out Lord Avonmore. "Oh, my dear lord, I regret it much; you must know it is not my custom, but—I've just been witness to a most melancholy occurrence." "My God! you seem terribly moved by it—take a glass of wine—what was it? What was it?" "I will tell you, my lord, the moment I can collect myself—I had been detained at court—in the court of chancery—your lordship knows the chancellor sits late." "I do—I do—but go on." "Well, my lord, I was hurrying here as fast as ever I could—I did not even change my dress—I hope I shall be excused for coming in my boots?" "Poh, poh—never mind your boots—the point—come at once to the point of the story." "Oh—I will, my good lord, in a moment—I walked here—I would not even wait to get the carriage ready, it would have taken time, you know—now there is a market exactly in the road by which I had to pass—your lordship may perhaps recollect the market—do you?" "To be sure I do—go on, Curran—go on with the story." "I am very glad your lordship remembers the market, for I totally forget the name of it—the name—the name—" "What the devil signifies the name of it, Sir?—it's the Castle market." "Your lordship is perfectly right—it is called the Castle market. Well, I was passing through that very identical Castle market, when I observed a butcher preparing to kill a calf—he had a huge knife in his hand—it was as sharp as a razor—the calf was standing beside him—he drew the knife to plunge it into the animal—just as he was in the act of doing so, a little boy about four years old—his only son—the loveliest little babe I ever saw, ran suddenly across his path—and he killed!—O! my God, he killed—"—"The child!—the child!—the child!"—vociferated Lord Avonmore. "No," my lord, "the calf," continued Curran, very coolly—"he killed the calf—but—your lordship is in the habit of anticipating." The universal laugh was thus raised against his lordship, and Curran declared that often afterwards a first impression was removed more easily from the court of exchequer by the recollection of the calf in the Castle market than by all the eloquence of the entire profession.

Amongst his other peculiarities he was in the habit of occasional fits of absence. One day, at a crowded dinner, the common toast of 'Absent friends' was given. Curran, as usual, sat beside Lord Avonmore, who was immersed in one of his habitual reveries, altogether unconscious of what was passing. He maliciously aroused him—"Yelverton, Yelverton, the host just announced your health in very flattering terms; it is considered very cavalier in you not to have acknow-

ledged it." Up started the unsuspecting Yelverton, and it was not till after a very eloquent speech that he was apprised of the hoax in which it had originated!—His unsuspiciousness and simplicity of heart were almost infantine. It was a saying of his that he would put no trust in a Kerry-man; giving, as a reason, the following anecdote: "Whilst attending the Tralee assizes I was employed in a single half-guinea case, in which I failed; and a day or two after, as I was travelling alone on the road to Cork, I was waylaid by my clients, reproached for my want of skill, and forcibly compelled to refund the fee!"

Charles, Earl Grey.

BORN A. D. 1729.—DIED A. D. 1807.

THIS gallant officer, and first earl of that name, was born in 1729, and entered the army in his youth. On the breaking out of the American war he served under Viscount Howe, who conferred on him the local rank of major-general. He is represented as having on several occasions evinced as much blood-thirstiness as courage. "One of the most disastrous events which occurred at this period of the campaign," says Miller in his 'History of the Reign of George III.' "was the surprise and massacre of an American regiment of light-dragoons, commanded by Lieutenant-colonel Baylor. While employed in a detached situation, to intercept and watch a British foraging party, they took up their lodging in a barn near Taapan. The officer who commanded the party which surprised them was Major-general Grey: he acquired the name of the 'No-flint General,' from his common practice of ordering the men under his command to take the flints out of their muskets, that they might be confined to the use of their bayonets. A party of militia which had been stationed on the road by which the British advanced quitted their post, without giving any notice to Colonel Baylor. This disorderly conduct was the occasion of the disaster which followed. Grey's men proceeded with such silence and address that they cut off a sergeant's patrole without noise, and surrounded Old Taapan without being discovered; they then rushed in upon Baylor's regiment while they were in a profound sleep. Incapable of defence or resistance, cut off from every prospect of selling their lives dear, the surprised dragoons sued for quarter. Unmoved by their supplications their adversaries applied the bayonet, and continued its repeated thrusts while objects could be found in which any signs of life appeared. A few escaped, and others, after having received from five to eleven bayonet wounds in the trunk of the body, were restored in course of time to perfect health. Baylor himself was wounded, but not dangerously: he lost, in killed, wounded, and taken, sixty-seven privates out of a hundred and four, and about forty were made prisoners. These were indebted for their lives to the humanity of one of Grey's captains, who gave quarter to the whole fourth troop, though contrary to the orders of his superior officers. The circumstance of the attack being made in the night, when neither order nor discipline can be observed, may apologise in some degree, with men of a certain description, for this bloody scene. It cannot be maintained, that the laws of war require that quarter should be given

in similar assaults, but the lovers of mankind must ever contend, that the laws of humanity are of superior obligation to those of war. The truly brave will spare when resistance ceases, and in every case where it can be done with safety. The perpetrators of such actions may justly be denominated the enemies of refined society. As far as their example avails, it tends to arrest the growing humanity of modern times, and to revive the barbarism of Gothic ages. On these principles, the massacre of Colonel Baylor's regiment was the subject of much complaint; the particulars of it were ascertained, by the oaths of credible witnesses, taken before Governor Livingston of Jersey, and the whole was submitted to the judgment of the public."

The preceding statement is probably too high coloured; indeed the historian allows that quarter was given to an entire troop, at the will of an inferior officer—a fact that goes somewhat to discredit the assertion that the commanding-officer ordered an indiscriminate and relentless massacre.

At the termination of the American war he became a member of the house of commons, and was invested with the order of the Bath. In 1787 he was appointed colonel of the 8th light dragoons, but, two years afterwards, exchanged that regiment for the 7th dragoon guards.

Sir Charles was employed as commander-in-chief of the forces sent against the French West India islands, in 1794. His conduct on this occasion was severely scrutinized in the house of commons. On the 2d of June, 1795, a warm debate took place respecting the conduct of Sir Charles Grey and Sir John Jervis. Mr Barham read extracts from the respective proclamations of these two officers to prove that the war was conducted by them in a ferocious manner. He contended that the resistance made by the inhabitants of the different islands was not such as justified military retaliation, or the confiscation of the property of the inhabitants. Their case he compared with that of the inhabitants of Grenada in the last war, which was perfectly similar, but who were not treated with the same severity. After adducing a long catalogue of precedents, to show that in similar circumstances no confiscation had taken place, Mr Barham concluded by moving that an humble address be presented to his majesty, representing that certain proclamations issued by Sir Charles Grey in the island of Martinique, on the 10th and 20th of May, 1794, contain principles which this house conceive not to be warranted by the laws of nations; that they have excited great alarm in the minds of the West India colonists; and humbly requesting that his majesty will give directions that the same may be disavowed. Mr Manning seconded the motion, and in a speech of some length continued the line of argument advanced by the first speaker. He contended, that neither by the laws of war, of nations, nor the instructions of government, were the late commanders-in-chief in the West Indies countenanced in their unjustifiable proceedings. Mr Grey, in a very nervous, animated, and argumentative speech of considerable length, opposed the motion, and defended the conduct and character of his father. The principal stress, he observed, had been laid by the honourable gentlemen on certain proclamations; but it should be recollected, that the disavowals of the commanders-in-chief of the parts of these proclamations alluded to would do away all that part of the argument which referred to them. He contended, and pledged

himself to prove, that the series of facts brought forward by the honourable gentlemen were positively false. The whole tenor of the life of one of the commanders in question—were there no other evidence—would, he said, be sufficient to prove him incapable of the conduct with which they charged him. The inconsistency of the charge was apparent; a train of evils were represented as arising from the proclamations. Admitting these facts were true, (but which was not the case,) they could not be said to result from the proclamations, as they were never acted on. The commanders-in-chief, he insisted, were warranted in their proceedings by all the known laws of war and of nations; by these it was held, that those who refused to accept terms of surrender, and held out to the last extremity, forfeited their property to the sovereign of the victorious troops. He then read the voluntary testimonial of several officers in vindication of the conduct and character of Sir Charles Grey. These went to establish the gallant, humane, and honourable conduct of that officer in every point of view, and particularly the material fact, that the whites of that island everywhere made the most uniform resistance to the progress of our army. Mr Secretary Dundas said, that from a circumstance which appeared on the face of the papers, gentlemen would be able to form an opinion of his sense of the question. He had been applied to by the West India merchants to procure that measure which was now called for; and though he regretted on any occasion to refuse, in his official capacity, the call of any body of men, he considered that it was incumbent on him, not only to give his negative to the motion, but to follow it up with a proposition which occurred to him on his own view of the subject, and without concert with any person interested in the affair. When the matter was first mentioned, it was said that it should come in the shape of an inquiry. Every gentleman in that house was entitled to call for an inquiry, and assert facts whereupon to ground it; but now the thing was in a different state, the gentlemen who brought the measure forward had abandoned inquiry, and joined issue on the papers which lay on the table; from them alone, therefore, were they entitled to agree or submit any proposition to the house. With every respect due to the persons who brought the measure forward, he was bound to observe, that the whole detail which they had given to ground their motion was taken from letters suggested by animosity, and offered in such a manner as left the house without the opportunity of examining into proofs to controvert or substantiate them. On various grounds, therefore, he objected to the proposition. To negative the motion, he continued, would not answer the whole purpose he had in view. The most exaggerated calumnies were published against those honourable commanders, who had, in point of fact, performed the most distinguished services, and something was due to them to heal the wounds received from the shafts of malevolence. The house had formerly thanked them for their conduct; the house should refer to those thanks, and record them again, in order that the country might feel, that, notwithstanding the exaggerated misrepresentations, they stood higher in the opinion of the house. To effect this, he would first move the previous question; and if that was granted, he would then move the following resolutions: First, resolved, "That the inhabitants of the French West India islands, not having availed themselves of the proclamations,

it should not be considered as a rule for British commanders to follow." Secondly, resolved, "That the proclamations not having been carried into effect, it was unnecessary to make any declaration about them." And, lastly, resolved, "That this house retains a grateful sense of the distinguished services of Sir Charles Grey and Sir John Jervis, and still adhere to their former resolutions of thanks." Sir W. Scott seconded the amendment for the previous question. On abstract principles of the rights of nations, the learned member said, it would be exceedingly imprudent in that house to come to any specific declarations; and as to the special rights, as referable to the language of the proclamations alluded to, they had no proofs to go upon, nor did it appear that they had been ever carried into effect. The two tribunals in this country which had cognizance of the rights of war and nations, were the board of admiralty and the chamber of appeals; of the latter of which Sir William Blackstone observed, "that their decisions were admired and respected throughout all Europe." He then stated the decision of St Eustatia as applicable to the late conquests, which would also come under their jurisdiction in due time; but as they could not even entertain that kind of evidence which was offered to the house this night, he considered the mode of disposing of it to be to vote for the order of the day. Mr Charles Dundas read several letters written by the deceased Major-general Dundas his brother, highly approving of the conduct of Sir Charles Grey and Sir John Jervis, and expressive of the disapprobation of the booty or plunder allowed to soldiers on such occasions. Mr Sheridan bestowed many encomiums on Mr Secretary Dundas for the manly manner in which he had come forward. After what had been stated in justification of Sir Charles Grey and Sir John Jervis, he hoped that all calumny would be done away, and that the characters of these gentlemen would appear in the most meritorious light to their countrymen. A division then followed on Mr Secretary Dundas's first resolution—Ayes, 64; Noes, 13; Majority, 51. Another division took place on the second resolution—Ayes, 67; Noes, 14; Majority, 53. The resolution for confirming the former thanks of the house to Sir Charles Grey and Sir John Jervis then passed unanimously. This debate sufficiently shows the high estimation in which Sir Charles was held by men of all parties.

As a reward for his services, he was appointed, on his arrival in this country, governor of Guernsey. In 1795 he became colonel of the 20th light dragoons, and, in the following year, was made a general in the army. During the mutiny at the Nore, in 1797, he was selected to direct a meditated attack on the fleet from the works at Sheerness. In 1799 he succeeded General Lascelles in the colonelcy of the 3d dragoon-guards; and, towards the close of the war, he commanded in the southern districts. In 1801 he was raised to the peerage, by the title of Baron Grey de Howick, in Northumberland; and in 1806 he became an earl. His death occurred on the 14th of November, 1807, at Fallowden, near Alnwick. By his wife, Elizabeth, daughter of George Grey, Esq. of Southwick, in the county of Durham, whom he married in 1762, he had several children; the eldest of whom succeeded to his earldom, and now fills a most honourable place, in the estimation of his country, as a statesman and patriot.

Charles, Earl of Liverpool.

BORN A. D. 1729.—DIED A. D. 1808.

THIS respectable statesman was descended from the Jenkinsons of Wolcot in Oxfordshire, a very ancient family. His grandfather, Sir Robert Jenkinson, married a wealthy heiress at Bromley, in Kent; his father was a colonel in the army. Charles Jenkinson was born in 1727, and received the first rudiments of his education at the grammar-school of Burford. He was afterwards placed on the foundation in the charter-house, from which seminary he was removed to Oxford, and was entered a member of university college. He took the degrees of B. A. and A. M., and seems to have made himself first known to the public by some verses on the death of the prince of Wales.

In 1753 he removed from Oxford, and possessing but a small patrimonial fortune, he commenced his career as a man of letters, and is said to have occasionally supplied materials for the 'Monthly Review.' He next commenced political writer; and, in 1756, published 'A Dissertation on the Establishment of a National and Constitutional Force in England, independent of a standing Army.' This tract abounds with many manly and patriotic sentiments, and has been quoted against himself in the house of peers, on which occasion his lordship did not deny that he was the author, but contented himself with apologising for his errors, on account of his extreme youth. Soon after this he wrote 'A Discourse on the Conduct of the Government of Great Britain, with respect to neutral Nations, during the present War.' "To this production his rise in life has been falsely attributed; it was indeed allowed by every one to be an able performance; but, like many others of the same kind, it might have lain in the warehouse of his bookseller, and he himself remained for ever in obscurity, had it not been for the intervention of a gentleman of the same county, with whom he luckily became acquainted. Sir Edward Turner of Ambroseden in Oxfordshire, being of an ancient family, and possessing a large fortune, was desirous to represent his native county in parliament. Having attained considerable influence by means of a large estate, and a hospitable and noble mansion, he stood candidate as knight of the shire. He was, however, strenuously but unsuccessfully opposed; for in addition to his own, he possessed the court-interest. The struggle, nevertheless, was long and violent, and it still forms a memorable epoch in the history of contested elections; but for nothing is it more remarkable, than by being the fortunate occurrence in Mr Jenkinson's life which produced all his subsequent greatness. The contending parties having, as usual, called in the aid of ballads, lampoons, verses, and satires, this gentleman distinguished himself by a song in favour of Sir Edward and his friends, which so captivated either the taste or the gratitude of the baronet, that he introduced him to the earl of Bute, then flourishing in all the plenitude of power. It is known but to few, perhaps, that his lordship—who placed Mr Jenkinson at first in an inferior office—was not at all captivated with him; for it was entirely owing to the repeated solicitations of the member for Oxfordshire that

he extended his further protection. After a longer trial, however, he became the premier's private secretary, and in some respect a member of his family, participating in his friendship and favour, and living with him in an unrestrained and confidential intercourse.

"Such a connection as this could not fail to prove advantageous; and, accordingly, in March, 1761, we find him appointed one of the under-secretaries of state,—a station which presupposes an intimate acquaintance with the situation of foreign affairs, and a pretty accurate knowledge in respect to the *arcana imperii* in general. He now became a declared adherent of what was then called 'the Leicester-house party,' by whose influence he was returned to parliament at the general election, in 1761, for the borough of Cockermouth, on the recommendation of the earl of Lonsdale, his patron's son-in-law. He, however, did not remain long in this station; for he soon received the lucrative appointment of treasurer of the ordnance. This he relinquished in 1763, for the more confidential office of joint-secretary of the treasury,—a situation for which he was admirably qualified, by his knowledge of the state of parties, and the management of a house of commons, of which he himself had been some time a member. To the Rockingham administration, which succeeded in 1765, he was both personally and politically odious, and he accordingly lost all his appointments; but in the course of the same year, he had one conferred on him by the king's mother, the princess-dowager of Wales, which no minister could bereave him of,—the auditorship of her royal highness's accounts. This circumstance, added to his close intimacy with the discarded minister, awakened the jealously of the patriots; and if we are to credit their suspicions, he became, in the technical language of that day, 'the go-between' to the favourite, the princess-mother, and the throne."[1]

In 1766, by the influence of the earl of Chatham, then lord-president of the council, Mr Jenkinson was appointed one of the lords of the admiralty. Soon after this, the marquess of Townshend, on his being appointed viceroy of Ireland, wished to avail himself of the talents of Mr Jenkinson in the capacity of his private secretary, but he declined this arrangement, and was immediately appointed a lord of the treasury, in which office he continued during the Grenville and Grafton administrations. During this period of his life, he greatly distinguished himself as a financier, and had a large share in the proceedings which led to that important object, the reform of the gold coin ultimately produced by the statute 13° Geo. III. c. 71. On all subjects of finance, fiscal-operation, and political economy, he was in parliament listened to with attention; and the measures he proposed were in many instances advantageously adopted. We also find him taking the lead as chairman of a committee of the house of commons appointed to examine into the affairs of the East India company; which were then in so embarrassed a state that they found it necessary to reduce their dividend from twelve and a half to six per cent. per annum; and on the 30th March, 1772, to apply for a bill to regulate their servants, and to prohibit the governor and council from having any concern in trade. This subject could not, in its multifarious objects of detail, have fallen

[1] 'Monthly Magazine' for February, 1808.

into abler hands than those of Mr Jenkinson. His reports upon this occasion, particularly in what related to the financial parts of the disquisition, have been considered as models of statistical writing. In 1773 he was appointed, with Lord-viscount Clare and Wellbore Ellis, Esq., joint vice-treasurer of Ireland, and honoured with the rank of privy-councillor; and when Charles James Fox sold to government the office which he held for life of clerk of the pells in Ireland, Mr Jenkinson was offered this situation in exchange for that of vice-treasurer, an offer which he accepted.

In 1778 he was appointed secretary-at-war. From this post he was of course driven by the same overpowering weight of public feeling united to a most powerful opposition in the house of commons, which finally crushed Lord North's administration. During this season of leisure, Mr Jenkinson took a journey to the continent. In this excursion France was the first object of his attention; there he visited many of the principal people, and became particularly connected with the Duc de Choiseul, then the Gallic prime minister. How long he remained at Paris does not appear; but we learn that in the course of his travels he passed a whole summer in Holland, and another in Ireland. Some part of his leisure is also said to have been devoted to literary avocations; but from these he was, in consequence of the accession of Mr Pitt to the premiership, called again into active life. By this minister he was placed at the head of the committee of privy-council for the management of the affairs of trade and plantations; in a place for which his regular and progressive rise through various other offices most admirably qualified him, he exerted himself for two years without deriving any emolument from his situation.

In 1786 Mr Jenkinson was appointed chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, and soon after created Baron Hawkesbury. During this period also he succeeded to the hereditary title of his family, that of baronet, and to the appendant estates.

In the year 1796, being still president of the committee of trade and plantations, his lordship was offered the rank of earl, a dignity which, after some consideration, he thought it right to accept. To the title of earl of Liverpool was annexed, in consequence of a resolution of the mayor and corporation of Liverpool, the additional honour of being authorized by his majesty to quarter the arms of that town with his own.

After continuing in the high official situation of president of the committee of privy-council for the affairs of trade and plantations until the year 1801, his lordship was seized with a rheumatic disorder, which unfortunately deprived him of the use of his limbs; and finding that he could no longer discharge the various duties attached to his important station, he resigned it. At the time of his decease, which took place on the 17th of December, 1808, he was still clerk of the pells, and also collector of the customs inward for the port of London. His death is said to have been greatly accelerated by an accident which befell his wife, who, about a week before his dissolution took place, was dreadfully burnt, some part of her dress having unfortunately caught fire. He was twice married:—first in 1765, to Amelia, daughter of Mr Watts, governor of Bengal, by whom he had one son, his successor; on the 22d of June, 1782, to Catherine, daughter of Sir Cecil

Bishopp, Bart., widow of his first cousin, Sir Charles Cope, by whom he had a son and daughter. He is described as having been exceedingly amiable in the relations of private life.

As an orator, his lordship spoke but seldom, either in the house of commons or peers, and latterly attended but little to public business in consequence of his advanced age and infirmities. Besides the works which have already been mentioned, his lordship was the author of the following: 'A Collection of all Treaties of Peace, Alliance, and Commerce between Great Britain and other Powers, from the Treaty of Munster in 1648, to the Treaties signed at Paris in 1783,' 3 vols. 8vo. (1785): and 'A Treatise on the Coins of England, in a Letter to the King,' 4to. (1805.) Of his last production, the Edinburgh reviewers spoke in the following terms: "It is pleasing to find one, who must necessarily have been bred among the exploded doctrines of the elder economists, shaking himself almost quite loose from their influence, at an advanced period of life; and betraying, while he resumes the favourite speculations of his early years, so little bias towards errors which he must once have imbibed. It is no less gratifying to observe one who has been educated in the walks of practical policy, and grown old amid the bustle of public employments, embellishing the decline of life by pursuits which unite the dignity of science with the usefulness of active exertion."

Admiral, Lord Gardiner.

BORN A. D. 1742.—DIED A. D. 1808.

THIS nobleman was in a great measure the architect of his own fortune. His father was lieutenant-colonel of the 11th dragoons, and Alan, the subject of this notice, was the eighth of twelve children. He entered the navy at the age of thirteen, and first served as a midshipman in the Medway frigate of sixty guns. From the Medway he passed to the Namur, in which he was present in the Rochfort expedition; and from the latter vessel, to the Dorsetshire, in which vessel he witnessed the engagement with Marshal de Conflans off Belleisle.

In 1766 he received the appointment of post-captain, and took command of the Preston of fifty guns, the flag-ship of Rear-admiral Parry, whom he accompanied to the Jamaica station. He afterwards obtained the command of the Sultan, a seventy-four, in which he took a leading part in the engagement off Grenada with D'Estaing. In 1781 he was appointed to the Duke, a second rate of 98 guns, one of the ships sent to reinforce the fleet of Sir George Rodney, who had meanwhile succeeded to the chief command in the West Indies. Captain Gardiner had the good fortune to join the admiral previous to the memorable 12th of April, 1782. On that glorious day the Duke was second to the Formidable, the flag-ship of Sir George Rodney, and Captain Gardiner was the first to break through the enemy's line of battle, according to the new plan of attack adopted by the British admiral on that occasion. During one period of the action, the Duke, in conjunction with the Formidable and Namur, had to sustain the fire of eleven of the enemy's ships, and their loss was proportionably great.

On board the Duke thirteen men were killed, and fifty-seven wounded. Such spirited conduct entitled Captain Gardiner to the particular notice of the commander-in-chief, who was so well-pleased with the exertions of all under him, as to remark, in an emphatical manner, "that he wanted words to express how sensible he was of the meritorious conduct of all the captains, officers, and men, who had a share in this glorious victory obtained by their gallant exertions."

Soon after this a long peace ensued, during which the subject of this memoir appeared sometimes in a civil and sometimes in a naval capacity; having acted as commodore on the Jamaica station, on board the Europe of fifty guns, in the years 1785-6-7-8 and 9, and in 1790 as a lord of the admiralty; he also obtained a seat in parliament. Having been at length raised to the rank of rear-admiral of the Blue, February 1st, 1793, he soon after hoisted his flag on board the Queen of ninety-eight guns, and on the 24th of March he sailed in the capacity of commander-in-chief to the Leeward Islands. Upon the arrival of Admiral Gardiner on this station, Sir John Laforey resigned the command, and returned to England. Soon after this, being encouraged by the disputes between the republicans and royalists in the adjacent colony of Martinico, and earnestly pressed by the latter to make a descent on that island, he determined to give them every assistance in his power. Accordingly, on the 16th of June, after a previous consultation with major-general Bruce, that officer effected a descent with about 3000 British troops, under cover of the ships of war; but finding the democratical party too strong, they were reimbarked on the 21st with considerable loss. After despatching the Hannibal and Hector, of seventy-four guns each, to reinforce the squadron on the Jamaica station, Admiral Gardiner returned home, and arrived at Spithead, October 1st, 1793.

In 1794 we find him as rear-admiral of the White, serving in the channel fleet under Earl Howe, and contributing with his usual intrepidity to the success of the memorable 1st of June. On the morning of that day the English and French fleets being in order of battle, when the British admiral threw out the signal to bear up, and for each ship to engage her opponent, Rear-admiral Gardiner desired his crew "not to fire until they should be near enough to scorch the Frenchmen's beards." The Queen bore a conspicuous part in this action; and Earl Howe in his public despatches made particular mention of Rear-admiral Gardiner. When his majesty afterwards gave orders for a gold medal emblematical of the victory to be presented to certain distinguished officers, he was not only included in the number, but also appointed major-general of marines, and created a baronet of Great Britain.

Sir Alan continued to serve under Earl Howe while that nobleman went to sea; and when Lord Bridport succeeded to the command, his services were considered so indispensable in the channel, that he was uniformly employed on that station for a series of years. He was present, in particular, at the action off Port l'Orient, June 22d, 1795, when the French fleet saved itself from inevitable destruction by a precipitate flight. At the beginning of 1797, when the mutiny took place at Portsmouth, and it was deemed necessary for some persons of authority in the fleet to confer with the delegates, Admirals Gardiner, Colpoys, and Pole, repaired on board the Queen Charlotte, then in the possession of the mutineers. The latter, however, would not enter into any negotia-

tion, as, they said, no arrangement whatsoever could be considered as final until it was sanctioned by both king and parliament. On this Sir Alan was so displeased, that without reflecting on his own danger, he seized one of the chief conspirators by the collar, and swore that every fifth man on board should be executed. The crew, in their turn, were so exasperated, that it was with no small difficulty he escaped with his life, after which Lord Bridport's flag was struck, and a bloody one displayed in its place. Early in 1798, Sir Alan again served in the channel fleet, having his flag hoisted on board the Royal George, under Lord Bridport; as also in the beginning of 1799 in the Royal Sovereign, but he soon after returned into port with a squadron from a cruize off the coast of France. Having sailed again, it was discovered that the French fleet, after escaping from Brest during a fog, had steered towards the Mediterranean; on which he was sent by the commander-in-chief with a detachment of sixteen sail of the line to reinforce the squadron off Cadiz, and in the Mediterranean under Earl St Vincent. Perceiving, however, that there was but little danger in either of those quarters, he returned in July with the convoy from Lisbon, accompanied by nine sail of the line.

Early in the year 1800, we once more find Sir Alan, who was soon after created a peer of Ireland, by the title of Lord Gardiner, serving at one period under his old admiral Lord Bridport in the channel fleet, and at another commanding a squadron of observation off Brest; but on the 22d of August he left the Royal Sovereign, and succeeded Admiral Kingsmill in the naval command in Ireland, which he held for several years. In 1807 he succeeded the earl of St Vincent in the command of the channel fleet, which ill-health obliged him some time after to relinquish.

Lord Gardiner sat in three successive parliaments. In January, 1790, he was elected one of the representatives for the town of Plymouth. On the 13th of June, 1796, he was nominated, in conjunction with Mr Fox, one of the members for Westminster. At the general election in 1802, when he was again returned for Westminster, Mr Fox paid a very high compliment to his virtues and integrity. "A noble admiral," said he, "has been proposed to you. I certainly cannot boast of agreeing with him in political opinions; but whom could the electors pitch upon more worthy of their choice than the noble lord, in his private character universally respected, and a man who has served his country with a zeal, a gallantry, a spirit, and a splendour that will reflect upon him immortal honour?"

James, Earl of Fife.

BORN A. D. 1729.—DIED A. D. 1809.

James, Earl of Fife, was born in the town of Banff in 1729. He was the second son of William, Earl of Fife, by his second wife, Jane, daughter of Sir James Grant of Grant, Bart. Having an elder brother, who was educated at Westminster, he was intended from his cradle for the profession of the law, and at a proper age repaired to the university of Edinburgh, for the two-fold purpose of completing his education, and

studying the civil law. But the death of Lord Braco in England altered the views of his younger brother, so that he immediately returned home, and became what in England is termed a country-gentleman.

During the life of his father Mr Duff—now become Lord Braco—conceived the outline of a noble plan for the improvement of his patrimonial fortune, which he filled up and completed after the lapse of more than half-a-century. His model and mentor, on this occasion, was the earl of Findlater,—a nobleman who possessed a great and enlightened mind, and whose name and deeds will be long remembered in that portion of Scotland, which at this day reaps so many advantages from his beneficent projects. In conformity to his judgment, which had been ripened by travel and experience, his lordship began to plant; and in the course of a few years, the sides and tops of hills nearly inaccessible and hitherto unproductive began to assume a new and a more advantageous aspect. The sterile soil now appeared verdant, and the uniform dull and barren extent of heath obtained a warmer and a more civilized tint, from the fir, the pine, the larch, the elm, the ash, and the oak, whose united masses for the first time cast a protecting shade along the dreary waste.

His lordship's ambition, nearly at the same time, pointed at a seat in parliament. He accordingly became a candidate for the county of Moray, and sat for some years as its representative. In 1760 he married Lady Dorothea Sinclair, sole heiress of Alexander, ninth earl of Caithness, with whom he obtained a very considerable fortune. In 1763 he succeeded his father, both in honours and estate. Soon after this he purchased Fife-house, at Whitehall, and having a taste for building, expended a very large sum in altering or rather rebuilding it. Indeed, no nobleman in Great Britain possessed, perhaps, so many seats.

During the political ebullition that succeeded the French revolution, in this country, the earl of Fife, we believe, was an alarmist; and like many others of that description, in order to demonstrate his confidence in the existing government, accepted of an English peerage from it. Accordingly, in 1793, he was created Baron Fife, of the kingdom of Great Britain. This circumstance, however flattering it might prove in one point of view, was yet hostile to his political influence in another, as it introduced Sir William Grant, master of the rolls, to the county of Banff; and it was found impossible ever after to remove him although many successive efforts were made for that purpose.

At length, towards the conclusion of the late war, the earl of Fife openly declared his enmity to Mr Pitt, and the ministers of that day; and as he was known to be an old courtier, well-acquainted with the springs that actuate the conduct of public men, many were led to suppose that he began to anticipate their downfall. On the 2d of February, 1801, he rose in his place, in the house of peers, and spoke as follows:

"It is but seldom I trouble your lordships, but I could not feel myself at ease, were I not to fulfil my duty, in laying my sentiments before you. I rather incline to wish, that the threatened motion for an inquiry into the conduct of ministers, were not now made; but if it should be brought forward, I will most decidedly vote for it. I have no desire either to give offence to his majesty's ministers, or to pay

court to those who oppose them. Nothing can be more improper at present, than to debate whether the war is just, or unjust; necessary, or unnecessary: but I most positively declare one thing, and that is, that no war was ever worse conducted. My lords, I have read the history of this country with attention; I have seen, and been intimate with, all the different parties, from the death of Mr Pelham to the present hour. In this horrid contest, our blood and treasure have been spent in the extravagant folly of secret expeditions; grievous and heavy taxes have been laid on the people, and wasted in expensive embassies, and subsidizing proud, treacherous, and useless foreign princes, who would have acted much better for themselves, had you saved your money, and taken no concern with them. I do not condole with you on your present unfortunate situation, in having no friends. I only wish you had been in that situation at the beginning of the contest. The noble lord who presides at the head of the admiralty, (Earl Spencer,) in his speech, has with much ability done justice to the navy: I most sincerely wish that our ill-spent money had been laid out on our fleets. All those, my lords, who ever heard me speak, or ever read a letter from me on the subject, will do me the justice to say, that my sentiments have all along been the same; and that this has hung upon my mind, from the day the first battalion of the guards marched from the parade for Holland. I lament the present scarcity; but great as our demerits are, it comes not from the Almighty, but from the effects of this ill-conducted war; which I am ready to prove, whenever this question is brought forward. What have we gained by our boasted conquests? If a proper regulation for commerce was made, I wish they were all sold, and the money arising laid out to pay the national debt, and to relieve the nation of those oppressive taxes which bear hard on rich and poor; on their income, their industry, and what is worse, their liberty; and until some of those are repealed, this nation cannot be called free!"

From this moment, his lordship regularly sided with the minority, until a change of ministers took place. When Mr Addington came in, he supported him, and also voted with the Fox and Grenville administration. By this time, however, his eye-sight began to be affected, and being unable to attend the house of peers, on account of this, or other infirmities, with his usual assiduity, he gave his proxy to Lord Grenville.

The earl of Fife died in London in the 80th year of his age. In point of person, he was tall, genteel, and had been handsome in the earlier part of his life. Although a great economist, he was yet fond of magnificence, which he indulged in respect to houses, servants, carriages, and horses. But it is as a planter that this nobleman bids fair to obtain the respect of the present age, and the gratitude of posterity. By a recurrence to the annual volumes of the 'Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce,'—from which he received two, if not three gold medals,—it will be seen, that his labours in this point of view have far surpassed those of any of his contemporaries. He was himself a frequent contributor to the work in question. A long life, chiefly directed to this great object, enabled him a little before his death to have completed the planting of about 14,000

acres in all, and so profitable did this become, even during his own time, that the thinnings alone sold in one year for £1000.[1]

General Melville.

BORN A. D. 1723.—DIED A. D. 1809

GENERAL MELVILLE was descended from the Melvilles of Carnbee in Fife, a branch of the ancient and noble family of his name, of which the chief is the earl of Leven and Melville. His parents dying when he was very young, his guardians placed him at the grammar-school of Leven, where he soon distinguished himself by a quick and lively apprehension united to a singularly capacious and retentive memory. From this seminary, his rapid progress enabled him to be early removed to the universities of Glasgow and Edinburgh, where he continued to apply to his studies with the happiest success. His fortune being but moderate, he, in compliance with the counsels of his friends, turned his views to the study of medicine: but his genius strongly prompting him to follow a military life, and the war then carrying on in Flanders presenting a favourable opportunity for gratifying his natural tendencies, young Melville could not resist the temptation. Without, therefore, the knowledge of his friends, he privately withdrew to London, where he was furnished with the necessary means of carrying his project into effect. He accordingly repaired to the Netherlands; and early in 1744 was appointed an ensign in the 25th regiment of foot, then forming a part of the allied army. Ensign Melville, at the battle of Lafeldt, conducted himself in such a way as to merit being selected by his colonel, the earl of Rothes, to deliver to the commander-in-chief the colours of a French regiment taken by the 25th, on which occasion he was promoted to a lieutenancy.

In 1751 he became aid-de-camp to the earl of Panmure. In 1756 he was made major of the 38th regiment, then in Antigua, where it had been stationed for half-a-century. That island had often been made a receptacle for offenders; and its military force had long been composed of the most disorderly troops. But by the indefatigable zeal of the new major, and from the perfect conviction he was able to inspire into the men that he had their welfare at heart, he at length succeeded in rendering the 38th regiment one of the most orderly in the service: detachments from it accompanied him in the attack on Martinique, as also on the invasion of Guadaloupe, where Major Melville commanded the light infantry. In recompense for his services in Guadaloupe, Major Melville was directed by the commander of the forces, General Barrington, to succeed Lieutenant-colonel Debrisey, in the defence of Fort Royal, which he held until the reduction of the island, when, in addition to the government of that fort, he was appointed lieutenant-governor of Guadaloupe and its dependencies, with the lieutenant-colonelcy of the 63d regiment. Brigadier-general Crump, who was made governor of the new colony, dying in 1760, Lieutenant-colonel Melville succeeded to the government, with the command of the troops. In the beginning

[1] Abridged from 'Monthly Magazine.'

of 1763, Colonel Melville commanded a division in the attack under General Monkton, on Martinique; and, notwithstanding severe illness, was present in the successful assault of the hill and battery of Tortenson. On the fall of Martinique, the remaining French islands, St Lucia, St Vincent, Grenada, the Grenadines, and Tobago, submitted to a summons, on conditions equally liberal with those granted to Martinique.

The conquest of the French islands, the great object of Colonel Melville's anxiety, being now accomplished, he repaired to England, where he found his services and general conduct highly approved. Such was the impression made on the minds of ministers, by his conduct in the West Indies, that, in addition to the rank of brigadier-general in 1763, he was, upon the recommendation of Lord Egremont, appointed by his majesty, on the 9th of April, 1764, to the arduous and important situation, of captain-general, and governor-in-chief of all the islands in the West Indies, ceded by France to Britain, by the treaty of 1763, viz. Grenada, the Grenadines, Dominica, St Vincent, and Tobago: to this appointment was added that of commander of the forces in those colonies.

In the autumn of 1764, General Melville proceeded to his station, carrying out two large store-ships, with articles necessary for fixed settlements in West India islands. Tobago was, at this period, destitute of inhabitants, and almost totally covered with wood: thither, therefore, he first repaired from Barbadoes with the stores, and a few colonists from that island, and employed his stay in preparing measures for the projected settlement of the colony. His next object was to establish British government in all the islands under his jurisdiction, with legislatures formed on principles similar to those of the neighbouring British colonies. During the whole of his government, which lasted about seven years, General Melville only once quitted his post, and that was in 1769, when he returned to England, on business of the highest importance to the security and prosperity of the colonies intrusted to his care. It is but justice to add, that although General Melville's salary from home, as governor of so many islands, hardly exceeded £1000 per annum, yet he not only refused to accept of the usual salaries from each colony, but gave up many official fees, where he conceived such a step might tend to the advantage of the new colonists. The duties of a major-general throughout the several islands under his command he also punctually discharged, without any allowance or charge whatever on the public on that account.

To present some idea of the spirit by which General Melville was actuated in his administration of affairs, civil and military, in Gaudaloupe, and its dependent islands, the following anecdote may suffice. By the capitulation, the French royal council had been preserved in the full exercise of all its functions and privileges, and the French laws, civil and criminal, remained in their original force: the governor, who was, *ex officio*, president of the council, was the only British subject in that body. At a meeting of the council, in the capital of the island in 1760, while General Melville was seated at the head of the council-table, the crown-lawyers conducting the business of the day, the governor's ears were assailed by a horrid shriek proceeding from an inclosed area under a window of the council-chamber. Springing instinctively from his seat to the window, he beheld a miserable wretch fast bound to a post fixed upright in the ground, with one leg

strained violently back towards the thigh, by means of a strong iron-hoop, inclosing both the leg and the thigh at some distance above and below the knee. Within this hoop, along the front of the leg, was an iron wedge driven in by an executioner, armed with a sledge hammer. Near the sufferer sat at a small table a person habited like a judge or magistrate, and a secretary with paper before him, to mark down the declarations to be extorted from the criminal in agony. Filled with horror at this sight, and regardless alike of the assembly around him, and of consequences to himself, the general, throwing open the window, ordered a sergeant in attendance to rush forward, to prevent a repetition of the stroke on the iron wedge, and to release the wretch from his torture. While this was going forward, the members of the council had surrounded the governor at the window, while the attorney-general of the colony respectfully remonstrated against this interruption of the course of justice, styling it an infraction of their capitulation, which in every other point and title, he acknowledged, had been most religiously fulfilled by the governor. To these representations, General Melville answered that he had always been most solicitous to merit the good opinion of the colony by a conscientious discharge of his duties; but that neither by his natural feelings, nor by his education as a Briton, could he be reconciled to the practice of torture. He concluded by solemnly declaring, that whether torture were, or were not, authorized by the French laws,—such a practice, where he commanded, he never would endure. All the members of the council dined that day with the governor; and although the object of his clemency was reported to have been singularly undeserving, were secretly well-pleased with the occurrence; the only effect produced by it on the minds of the inhabitants at large, of Guadaloupe, and the other French islands, was to increase the popularity of their British commander, who, while he remained in the West Indies, never heard that recourse was again had to torture, in judicial proceedings, either in Guadaloupe, after its restoration to France, or in any other French colony.

Having finally closed his relations with the West Indies, as a governor and commander-in-chief of the forces, with entire satisfaction to all concerned at home and abroad, General Melville seized the earliest opportunity of turning his attention to what had always been his favourite study,—military history and antiquities. He had already visited Paris, Spa, &c. but the years 1774, 1775, and 1776, he devoted to a tour through France, Switzerland, Italy, Germany, the Low Countries, &c. during which, besides the objects of the fine arts, in which he possessed a very delicate taste, with great sensibility of their beauties and defects, he examined the scenes of the most memorable battles, sieges, and other military exploits recorded in ancient or modern history, from the Pontus Ictius of Cæsar, on the margin of the English Channel, to the Cannæ of Polybius, on the remote shores of the Adriatic; and from the fields of Ramillies, to those of Dettingen and Blenheim. With Polybius and Cæsar in his hand, and referring to the most authentic narrations of modern warfare, he traced upon the ground the positions and operations of the most distinguished commanders of various periods, noting where their judgment, skill, and presence of mind, were the most conspicuous, and treasuring up for future use the evidences of the mistakes and errors, from which the most eminent were not exempted. Relying

on the authority of Polybius, he traced the route to Italy pursued by Hannibal, from the point where probably he crossed the Rhone in the neighbourhood of Roquemaure, up the left bank of that river, nearly to Vienne, across Dauphine, to the entrance of the mountains at Les Echelles, along the vale to Chamberry, up the banks of the Isere, by Conflans and Moustier, over the gorge of the Alps, called the Little St Bernard, and down their eastern slopes by Aosti, and Ivrea, to the plains of Piedmont, in the neighbourhood of Turin. Military and antiquarian researches were, however, far from exclusively occupying the active mind of General Melville. It is not perhaps generally known, that the Royal Botanic garden in the island of St Vincent, now so richly stored with the most useful and ornamental vegetable productions, was originally projected, established, and supported, by General Melville during his government, at his own expense and risk. He was a fellow of the Royal and Antiquarian societies of London and Edinburgh, by the university of which last city he was honoured with the degree of Doctor of Laws. He was also an honorary member of the board of Agriculture, and an active member of the Society in London for the encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce. Although he never had a regiment, a home-government, or any other military emolument whatever, since he quitted the West Indies, he was at the time of his death, which occurred on the 29th of August, 1809, a full general; having been elevated to that rank in October, 1789. During the latter part of his life, he was afflicted with blindness, a misfortune which he remotely attributed to his having been severely injured by the explosion of a house while he commanded the advanced posts at Guadaloupe.[1]

Sir John Moore.

BORN A. D. 1761.—DIED A. D. 1809.

GENERAL SIR JOHN MOORE was a native of Scotland. His grandfather, Charles Moore, was one of the two clergymen of the established church in Stirling; his father, Dr John Moore, was bred a physician, but is chiefly known to the world as a man of letters, and the author of 'Zeluco.'

The subject of this memoir was born on the 13th of November, 1761, at Glasgow, where he received the rudiments of learning. His education was completed on the continent, whither, in 1773, he accompanied his father, then in the duke of Hamilton's suite as medical attendant. He entered the army, as ensign of the fifty-first foot, in 1776; soon afterwards, he accompanied the 82d regiment, as lieutenant, to Nova Scotia; where he was posted throughout the remainder of the American war, and saw scarcely any active service, except during an expedition to oppose the landing of the enemy at Penobscot, at which place his party narrowly escaped being cut off by a superior force. After passing through all the intermediate gradations in due order, he became lieutenant-colonel of the 40th; he afterwards obtained a colonelcy, and rose to the rank of major-general in 1798.

[1] Abridged from Memoir by the general's secretary in the 'Monthly Magazine' for February, 1809.

It was in the Mediterranean that Moore, while a lieutenant-colonel, had first the means of distinguishing himself. After having served at Toulon, he was selected by Admiral Lord Hood, to accompany Major Kochler on a secret and confidential mission to Corsica. That commander, who had obtained possession of one of the two grand arsenals of France, finding it no longer tenable against the republican armies, determined, if possible, to annex this island to the crown of England; but as it was first necessary to ascertain the practicability of the scheme, these two officers were chosen to confer with the celebrated Pasquale Paoli. A fleet sailed from the Hieres islands, on the 24th of January, 1795, and a body of land-forces was disembarked soon after, in Corsica, under Lieutenant-general Dundas. In the course of a few days, Lieutenant-colonel Moore was despatched to seize on the town of Fornelli; but, notwithstanding his movement was sudden, and although his men had dragged a howitzer and a six-pounder through a mountainous country, where artillery had never before travelled, yet the place was found too strong to be carried by a *coup-de-main*. Nothing dismayed by this, by means of a body of seamen from the navy, he was enabled to carry four eighteen-pounders, one large howitzer, and a ten-inch mortar, to an eminence seven hundred feet above the level of the sea. This Herculean labour being achieved, he was soon in a condition to enfilade the batteries, and render all the works raised by the French untenable. Finding, however, the officer who commanded obstinately bent on retaining the place, he made an assault on the redoubts, which he carried during the evening of February the 17th.

His conduct at Calvi was no less gallant, for he marched against one of the strongest of the forts that covered this city, and with a body of troops with unloaded muskets stormed and took possession of the ramparts, under a severe discharge of musketry and grape-shot. Although severely wounded in the head, he entered the enemy's works in company with the grenadiers whom he led.

Dr Moore lived long enough to witness and to celebrate the gallant achievements and growing fame of his son. Accordingly, in his 'Mordaunt, or Sketches of Life and Manners in various Countries,' published in 1800, he notices both of these actions; but we shall only quote what he says respecting the attack that produced the surrender of Calvi.

"The same officer, who had carried the Convention Fort, was chosen also to conduct the storm of Calvi. Day-break was judged the proper time for making the attempt. The French at this period seem to have made it a rule to stand an assault, rather than capitulate, even after a practicable breach was made. They expected to repel the assailants on the present occasion, by throwing grenades from the parapet nearest the breach, as well as by the fire of the garrison. The officer who was to conduct the assault posted his troops at midnight, among the myrtle-bushes with which the rocks among Calvi are covered, and as near the breach as possible, without being heard by the enemy. That there might be no risk of alarming them by accidental firing, he had ordered the soldiers not to load, having previously convinced them that the point would be best effected by the bayonet. A little before day-break the commander-in-chief arrived with the officers of his suite, and had the satisfaction to find that the garrison had not been alarmed at that

quarter. False attacks had been made elsewhere to divert their attention. After a short conversation between the general and the officer who was to lead the assault the signal was given. The troops advanced with a rapid step to the breach, and they were halfway before they were observed by the enemy. A volley of grape-shot was fired from the ramparts. The dubious light before day-break made the cannoniers take a false aim; the shot flew over the heads of the advancing party, and some of the general's attendants were wounded. In a short time the grenadiers were descried scrambling up the rubbish, while many grenades and shells were thrown from the parapet on the assailants, who, pushing past their wounded and dying friends, continued their course to the breach. Those of the enemy who were not killed or taken prisoners fled into the town. When the general perceived the grenadiers ascending he put spurs to his horse and rode to the bottom of the hill on which the fort stood, and, quitting his horse, mounted directly to the breach. Finding the troops in possession of the place, he flew into the arms of the officer who had led the assault. The surrounding officers shouted, and threw their hats into the air for joy. The moment was worth years of common life. It does not fall to the share of many officers, even during a pretty long military career, to conduct an assault, or even to assist in taking a fortress by storm. Such dangerous services seldom occurred formerly, as the garrison generally capitulated after a breach was made. It has been the fate of this officer, although a young man, to conduct two, and to be successful in both. The most effectual measures were immediately taken for establishing the troops in the works they had so bravely carried, the cannon of which were turned against the town of Calvi, which the works commanded, and which capitulated soon after."

At the end of a short period the whole island of Corsica submitted to the British arms, and a general *consulta*, consisting of deputies chosen by the different districts, having assembled at Corte, the capital, Paoli presided as president. The first business agitated was the union of Corsica to the crown of England, which accordingly took place; and, had prudent measures been adopted, it is not at all unlikely that the inhabitants might have been conciliated, and all efforts on the part of the enemy rendered ineffectual. Lieutenant-colonel Moore was immediately appointed adjutant-general; but he, as well as Paoli, appears to have given umbrage to Sir Gilbert Elliot, who took measures for the return of the subject of the present memoir, who, on this occasion, is alluded to by his own father in the following short quotation: "Highly esteemed by his brother-officers, beloved by his soldiers, and enjoying the confidence of the general who had succeeded in the military command, he had the misfortune not to please the viceroy, in consequence of a representation from whom, to the surprise of every body, and of none more than the commander of the troops, he was recalled from his situation in Corsica. This seemed the more extraordinary, as, independent of the cool intrepidity, zeal for the service, and the professional talents he had so eminently displayed; he is of a modest, unassuming character, humane, of scrupulous integrity, incapable of adulation, and more solicitous to deserve than to receive praise. To the Corsicans, who have a high admiration of military talents, and are, perhaps, not such good judges of those of a politician, this removal

seemed peculiarly inexplicable; because they had been witnesses to the successful exertions of the officer, and were unable to comprehend the merits of the person at whose request he was recalled. This removal, however, though intended as a misfortune to the officer, turned out to his advantage. The commander-in-chief of the British forces, whose heart sympathises with valour and integrity, soon placed him in situations of the greatest trust, from every one of which the same intrepidity of conduct, and zeal in the service of his country, which he displayed in Corsica, gave the French directory substantial reasons for wishing that he might be recalled. When one important conquest, in which he had a considerable share, was detailed in the gazette, the most honourable mention was made of this officer by the experienced and judicious general who commanded on that expedition. The whole article published in the London Gazette, relative to this conquest, was translated into Italian, and appeared in a gazette published at Corsica, under the authority of the viceroy, except the paragraph regarding the officer now in question."

On his return from the Mediterranean the ex-adjutant general, who, in 1795, had been promoted to the rank of colonel in the army, and was at the same time lieutenant-colonel of the 51st, then commanded by his countryman, the earl of Eglintoun, was sent to the West Indies. The army, which was under the orders of Lieutenant-general Sir Ralph Abercromby, arrived at Barbadoes in January, 1796, and as no time was to be lost, in a climate of this kind—which within the space of three years had devoured the greater part of 54,000 men—operations were immediately commenced. Accordingly, after the capture of the Dutch colonies, Colonel Moore, who now served with the local rank of brigadier-general, was employed in the reduction of the French island of St Lucia. This campaign, like the preceding ones, presented a new opportunity for distinguishing himself,—the fortified eminence of Morne Chabot having been seized during a night attack, and Morne Duchassaux taken by him, after the completion of two parallels. The island being subdued Moore was appointed its governor, and succeeded in putting down several bands of armed negroes, which, after the surrender, had kept up a kind of guerilla warfare. Several officers having died, or become disabled by sickness, and many others having obtained leave of absence to procure a change of air, there remained scarcely enough to do the duty of the garrison; Moore was consequently obliged to issue orders that no one, except in the last necessity, should quit the island. Shortly afterwards he was attacked with the yellow fever, and on being told that if he did not go on board ship his life would be in danger, he referred the medical men who attended him to his own orders, and stated that he was resolved at all hazards to remain at his post; nor could they, until he had become insensible, carry the measure, so necessary for his safety, into effect. Being attacked a second time with the fever, he returned to England, in the summer of 1797, with Sir Ralph Abercromby, under whom he soon afterwards served in Ireland; where he assisted against the rebels at New Ross, defeated them near Wexford, and obtained the rank of major-general.

Sir Ralph Abercromby, during the expedition to Holland, intrusted the reduction of the Holder to his charge. The object of this expedition was entirely frustrated, in consequence of events already detailed,

but relative to which the subject of this memoir was in no respect blameable.

Early in 1800 he was sent, still under the command of his friend Abercromby, to Egypt. The French attacked the first division of the troops that landed, with great courage and effect; their position on a commanding eminence was admirable; but no sooner had his boat approached the land than the major-general leaped on shore, and, placing himself at the head of his brigade, rushed up the fortified eminence, in his usual manner, with the bayonet. Such intrepidity proved irresistible; for the French retired towards Alexandria, and Moore, next day, received the thanks of the commander-in-chief. In the subsequent action of the 21st of March, during which the British troops were attacked with great impetuosity, and the commander-in-chief killed, Major-general Moore distinguished himself again, while leading on the reserve, against which the principal attack of the enemy was directed. According to the official letter of Lieutenant-general Hutchinson, the troops commanded by him "conducted themselves with unexampled spirit, resisted the impetuosity of the French infantry, and repulsed several charges of cavalry. Major-general Moore," adds he, "was wounded at their head, though not dangerously. I regret, however, the temporary absence from the army of this highly valuable and meritorious officer, whose counsel and co-operation would be so highly necessary to me at this moment." He recovered, however, in time to assist at the siege of Cairo, as well as of the castle of Marabout; and after Alexandria had been reduced, and the French had submitted, he was appointed to escort the capitulating army to the place of embarkation.

Major-general Moore now returned to Europe, and spent some time in the bosom of his family. He was next employed on the staff of the army, in the Kentish district, and commanded a camp at Shorn Cliffe, a few miles from Dover. In 1805, having attained the rank of lieutenant-general, and obtained the colonelcy of the 52d regiment of foot, he was despatched once more to the Mediterranean as second in command, under General Fox, of the forces in the Mediterranean. He succeeded the latter officer in 1807; and, early in the following year, was sent, at the head of 10,000 men, to aid the king of Sweden; with whom, however, he had some personal difference, and was, consequently, placed under arrest; on extricating himself from which, he returned with his troops to England.

After spending a few days in England, Sir John was sent with a body of troops to Portugal to act under Generals Dalrymple and Burrard. This subordinate rank, as he had already on two occasions been employed as commander-in-chief, was deemed an infringement of military etiquette; but Moore, though rather hurt on receiving his orders, observed, that while able he could never refuse to serve his country; and that, if the king commanded him to act as an ensign, he should certainly obey. He reached the head-quarters of the British army soon after the convention of Cintra; his superiors in command were successively recalled, and at length he assumed the chief command. He accordingly marched forward with his troops, and, amidst innumerable difficulties, reached Toro. On December 28th, 1808, we find him at Benevento, anterior to which point he describes the army as "almost constantly marching through snow, and with cold that has

been very intense. The weather within these few days," adds he, "has turned to rain, which is much more uncomfortable than the cold, and has rendered the roads almost impassable. On the 21st the army reached Sahagun; it was necessary to halt there, in order to refresh the men, and on account of provisions. The information that I received was that Marshal Soult was at Saldana with 16,000 men, with posts along the river from Guarda to Carrion." No sooner did this object present itself to his view than the lieutenant-general determined on striking a blow. Accordingly he gave orders for his troops to advance in two columns on the night of the 23d; but during that very evening he received intelligence that the enemy had obtained considerable reinforcements. This, however, would not have prevented him from carrying his resolution into effect, had not the Marquess de la Romana informed him, nearly at the same time, that the French were advancing from Madrid, either to Valladolid, or Salamanca, with the intention of getting to the rear of the British army.

On this a retreat was instantly resolved on, and Lord Paget was placed with the cavalry so as to give notice of the first approach of the enemy's infantry, their horse having already advanced. On the 30th of December, Sir John arrived at Astorga, whence he proceeded to Villa Franca, and continued to move on towards Corunna, amidst innumerable difficulties; a large portion of the cavalry was destroyed in consequence of the severity of the service, while many of the officers and men died from fatigue alone. To prevent the military chest from falling into the hands of the enemy, some thousands of dollars, intended for the pay of the troops, were buried; but the object that lay nearest the heart of the general was the preservation of the cannon, the safety of which is looked upon as a point of honour among military men. It may be easily conceived that at such a period every thing likely to encumber the troops was thrown away; and it has even been said that, at the passage of the last bridge, a sufficiency of tools to cut it down was not to be obtained. To complete the distress of his situation the troops at length became insubordinate, and committed so many excesses, that he found it necessary, on more than one occasion, to have recourse to capital punishment for the purpose of enforcing even a partial compliance with military discipline.

At length the port of Corunna, being the place destined for the embarkation, presented itself to the view of an army, already overcome with the difficulties of a long and fatiguing march, during which they were but scantily supplied with food. At the same time, however, the pursuing enemy appeared in sight,—an enemy, flushed with their recent victories over the native Spaniards, and not a little boastful that they had beheld the English for the first time flying before their conquering eagles. About two o'clock in the afternoon of the 16th of January, 1809, after forming various columns for that purpose, an attack took place on the front of the British position. The part against which it happened to be first directed was the right, occupied by Lieutenant-general Sir David Baird, the second in command, who received a severe wound, in consequence of which he was obliged to leave the field. The commander-in-chief, who had instantly proceeded to the scene of action, made the most able dispositions, and forced the French to alter their original intentions; for, being unable to force the right wing, they

endeavoured to turn it, but without effect, and they soon beheld their own left threatened by the movements that ensued. Their next effort was against the centre, but here again they were manfully resisted; on which, varying their designs according to circumstances, they obtained possession of a neighbouring village, and advanced against the left of the British line. But again they were foiled, and obliged to give way.

Meanwhile Sir John Moore, who had exerted himself with his usual animation, fell, like Wolfe, in the moment of victory. His death was occasioned by a cannon-ball, which shattered his left shoulder, and he was carried towards Corunna in a blanket supported by sashes. While his wound was probed he said to an officer whom he desired to attend him during the short period he had to live—"You know I have always wished to die this way." Although suffering great pain he appeared eager to speak again, and the first question put by him was, "Are the French beaten?" On being assured of this fact by several officers who arrived in succession, he exclaimed—"I hope the people of England will be satisfied! I hope my country will do me justice!" Then, addressing himself to one of his aides-de-camp, he continued—"You will see my friends as soon as you possibly can; tell them every thing; say to my mother ——." There his voice failed; but he resumed soon after in a still weaker tone—"Hope—Hope—I—I have much to say, but cannot get it out—I—Colonel Graham, and are all my aides-de-camp well? I have made my will, and remembered my servants!"

On the appearance of Major Colborne, his principal aid-de-camp, he spoke most kindly to him, and then turning about to another, he continued: "Remember you go to ———, and tell him that it is my request, and that I expect he will befriend Major Colborne; he has long been with me, and I know him most worthy of it." He then asked the major if the French were beaten; and on hearing they were repulsed on every point, he said, it was a great satisfaction in his last moments, to know he had beaten the French. After this, he inquired if General Paget was present; and on being answered in the negative, begged to be remembered to him. "I feel myself so strong," added he, "I fear I shall be long dying;—I am in great pain!" He then thanked the medical men for their attention, and after speaking kindly to Captains Stanhope and Percy, he pressed to his heart the hand of the first aid-de-camp who came to his assistance, and died in a few minutes without so much as a struggle.

Thus fell, in the prime of life, at the age of 47 years, surrounded by his suite, and at the conclusion of a critical victory, which preserved the remainder of his army from destruction, Lieutenant-general Sir John Moore, a name that will be for ever dear to his country.

On the 25th of January, the earl of Liverpool as secretary of state for the home-department, while moving the thanks of the house to those officers who had gained the battle of Corunna, paid a high eulogium to the memory of the departed general, "whose whole life," he said, "had been devoted to the service of his country, for there was scarcely any action of importance during the two last wars, in which he had not participated." In the course of the same night, Lord Castlereagh, in his official capacity, as minister-at-war, expressed his sorrow at the "loss of one of the ablest generals; possessing in an eminent degree every valuable quality that can dignify the man, and en-

hance the superiority of the soldier; at once in the prime of life, and the prime of professional desert; giving in the evidence of his past life the best assurance of what might be expected from his zeal, intrepidity, and talents." He concluded with the following motion: "That an humble address be presented to his majesty, requesting that a monument be erected in the cathedral of St Paul, to the memory of the late Lieutenant-general Sir John Moore, knight of the Bath, who, after an honourable and meritorious life, fell by a cannon-ball, in the action near Corunna, on the 16th of January, 1809, after having, by his judicious dispositions, skill, and gallantry, repulsed an enemy of superior force, and secured to the troops under his command a safe and unmolested embarkation."

The commander-in-chief also, in general orders, dated Horse-guards, February 1st, 1809, paid the following tribute to his memory: "The benefits derived to an army from the example of a distinguished commander, do not terminate at his death; his virtues live in the recollection of his associates, and his fame remains the strongest incentive to great and glorious actions. In this view the commander-in-chief, amidst the deep and universal regret which the death of Lieutenant-general Sir John Moore has occasioned, recalls to the troops the military career of that illustrious officer for their instruction and imitation. Sir John Moore from his youth embraced the profession with the feelings and sentiments of a soldier; he felt that a perfect knowledge, and an exact performance of the humble, but important duties of a subaltern officer, are the best foundations for subsequent military fame; and his ardent mind, while it looked forward to those brilliant achievements for which it was formed, applied itself, with energy and exemplary assiduity, to the duties of that station. In the school of regimental duty, he obtained that correct knowledge of his profession so essential to the proper direction of the gallant spirit of the soldier; and he was enabled to establish a characteristic order, and regularity of conduct, because the troops found in their leader a striking example of the discipline which he enforced on others. Having risen to command, he signalized his name in the West Indies, in Holland, and in Egypt. The unremitting attention with which he devoted himself to the duties of every branch of his profession, obtained him the confidence of Sir Ralph Abercromby, and he became the companion in arms of that illustrious officer, who fell at the head of his victorious troops, in an action which maintained our national superiority over the arms of France. Thus Sir John Moore, at an early period obtained, with general approbation, that conspicuous station in which he gloriously terminated his useful and honourable life. In a military character, obtained amidst the dangers of climate, the privations incident to service, and the sufferings of repeated wounds, it is difficult to select any one point as a preferable subject for praise; it exhibits, however, one feature so particularly characteristic of the man, and so important to the best interests of the service, that the commander-in-chief is pleased to mark it with his peculiar approbation. The life of Sir John Moore was spent among the troops. During the season of repose, his time was devoted to the care and instruction of the officer and soldier; in war he courted service in every quarter of the globe. Regardless of personal considerations, he esteemed that to which his country called him, the post

of honour, and by his undaunted spirit, and unconquerable perseverance, he pointed the way to victory. His country, the object of his latest solicitude, will rear a monument to his lamented memory, and the commander-in-chief feels he is paying the best tribute to his fame by thus holding him forth as an example to the army." Napoleon said, that "his talents and firmness alone saved the British army from destruction; he was a brave soldier, an excellent officer, and a man of talent; he made a few mistakes, which were probably inseparable from the difficulties with which he was surrounded, and caused, perhaps, by his information having misled him:" Wellington declared, that he "saw but one error in Sir John Moore's campaign:" and Soult described him as "taking every advantage that the country afforded, to oppose an active and vigorous resistance."

The following letter from Sir John Moore to Viscount Castlereagh, dated Corunna, January 13th, 1809, three days before the death of the general, will tend to explain the causes of the unfortunate termination of that campaign:

"Situated as this army is at present, it is impossible for me to detail to your lordship the events which have taken place, since I had the honour to address you from Astorga, on the 31st of December: I have therefore determined to send to England, Brigadier-general Charles Stewart, as the officer best qualified to give you every information you can want, both with respect to our actual situation, and the events which have led to it. Your lordship knows, that had I followed my own opinion, as a military man, I should have retired with the army from Salamanca. The Spanish armies were then beaten, there was no Spanish force to which we could unite, and I was satisfied that no efforts would be made to aid us, or to favour the cause in which they were engaged.

"I was sensible, however, that the apathy and indifference of the Spaniards would never have been believed; that had the British been withdrawn, the loss of the cause would have been imputed to their retreat, and it was necessary to risk this army to convince the people of England, as well as the rest of Europe, that the Spaniards had neither the power nor the inclination to make any efforts for themselves. It was for this reason that I made the march to Sahagun. As a diversion it succeeded; I brought the whole disposable force of the French against this army, and it had been allowed to follow me, without a single movement being made to favour my retreat.—The people of the Gallicias, though armed, made no attempt to stop the passage of the French through their mountains. They abandoned their dwellings at our approach, drove away their carts, oxen, and every thing that could be of the smallest aid to the army. The consequence has been, that our sick has been left behind; and when our horses or mules failed, which, on such marches, and through such a country, was the case to a great extent, baggage, ammunition, stores, &c., and even money, were necessarily destroyed or abandoned.

"I am sorry to say, that the army, whose conduct I had such reason to extol on its march through Portugal, and on its arrival in Spain, has totally changed its character since it began to retreat. I can say nothing in its favour, but that when there was a prospect of fighting the enemy, the men were then orderly, and seemed pleased and deter-

mined to do their duty. In front of Villa Franca, the French came up with the reserve, with which I was covering the retreat of the army; they attacked it at Calcabelos. I retired, covered by the 95th regiment, and marched that night to Herresias, and from thence to Nogales and Lugo, where I had ordered the different divisions which preceded to halt and collect. At Lugo the French again came up with us. They attacked our advanced posts on the 6th and 7th, and were repulsed in both attempts, with little loss on our side. I heard from the prisoners taken, that three divisions of the French army were come up, commanded by Marshal Soult; I therefore expected to be attacked on the morning of the 8th. It was my wish to come to that issue; I had perfect confidence in the valour of the troops, and it was only by crippling the enemy that we could hope either to retreat or embark unmolested. I made every preparation to receive the attack, and drew out the army in the morning to offer battle. This was not Marshal Soult's object. He either did not think himself sufficiently strong, or he wished to play a surer game, by attacking us on our march, or during our embarkation. The country was intersected, and his position too strong for me to attack with an inferior force. The want of provisions would not enable me to wait longer. I marched that night; and in two forced marches, bivouacking for six or eight hours in the rain, I reached Betanzos on the 10th instant.

"At Lugo I was sensible of the impossibility of reaching Vigo, which was at too great a distance, and offered no advantages to embark in the face of an enemy. My intention was then to have retreated to the peninsula of Betanzos, where I hoped to find a position to cover the embarkation of the army in Ares or Redes Bayes; but having sent an officer to reconnoitre it, by his report I was determined to prefer this place. I gave notice to the admiral of my intention, and begged that the transports might be brought to Corunna: had I found them here on my arrival on the 11th, the embarkation would easily have been effected, for I had gained several marches on the French. They have now come up with us, the transports have not arrived; my position in front of this place is a very bad one; and this place, if I am forced to retire into it, is commanded within musket shot, and the harbour will be so commanded by cannon on the coast, that no ship will be able to lay in it.—In short, my Lord, General Stewart will inform you how critical our situation is. It has been recommended to me to make a proposal to the enemy, to induce him to allow us to embark quietly, in which case he gets us out of the country soon, and this place, with its stores, &c. complete: that otherwise we have the power to make a long defence, which must cause the destruction of the town. I am averse to make any such proposal, and am exceedingly doubtful if it would be attended with any good effect; but whatever I resolve on this head, I hope your lordship will rest assured, that I shall accept no terms that are in the least dishonourable to the army or to the country."

George, Earl Macartney.

BORN A. D. 1737 —DIED A. D. 1806.

THIS excellent nobleman was born the 14th of May, 1737, at the family mansion of Lissanoure. At the age of thirteen he was admitted a fellow-commoner of Trinity college, Dublin, where he proceeded M. A. 1759. From Dublin he came to London, and was entered of the Middle Temple, where he formed an intimacy with several characters who were rising into eminence: but not intending to study the law with a view to practice in that profession, he only remained there till he had completed his arrangements for making the tour of Europe.

On his return to England he became a representative in parliament for the borough of Midhurst. About this time the affairs of Russia having assumed an interesting aspect for Europe, an alliance with that power seemed desirable to England on many considerations, and particularly in a commercial point of view. A treaty of commerce had for some years before engaged the attention of the British government; but none of its diplomatic agents had either skill or weight enough to make any progress with the Russian cabinet. Under these circumstances Mr Macartney's abilities were employed by Lord Sandwich, and on August 22d, 1764, he was appointed envoy-extraordinary to the empress. On this occasion he received from his majesty the honour of knighthood. Having laid the solid foundation of a good understanding with Count Panin, who was then at the head of the Russian affairs, he ventured to open the grand object of his mission, and after a close negotiation of four months, the treaty of commerce was brought to a conclusion. Owing to an ambiguity in one of its clauses, however, it was not ratified by the English court. But a second treaty being signed, the great object of his mission was obtained; and Sir George Macartney returned to England.

On February 1st, 1768, he married Lady Jane Stuart, second daughter of John, Earl of Bute, and in the following year was appointed chief-secretary of Ireland, under the administration of Lord Townshend. In 1772 he relinquished this situation; being nominated about the same time a knight companion of the order of the Bath; and received in 1774, as a further reward for his services, the appointment of governor and constable of the castle and fortress of Toome. In December 1775, we find him appointed captain-general and governor of the southern Caribbee Islands of Grenada, the Grenadines, and Tobago; and on June 10th, 1776, advanced to the peerage of Ireland, by the title of Lord Macartney, Baron of Lissanoure, in the county of Antrim.

His administration at the Caribbees gave general satisfaction; and it contributed in no small degree to that gallant resolution with which the island of Grenada was afterwards defended, when attacked and subdued by a superior force under Count d'Estaing in 1779. Lord Macartney was now sent a close prisoner to France; his private fortune was materially injured by the capture; and he had the still further misfortune to lose not only his papers and accounts, but also the mass

of observations and materials which he had gathered while travelling through the different states of Europe; and by the accidental firing of a vessel in which Lady Macartney had embarked for Europe, even the duplicates of such as he had thought most worthy of preservation. His lordship remained but a short time as a prisoner of war at Limoges, before he was permitted to return to England; and was almost immediately after sent upon a confidential mission to Ireland.

Toward the close of 1780, the distracted state of the presidency of Madras led the court of the directors of the East India company to name him as the person most proper in their opinion for promoting the tranquillity of the settlement, and the prosperity of their affairs on the coast of Coromandel. On the 21st of June, 1781, he arrived before Pondicherry, and the following day landed at Madras, opened his commission, and took possession of his government. He found the situation of affairs on the coast in a more deplorable condition than he could well have imagined. Hyder Ali was in the midst of a victorious career. His successes had enabled him to spread his numerous horse over all the Carnatic. Parties approached daily to the very gates of Madras: and the nabob of Arcot and his family were obliged to take refuge in the town. Under Lord Macartney's direction, confidence in the government was not only revived to individuals, but the troops both in camp and garrison acquired fresh spirit from the marks of attention which were shown to their demands; and they soon after gave the strongest proofs of their bravery, discipline, and attachment, in the defeat of Hyder, under Sir Eyre Coote, at Porto Novo. The critical state, however, of the affairs of India, fully justified Lord Macartney's efforts to bring about a general reconciliation with the native powers. The peace with the Mahrattas was followed by a second, and even a third defeat of Hyder's army; the capture of the Dutch settlements of Sadras, Pullicat, Madepollam, Jaggernautporam, Bimlipatam, and Negapatam, dissolved the connection which had been formed between that power and Hyder; and the assignment of the revenues of the Carnatic from the nabob of Arcot, to Lord Macartney, for the use of the company, rendered the termination of 1781 auspicious to the company's affairs. The next year, however, was calamitous. Toward its close Hyder Ali was succeeded in his government by Tippoo Saib; with whom it was more than probable an early peace might have been concluded, could Lord Macartney have acted as he wished. A peace was now concluded with Tippoo. The undue interference of the supreme council at Bengal with the presidency of Madras, however, became a source of great mortification to Lord Macartney; which only ended with the removal of Mr Hastings from his government; almost immediately after which, in consequence of the premature restitution which was ordered from England, of the assignment of the Carnatic revenues, Lord Macartney himself retired from Madras. Previous to his departure he entered an affidavit and a declaration on the records of the council; the first declaring that from the day of his arrival he had never by himself, or by any other person for him, directly or indirectly accepted or received for his own benefit, from any person or persons whomsoever, a present or presents of any kind, except two pipes of wine from two particular friends, a few bottles of Champagne and Burgundy, and some fruits and provisions of very trifling value. Further,

that he had confined himself solely to the company's allowances, which were 40,000 pagodas per annum, and the commission and consulage on coral, which during his government had produced on an average 1000 pagodas per annum. That he had never embezzled or misappropriated any of the company's effects, but had observed his covenants, and acted in all things for their honour and interest. The declaration stated the exact increase of his property, amounting to 81,796 pagodas. Soon after his return to Europe, Lord Macartney was offered the government of Bengal; but making a British peerage the *sine qua non* of his accepting it, and this not being consonant to the principles in regard to Indian appointments which Mr Pitt and Mr Dundas had laid down, the appointment was bestowed on Lord Cornwallis. After this he retired for six years to Ireland, where he engaged himself principally in the improvement of his paternal estate.

In 1792 a more equal, and at the same time a more creditable intercourse than had been hitherto kept up, was determined on with China. On this occasion the court of directors of the East India company entered with becoming spirit into the views of Mr Dundas; and Lord Macartney was looked upon as the only person capable of undertaking the mission with any probability of success. On the 3d of May, 1792, he received his appointment as ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary from the king of Great Britain to the emperor of China, and in the month of September set out upon a voyage, the details of which may be found in Sir George Staunton's 'Authentic Account' of the embassy. He reached the Yellow sea in safety, passed up the White river to Tong-choo-foo, and thence proceeded by land to the metropolis of China. Tchien-Lung, the aged emperor, who had reigned with uninterrupted success and reputation more than half a century, was then at the palace of Zhe-hol, beyond the celebrated wall which had been erected as a barrier against the Tartars. There the ambassador delivered a letter from the British sovereign, in a box of gold, adorned with jewels, which was graciously received; but a spirit of jealousy disinclined the emperor to any treaty; and after the exchange of mutual presents, it was hinted that the departure of the strangers would be agreeable. On the 9th of October, 1793, his excellency and suite left Pekin, and proceeded to Tong-tcheu, whence they were conveyed by a variety of rivers and canals from the northern to the southern extremity of China, and reached Canton in safety, after a variety of amusing adventures, on the 18th of December. In January following they embarked at Macao for England. On the 5th of September, 1794, Lord Macartney landed at Portsmouth, where he had the gratification to find that he had not been forgotten by his sovereign, who by patent at Dublin, dated 1st of March, 1794, had been pleased to advance him to the title of Earl Macartney, in the county of Antrim. The winter which immediately followed his return from China, he was permitted to pass at his ease with his friends; but in June, 1795, he was again called upon to undertake an important mission to Italy of a delicate and confidential nature. From Italy he returned through Germany, and reached England in May, 1796: soon after which his majesty was further pleased to create him a British peer, under the title of Baron Macartney, of Parkhurst in Surrey.

In 1797 he sailed from Portsmouth to take upon him the govern-

ment of the Cape of Good Hope, which had been conferred entirely on the ground of fitness. But his health being materially affected, he only stopped there till the 20th of November, 1798; leaving behind him a declaration on record, similar to that which had been left in India. He arrived in England in the month of January, 1799, with a determination to retire wholly from public life. The returns of the gout, to which he had been accustomed for some years, were now quicker and severer than ever; and he felt himself unequal to continual hurry and bustle. He now passed a few years entirely in the society of his friends. During the greater part of the year 1805, the gout continued to hang about him, without advancing to a decided fit; and he continued in a languishing reduced state, till the evening of the 31st of March, 1806, when, while reclining his head on his hand, as if dropping into a slumber, he sunk into the arms of death without a sigh or a struggle.

Gerrard, Viscount Lake.

BORN A. D. 1744.—DIED A. D. 1808.

GERRARD, LORD VISCOUNT LAKE, was born on the 27th of July, 1744, he showed an early predilection for the military profession, and when scarcely fourteen years old entered the army, and was appointed an ensign in the 1st regiment of foot-guards. With the 2d battalion of that corps he proceeded to Germany, in 1760, where he served during the remainder of the seven years' war. The allied army, under the hereditary prince of Brunswick, after having defeated the enemy near Williamstadt, and driven him from all his positions, on the unexpected appearance of a body of the French forces on the right, were seized with a panic, and were abandoning the field in confusion; but Ensign Lake, who, on that day, carried the colours of the 2d battalion, 1st regiment of foot-guards, undismayed by the retreat of his companions, remained at his post with a few men; and perhaps this rare example of courage and determination greatly contributed to recover the soldiers from the consternation into which they had been thrown, and to bring them back to duty. He was soon after this appointed aid-de-camp to General Pearson, in which situation he remained until his return to England in 1763.

In 1781 he proceeded to America, and joined the brigade of guards serving under Lord Cornwallis. During the siege of York town, he particularly distinguished himself by storming one of the enemy's batteries, in so gallant a manner, as to obtain the warmest thanks of the commander-in-chief.

When war with France broke out in 1793, he went to Holland, in command of the 1st brigade of guards, disembarked at Helvoetsluys, and immediately afterwards proceeded to Williamstadt, which was at this time besieged by the French, and saved by the opportune arrival of the British troops. He was present at the siege of Valenciennes, and in most of the considerable actions fought in 1793-4. Perhaps the most brilliant exploit which happened in the course of the campaign was the assault of Lincelles by the brigade-guards under Lord Lake.

On the breaking out of the rebellion in Ireland, in 1798, Lord Lake was appointed to the staff in that kingdom. In this arduous and trying situation he conducted himself in a manner equally honourable to his own character, and beneficial to his country. The unhappy state of Ireland at that period called for measures of uncommon vigour, and too often for the exercise of a severity which necessity alone could justify. By tempering justice with mercy, rather than by the use of force or coercive measures, he succeeded in restoring tranquillity to the south of Ireland. At Vinegar-hill he attacked with great judgment and spirit the collected force of the rebels, which he completely defeated; and followed up this success so rapidly, as to prevent their ever again assembling in any considerable number. Upon this occasion, as on all others in which he was engaged, he led on the troops in person, and he had a horse killed under him. The speedy return of peace, and total suppression of the rebellion, which the decisive action at Vinegar-hill gave reason to expect, were endangered by the arrival of a French force under General Humbert. At Castlebar this officer obtained an advantage over the troops commanded by Lord Lake, and in the expectation of being joined by the disaffected in his progress, moved rapidly towards the capital. Reinforced by some fresh troops, Lord Lake, after a most severe and fatiguing pursuit, came up with the enemy at Ballinamuck, and compelled the whole to surrender. During the remainder of his stay in Ireland, he was of essential use in carrying into effect the measures of the government; and the promptitude and vigour with which he executed the orders of the lord-lieutenant, contributed in a great degree to recall the misguided inhabitants to a sense of duty and obedience.

In 1800 he was nominated to the important stations of commander-in-chief of the King's and Company's forces in India, and second member of the supreme council at Bengal. About the middle of March, 1801, he reached Calcutta, and the following July proceeded to Cawnpore, the principal military station on the frontiers. In this situation his whole attention was devoted to the improvement of the Bengal army, and especially of the native cavalry, which, by his professional skill, and indefatigable exertions, was brought to the highest pitch of excellence. For some time a negotiation had been carrying on with the Nabob Vizier, the object of which was to obtain a cession of territory, in lieu of the subsidy which his excellency paid for the troops employed in defence of his dominions. This negotiation was brought to a successful termination in the month of November, 1801, and owing to the judicious disposition which Lord Lake had made of the troops under his command, the civil authorities were established without difficulty over these extensive and valuable provinces, with the exception of Sasuy and Cutchoura, the Zemindars of which refused to submit to those municipal regulations of the Company which had produced such benefits to the inhabitants of Bengal. Every conciliatory endeavour was unsuccessfully used to bring back the rajahs of those places to a sense of duty, but as they continued to resist the orders of government, Lord Lake was compelled, in the spring of 1802, to attack them with a military force: in the course of two months he reduced the strong fortresses of Sasuy, and Cutchoura, with no very considerable loss on our side, and by this means secured the tranquillity of the country.

The defeat of the armies of Scindia and the Peishwa, and the seizure of Poonah by Jessuunt Row Holcar, in their consequences, led to a subsidiary treaty between the Peishwa and the English government, and involved the latter in a war with Scindia and the rajah of Berar. When negotiation had failed, and every effort been unavailingly tried to procure the continuance of peace, the noble marquess, then at the head of the Indian government, in defence of his ally, and for the safety of the dominions more immediately intrusted to his charge, was reluctantly compelled to resort to arms. Towards the middle of July, 1803, Lord Lake received orders to take the field. At that time the disposable force in Bengal was small, owing to the reduction which had taken place in the native army, in obedience to orders from England,—each battalion having been reduced from 900 to 700 privates, and of the latter 100 were absent on leave. Every measure was strained to supply the deficiences of cattle, &c., and such were the indefatigable exertions made by Lord Lake, that he was enabled on the 5th of August to take the field with a small but well-appointed army. On the 29th of August he entered the Mahratta territories, where he found General Perron, with about 15,000 horse, drawn up in a very strong position near to Coel, prepared to receive him. His lordship at the head of the British cavalry, immediately attacked the enemy, and after a short and desultory action, drove him from the field, and took possession of Coel. On examining the fort of Aly Gur, it was found to be so strongly fortified, that its reduction by regular approaches could not be looked for in less than six weeks, a loss of time which might have proved fatal to the success of the campaign, by allowing Scindia's regular brigades, then rapidly advancing from the Deccan and the Punjab, to form a junction. Its possession was, however, deemed indispensably necessary, as, if left in the hands of the enemy, it would have cut off the communication of the army with the company's provinces, whence our supplies were derived. Lord Lake therefore determined to attempt to carry this important place by a *coup-de-main*. It was accordingly attacked on the morning of the 4th of September, the three gates successively blown open by a twelve-pounder, and after a gallant resistance from the garrison it was carried.

This decisive and able operation enabled Lord Lake to move towards the main body of the enemy's force, which, on the 11th of September, 1803, after a fatiguing march of twenty-three miles, in the warmest season of the year, his lordship engaged and defeated with great slaughter. In this brilliant action, which was fought on the plain opposite to Delhi, the British force consisted of less than 3000 cavalry, and had but a small proportion of artillery. His lordship, with his usual activity and zeal, led the troops into action at the head of the 76th regiment, and had a horse killed under him in the advance. On the 13th of September, the army crossed the Jumna, and took possession of Delhi, the capital of the Mogul empire, where his lordship enjoyed the heartfelt satisfaction of relieving the aged and venerable Shah Aulum from the misery to which he had been so long exposed, from Mahratta and French oppression, and of returning him to a situation of happiness and comfort. The marked respect and veneration with which the emperor was treated by his gallant deliverer, was particularly grateful to the feelings of that unfortunate prince, who testified

his gratitude by bestowing on Lord Lake the highest titles which could be conferred on such warriors as had rendered the most signal services to the state.

Having provided for the security of the capital,—for the emperor's peaceful enjoyment of personal freedom, comfort, and dignity,—and for the tranquillity of the surrounding country, Lord Lake hastened with the army to Agra, denominated the 'Key of Hindostan,' which he reached in two days.

The situation of the army before this place was such as to require the exercise of great prudence and enterprise. The garrison consisted of upwards of 5000 men. Four regular battalions with 22 pieces of cannon defended the ravines and approaches to the fort, and two of Perron's brigades, composed of seventeen battalions, a considerable body of cavalry and 32 pieces of field ordnance, arrived from the Deccan, and took a position about twenty miles in the rear of the besieging army. The security of the Company's and nabob's dominions, and the prosecution of future military operations, depending in a great measure upon the fall of Agra, these considerations determined his lordship to undertake the siege of that strong and very important place, in the face of dangers and difficulties which might have deterred a less intrepid mind. The operations commenced on the 10th of October, and terminated on the 18th, by the capitulation of the fortress, after a vigorous but ineffectual resistance. The capture of Agra secured a line of defence along the west bank of the Jumna, and left the British army at liberty to attack Scindia's remaining brigades. The pursuit accordingly commenced on the 28th of October, but the distance the enemy had gained in advance, and the celerity of his movements, soon showed the little chance there was of overtaking him with infantry.

Aware of the evils which would result to the public service, if this formidable body of troops was allowed to join Jessuunt Row Holcar, then in great force on the borders of the Jyepore country, at twelve o'clock P. M. of the 31st of October, Lord Lake pushed forwards with the regular cavalry, and at sunrise the 1st of November, 1803, came upon the enemy at Laswaree, whom he immediately charged and broke; but owing to the badness of the ground, the advantage he first obtained could not be followed up. When the infantry arrived and was refreshed, the enemy was again attacked, and after a severe contest completely defeated; eighty-two pieces of cannon were taken, and the whole of the infantry either killed or made prisoners. In this memorable engagement Lord Lake, who headed every charge, and whose personal exertions exceeded all his former exploits, had a horse shot under him, and was for some time exposed to the most imminent danger. The small body of troops which accompanied him into action, after giving proofs of invincible courage, for a moment gave way to superior numbers and the destructive fire of the enemy's artillery, and were on the point of being charged by the enemy's horse, when they were rallied by the personal exertions of his lordship. Encouraged by the arrival of the 29th dragoons, and animated by the presence of their beloved commander, they renewed the charge with an impetuosity that speedily decided the fate of the day. A small proportion only of the British force took an active part in this brilliant and decisive victory, which annihilated the whole of Scindia's regular army in Hindostan.

Too much praise cannot be bestowed on the talents and ability which were exhibited by Lord Lake, in the conduct of this arduous and difficult campaign, when it is considered that he had to contend with troops long accustomed to victory, vastly superior in number, disciplined by French officers, and furnished with a formidable train of artillery, which was admirably served in every action. His own force at no time exceeded 5000 infantry, 3000 cavalry, and a small proportion of artillery; yet, with these seemingly inadequate means, did his lordship, in less than three months from the opening of the campaign, defeat the enemy at Coel, Delhi, and Laswaree; take the strong fortresses of Agra and Aly Gur, and reduce the whole of Scindia's dominions east of the river Chumbul. In this rapid and victorious career, thirty-nine of Perron's regular battalions were destroyed, upwards of 180 pieces of artillery taken in the field, and nearly 600 in garrisons. In addition to these military operations, Lord Lake rendered essential service in the conduct of various political arrangements of great importance, and in the settlement of the conquered provinces. Towards the close of the year, a treaty of defensive alliance was entered into with the rajah of Jyepore; and in February, 1804, Lord Lake entered the rajah's country, then threatened by Jessuunt Row Holcar. While lying there the strong forts of Gwalior and Rampoora were reduced, under his orders, by detachments from the British army.

In the middle of May, 1804, the inclemency of the weather and difficulty of procuring supplies compelled the commander-in-chief to withdraw the greatest part of the army into the Company's provinces, leaving five battalions to cover the Jyepore country during the absence of the army,—a force which was deemed fully adequate for that purpose. Unfortunately this detachment, venturing too far in pursuit of Holcar, was overtaken by the rains, and not being able, in consequence, to procure supplies, was attacked and pursued by his collected forces, and, after undergoing great fatigues and privations, was driven under the walls of Agra, with the loss of all its artillery, camp equipage, stores, &c. &c. and more than half of its original number. The war, by this unexpected misfortune, was brought home to the Company's provinces, and the diminution of force which had been made by the defeat of this detachment was severely felt at this crisis of affairs. In September, Lord Lake joined the troops assembled at Agra; but an immediate movement against the enemy was retarded by causes as new as unexpected, arising out of the defection of the rajah of Burtpore, and the insubordination which, through the intrigues of that chieftain and of the emissaries of Holcar, generally pervaded the ceded and conquered provinces, and in their consequences operated as a serious impediment to procuring provisions and supplies.

At length his lordship was enabled to put the army in motion, which reached Delhi on the 17th of October. The enemy's infantry had ineffectually besieged this place, and on the 15th of October they were repulsed in a general assault with great loss, and immediately afterwards retreated towards the river Bennee. Anxious as the commander-in-chief was to bring the war to a speedy termination, by the destruction of this body of troops, the want of provisions rendered their pursuit totally impracticable, and compelled the army to halt until this most essential requisite could be procured. On the 31st of October Lord

Lake, with three regiments of British and three regiments of native cavalry, two European flank companies, and two battalions and a half of native infantry, followed Holcar, who had entered the Dooab, and threatened to lay waste the whole country. After a march unequalled for celerity, Lord Lake, on the morning of the 17th of November, surprised the enemy's camp at Furruckabad, and defeated him, with the loss of nearly 5000 men left on the field. Holcar's army was estimated at 15,000 horse, while the British cavalry did not exceed 1800 mounted men, who engaged under the disadvantage of having marched fifty-eight miles within the twenty-four hours preceding the action. Holcar himself escaped with great difficulty. This signal and decisive victory proved of incalculable advantage to the public interests; it saved the whole of the Dooab from being laid waste; it evinced the superiority of the British arms, and showed to the natives that the boasted rapidity of the Mahratta horse could be outdone by our cavalry. When the cavalry had, in two days' halt, recovered in some degree from the fatigue it had so lately undergone, Lord Lake proceeded to join the army at Mutra, which, during his absence, had, under a combined and masterly operation most skilfully planned by his lordship, and carried into effect by the gallant General Fraser, defeated the enemy's infantry under the walls of Deeg, and taken most of his guns. The siege of Deeg was begun as soon as the battering-train arrived. In the beginning of December a practicable breach being made in one of the bastions, it was stormed and carried, and on the following day the fort was evacuated. Burtpore, to which the remains of Holcar's army had retreated on the fall of Deeg, was the only place of consequence which now remained in the hands of the enemy. It was invested early in January, 1805, and the siege was protracted to the beginning of March; during which interval it was stormed four times unsuccessfully, and with very considerable loss to the besiegers. Notwithstanding these failures, arising from the great population of Burtpore, and from the natural difficulties of that extensive fortress, the rajah foresaw that the place must ultimately be taken, and accordingly, early in March, he sued for peace, which was granted by Lord Lake in terms highly honourable to the English government.

Deeply as the miscarriage at Burtpore was to be deplored, the enemy had little cause to exult. During the siege almost the whole of Holcar's infantry, and also Meer Khan's—which were strongly entrenched under the walls outside the town—were destroyed, and their artillery taken; nor was the loss of the garrison, composed of the whole strength of the Burtpore dominions, and a large addition of mercenaries, less considerable. Upon the conclusion of the treaty with the rajah of Burtpore, Holcar and Meer Khan retreated with the horse that still remained to them; and as the country was now cleared of enemies, Lord Lake was enabled to put the troops into quarters on the Jumna during the remaining part of the hot season and the rains.

He was not, however, permitted to indulge long in repose. Towards the close of the year 1805, Holcar and Meer Khan again appeared in considerable force in the countries north-west of Delhi. Although their armies possessed no solid strength, nor were calculated to make any serious impression, being principally composed of predatory horse, yet

still, if not timely checked, they might have caused great mischief, by laying waste the country and destroying the villages.

When Lord Lake had received money sufficient to relieve the immediate wants of the troops, who, from unavoidable causes, were in considerable arrears, he moved against the enemy with his usual promptitude and celerity, and pursued them so closely, as compelled them to take refuge in the Lahore territories, at no great distance from the banks of the Indus. In this long and fatiguing march Lord Lake traversed nearly the whole of the Punjab, a country hitherto very imperfectly known to the English. Holcar now sued for peace, which was concluded by Lord Lake in February 1806.

From this period until his lordship left India, in February, 1807, Lord Lake was successively employed in completing all the various arrangements connected with the distribution of the army, the reduction of the irregular troops, and the final settlement and security of our invaluable conquests. His departure from India was accompanied by the regret both of the European and native inhabitants of Bengal, and by the most public testimonials of respect, esteem, and gratitude. He arrived in England in the following September, after an absence of seven years, and was received by his king and country with that attention his eminent services so well-deserved. When the result of the campaign of 1803-4 was known in England, Lord Lake received the thanks of parliament for his services; and his majesty, to mark the high sense which he entertained of General Lake's meritorious conduct, as well as to commemorate the recollection of those glorious achievements, created him a British baron, by the title of Lord Lake, of Delhi and Laswaree; and soon after his return to Europe raised him to the dignity of a viscount, and conferred on him the government of Plymouth. Thus distinguished by his sovereign, beloved by his friends, and enjoying the esteem and confidence of a grateful nation, ever just to the merits of those who serve it with zeal and fidelity, no man ever had a fairer prospect of passing many years of unclouded happiness. But scarcely had he begun to taste the sweets of repose in the bosom of his family, when it pleased Providence to terminate his valuable life, on the 21st of February, 1808, after a short illness.

Few men ever were endowed with qualifications calculated to form an able commander in a superior degree to Lord Lake. To judgment and quickness of conception he united undaunted courage, great decision, and uncommon capability of undergoing fatigue. He possessed in an eminent degree the art of conciliating the confidence and attachment of those under his command. His unwearied kindness and unremitting attention to promote the comforts of the soldier, and the constant exposure of his person in the midst of danger, won the hearts of the army, and secured their attachment. His integrity was incorruptible; and although his situation in India offered numerous occasions to benefit his fortune, at a slight sacrifice of the interest of the public, in no one instance did he ever stain his honour, or barter his fair fame for wealth. At this time, too, he was labouring under great pecuniary embarrassments, from which he would not have been completely relieved when he returned to England, if it had not been for the prize-money which his valour had gained, amounting, in the whole, to about £50,000. In private life his pleasing manners, and his mild and gen-

erous virtues, engaged and secured the affection of his numerous friends; whilst they mitigated all personal animosities, and even assuaged those little irritations which are inseparable from the intercourse of social life.[1]

Cavendish, Duke of Portland.

BORN A. D. 1738.—DIED A. D. 1809.

WILLIAM HENRY CAVENDISH BENTINCK, third duke and fourth earl of Portland, was born in 1738. When marquess of Titchfield, he was sent to Oxford, and entered of Christ-church. In 1756 he recited publicly some English verses in such a manner as to attract notice. On the 1st of February, 1757, he obtained the degree of M. A.; and some time afterwards proceeded D. C. L. After finishing his education Lord Titchfield was sent abroad, in company with his only brother, Lord Edward Bentinck. In conformity to the established etiquette of that day they made the grand tour, and soon after their return home both became members of parliament. The marquess served for Weobly in Herefordshire, a borough supposed to be then somewhat under the influence of the family; while Lord Edward was elected, first for the city of Carlisle, and afterwards was nominated a knight of the shire for the county of Nottingham.

Lord Titchfield sat but a few months as a commoner; for his father, the duke of Portland, died soon after he took his seat, and we accordingly find a new writ issued, June 6th, 1762. From the moment that he was admitted to his seat among the peers, the new duke of Portland —who by that time had attained the twenty-fourth year of his age— took an active part in the proceedings of the house, and seemed desirous both of earning and of deserving popularity. His estate was not large, being encumbered with an immense jointure to his mother, the dowager. This circumstance obliged him to have recourse, early in life, to expedients for raising money which encumbered his fortune, crippled his independence, and is supposed to have induced him suddenly and unexpectedly to alter the whole tenor of his political conduct.

In 1763 his grace gave an early presage of his patriotism by a strenuous opposition to the cyder-bill,—a measure which was engendered during the earl of Bute's administration, and brought in by a chancellor of the exchequer, supposed to be but little conversant in matters of finance. He afterwards entered his protest against that measure, which was too unpopular to be persevered in, as it introduced the excise-law into the barn and cellar of every farmer in the kingdom who made use of the juice of his own apples. On the proceedings against Mr Wilkes, too, the duke joined with the opposition. His grace connected himself with the marquess of Rockingham, and joined with that nobleman in talking down, and writing down, two different administrations. At length, in 1765, in consequence of a change in the ministry, the duke accepted of employment; but on this occasion, at least, there was no compromise of principle. The place occupied by him was that of lord-

[1] Abridged from a Memoir of Lord Lake in the 'European Magazine,' vol. liii.

chamberlain of the household, an office of honour rather than of profit; and he retained it but a few months, having gone out, or, in plain English, been turned out, in conjunction with his colleagues.

On the 8th of November, 1766, his grace married Lady Dorothy Cavendish, daughter of William, the late duke of Devonshire, by whom he had four sons and two daughters. By this union he became connected with another whig family, which, like his own, had been zealous for the Revolution, and still cherished the principles, under a new dynasty, that led to that great and fortunate event. From this period, too, Burlington-house, in Piccadilly, became his town-residence; and it was there where all the plans for abating the alarming influence of the crown,—curbing the avowed arrogance of successive ministers,—and giving strength, zeal, and efficiency, to popular sentiment,—were hatched, reared, and brought to maturity, up to the period of the French revolution.

As parliamentary influence must always be a great object with every one who aspires to become a leader of a party, the subject of this memoir having property in Cumberland, thought a fair opportunity presented itself of assisting two of his friends in their pretensions to be returned its knights of the shire, and he accordingly supported Henry Curwen, Esq., a gentleman of fortune, and Henry Fletcher, Esq., an East India director, and afterwards a baronet. This of course gave great umbrage to the late Sir James Lowther, afterwards earl of Lonsdale, who to great opulence united a daring spirit, and, in addition to both, was son-in-law of the earl of Bute. A long, violent, and expensive contest accordingly took place; and, although the baronet found means to be returned, yet he was declared unduly elected by a committee of the house, and the two other candidates were left for that parliament, at least, in the quiet possession of their seats. In the month of December, 1767, a grant was made by the lords of the treasury to Sir James Lowther, of an extensive and valuable estate known by the name of Inglewood forest, being appurtenant to the manor of Penrith, in the county already mentioned. To this was added the peerage of Carlisle, granted by King William III. to his favourite, the first earl of Portland, by way of remuneration for his services, and which, whether worthily bestowed or not, had hitherto been considered as an inheritance descending regularly from father to son, through several generations. Every thing on this occasion was conducted with all the due forms of office. Sir James Lowther, by memorial, prayed a lease of the lands in question, and on a reference to the surveyor-general, that gentleman, although no lawyer, was about to decide, "that the premises were not comprised within the grant from King William to the earl of Portland, but remained still vested in the crown." He concluded a most elaborate report, by recommending to the lords of the treasury to grant the lease demanded, at a very inconsiderable reserved rent. These proceedings were at length disclosed, and the tenant in possession adopted the necessary steps to counteract such a conspiracy against his fortune. His agents, however, were refused permission to examine the rolls on which the report was supposed to have been founded, and he himself was referred from Whitehall to the surveyor's office, and from the surveyor's office to Whitehall; in fine, the whole was involved in secrecy and equivocation. At length, notwithstanding a positive

promise that nothing should be decided without a due hearing, the duke received an official letter, dated December 22d, 1767, intimating that the grants were passed and leases signed. On Lord North, who had just become chancellor of the exchequer, being remonstrated with on this occasion, he replied, "That he had received directions to affix the seal *instanter*, and that he was compelled, in virtue of his office, to obey all orders from the treasury board." The duke appealed to the law, and on the 20th of November, 1771, this great cause, which had aroused the indignation of the whole county of Cumberland, was tried before the barons of the exchequer in Westminster-hall; but it was greatly narrowed, so as to assume the form and substance of the following question: "Whether the late grant of the forest of Inglewood to Sir James Lowther, Bart. was legal or not?" The earl of Rosslyn, then Mr Wedderburne, was counsel for the crown, and Mr Thurlow, afterwards Baron Thurlow and chancellor, led for the duke of Portland. After a long trial the new leases were adjudged to be invalid, as being in direct opposition to the statute of the 1st Anne, declaring "that upon every grant from the crown there shall be a reserved rent, not less than the third part of the clear yearly value of such manor, estate, &c. as shall be contained in such grant."

During the whole of the American contest the duke was eminently consistent, exhibiting on all occasions a degree of firmness, zeal, and resolution that obtained for him the confidence of the opposition of that day. Under the brief administration of the marquess of Rockingham he was appointed, in 1782, to the office of lord-lieutenant of Ireland, which he resigned on the 15th of September in the same year, in consequence of the death of the premier. He is perhaps the only lord-lieutenant with whom the Irish people were so completely pleased as to be eager to drag him to the parliament-house, which they were, indeed, only prevented from accomplishing by the intervention of the horse-guards.

On the 5th of April, 1783, he became first lord of the treasury, in the memorable coalition-ministry of which Fox was virtually the head, and succeeded to the government of an exasperated people while the cabinet was so divided, by the Lords North, Carlisle, and Stormont being placed in opposition to Lord Keppel, Lord John Cavendish, and Mr Fox, on all great constitutional questions, that nothing could be effected, either honourable to themselves or advantageous to the country. Accordingly this ill-fated ship and ill-assorted crew ran aground on the East India bill. This event brought Mr Pitt on the stage, as a principal actor, for he had hitherto only exhibited in a subordinate capacity. Although young in point of years it was soon seen that he was calculated "to teach the hoary Numidian guile," and accordingly, in a negotiation for power, during which he declined to descend from his new appointment, he first outwitted the duke of Portland, and then the house of commons, the latter of which was dissolved. In revenge, the duke, whose candour and whose veracity had remained unimpeached, is asserted to have declared, in the most unequivocal manner, that he "would never sit in the same cabinet with this youthful statesman!" The duke of Portland appears not to have taken any active part on Mr Hastings' trial. He doubtless at first agreed with his friends in the propriety of that measure, but did not vote on any of the charges. By the time it

was finally concluded he was estranged from the party with which he had hitherto acted, although doubtless united closer than ever with Mr Burke, the original author and prime-mover of that measure. In respect to the proceedings of parliament in the great question of the regency, his grace was more intimately connected with the result; but even then he does not appear to have spoken once. On Wednesday, December 3d, 1788, he was one of the privy-councillors summoned to hear and take into consideration the report of the physicians relative to the state of his majesty's health; he was also one of the twenty-one peers selected by the house of lords to form a committee for the same purpose; and one of the sixty-six, two of whom were of the blood-royal, that divided in favour of Lord Moira's amendment. He, however, did not subscribe the protest to which two princes of the blood had affixed their names, together with forty-seven other peers; yet, on the 23d of January, 1789, we find the duke's name in the list of those who were 'dissentient' to the report of the committee.

When the French revolution broke out the duke seceded, with Burke and others, from his party, and did all in his power to strengthen the government. It has been said, that during a debate, when one of his grace's near relatives sent a note to Burlington-house for instructions, in consequence of the sudden hostility of Fox and Burke, which was first publicly declared that evening, the reply was, "Follow Fox." Yet some circumstances had occurred that raised suspicion anterior to this. The duke of Portland, on the 5th of August, 1792, succeeded the earl of Guilford as chancellor of the university of Oxford without so much as a struggle, although the influence of the minister was supposed to be very great among the members of that learned body. In the course of a short time, however, what was only suspicion became certainty, for Lord Loughborough having accepted of the seals in 1793, the duke of Portland, on the 11th of July, 1794, was gazetted secretary of state for the home-department.

No sooner was his political alliance with Mr Pitt made known than the duke's popularity evaporated in consequence of the outcry of his quondam associates, and the man in whose praise the tongues of half a nation had but recently vibrated, no longer received any homage but from his own immediate friends and dependents.

In 1801, finding his health decline, he resigned the office of secretary and acted as president of the council until 1805,—a situation in which less labour and application were required. On the formation of the Fox and Grenville administration his grace thought fit to withdraw, as he had not for some time been on terms of intimacy with Mr Fox. After the death of that gentleman, and the sudden dismission of his colleagues, in consequence of a supposed attempt to restore their civil and ecclesiastical privileges to the Irish nation, his grace once more appeared on the scene, and that too in an official character, notwithstanding his declining years and infirmities. In 1807, under the name of first lord of the treasury, he became ostensible minister;[1] but as he was for the most part unable to attend, the parliamentary part of the business was conducted by Mr Percival in one house and Lord Liver-

[1] This appointment excited great ridicule and discontent; the premier was caricatured as a block of Portland stone, against which the opposition members were breaking their shins.

pool in another. At length, after a severe struggle with disease, his grace determined to retire wholly from the political world; this was accordingly effected in the autumn of 1809, and but a few weeks anterior to his demise, which took place in the 72d year of his age.

William Windham.

BORN A. D. 1750.—DIED A. D. 1810.

WILLIAM WINDHAM, son of Colonel Windham of Felbrigge, was born in the year 1750. From the age of seven to sixteen he was at Eton school; thence he went to the university of Glasgow for one year, and from thence to Oxford as a gentleman-commoner of university college. He left Oxford in 1771, but did not receive his degrees of M. A. and LL. D. till 1783 and 1793. He next visited the continent, and would afterwards have gone on a voyage of discovery to the north pole with Commodore Phipps, had not the severity of his sea-sickness been such as to compel him to land on the coast of Norway.

His first essay in public affairs occurred on the 28th of January, 1778, at a meeting of gentlemen held at Norwich to consider of a subscription in aid of government, in prosecuting the war then existing with the colonies. The speech he pronounced on this occasion has been preserved; and "though," his biographer observes, "it must not be compared with later specimens of his eloquence, it may be admitted to exhibit some proofs of acuteness, dexterity, and vigour."

We next find Mr Windham in the character of an officer in the western battalion of Norfolk militia. His military career was abruptly and most singularly terminated. It happened on a march, that imprudently, and in a sort of frolic, he joined two brother-officers in riding through a deep rivulet, after which they were obliged to keep on their wet clothes for several hours. The consequences of this adventure were fatal to one of the party; while Mr Windham was thrown into a fever of a most alarming kind, from the effects of which his constitution never thoroughly recovered. He lived from this time much in town, and connected himself with some of the most eminent political and literary men of the day. Before making a second tour to the continent, he had become a member of the celebrated literary club. On his return, he cemented his friendship with the leading members of that society, and more particularly with its two most distinguished ornaments, Dr Johnson and Mr Burke. The former appears to have felt the same sentiments of friendship and esteem for Windham, that Windham felt for him; and this is illustrated by one of his letters printed by Boswell, addressed to Dr Brocklesby, in which Johnson says, "Mr Windham has been here to see me; he came I think forty miles out of his way, and staid about a day and a half; perhaps I may make the time shorter than it was. Such conversation I shall not have again till I come back to the regions of literature, and there Windham is '*inter stellas luna minores.*'" Mr Windham's other connections about this time, of a political nature, were the leaders of the opposition. In 1783 he became chief secretary to the earl of Northampton, lord-lieutenant of

Ireland; being fearful he should fail in his new situation, from the doubts he entertained whether he could descend to practise the arts supposed to be necessary in such cases, Dr Johnson encouraged him by saying, "Don't be afraid, Sir, you will soon make a very pretty rascal." This humorous assurance was ill-founded; and it is generally admitted, that Mr Windham's resignation, within four months, originated from the most honourable motives. In 1793 he attached himself to Burke's party. Soon after he went on a mission to the duke of York, then commanding our forces in Flanders. The following extract is from a pleasing letter to his sister-in-law Mrs Lukin, dated near Bois-le-Duc, September 12th, 1794.

"We are, as you will have learned from one of my former letters, near Bois-le-Duc, which is rather a large town, and a strong fortress belonging to the Dutch. About three miles from this place are the duke's head-quarters, and at four or five miles further is the camp. The immediate place of my residence is the village where head-quarters are, and I am lodged in the house of a Dutch attorney. The country about is light and sandy, affording very pleasant rides, which are not the less so from your occasionally meeting bodies of troops of different dresses, establishments, and countries. The variety in this respect is not so great as it was last year, nor, from a number of circumstances, is the scene so interesting, after allowing even for the difference of its not being seen, as that was, for the first time. The relief which all this gives, after confinement during the summer in London, and to such business as that of the war-office, is more than you can conceive. It has given me a new stock of health; and the beauty of the autumn mornings, joined to the general idleness in which one lives by necessity, and therefore without self-reproach, has given me a feeling of youthful enjoyment, such as I now but rarely know. You cannot conceive how you would like a ride here, with the idea that if you wandered too far, and went beyond the outposts, you might be carried off by a French patrole. It is the enjoyment that George Falknor was supposed to describe of a scene near Dublin, where 'the delighted spectator expects every moment to be crushed by the impending rocks.' Were public business out of the question, I should stay here probably for a week or two longer; but, as it is, my stay must be regulated by other considerations, and it is probable that the messenger whom we are waiting for impatiently, may occasion my departure immediately. The general state of things is as bad as need be. The shooters in your part of the world must not suppose that they have all the sport to themselves. So strong is the love of mischief among men, that all the shooting of one another that is going on here, does not prevent their filling up their intervals by a little murder of partridges."

During this trip to the continent, a whimsical mistake occurred between Mr Windham and a Dutch clergyman. The old gentleman was eager in his inquiries as to the doctrines and discipline of the church of England, to which he received satisfactory answers: those, however, were succeeded by others of a more difficult nature, particularly as to the manner in which some English preachers manufacture their sermons. Upon Mr Windham's confessing his ignorance of this subject, the Dutchman in a tone of disappointment exclaimed, "Why then, I find, Sir, after all the conversation we have had, that I have been de-

ceived as to your profession. They told me you were an English minister."

On the decease of Pitt in 1806, he again took office, as secretary-at-war and of the colonies, with Fox and Lord Grenville; on the dismissal he returned to the ranks of opposition, which he never afterwards quitted. His death, which occurred in the summer of 1810, was occasioned by the following circumstance:—On the 8th of July, in the preceding year, while passing by the end of Conduit-street, he saw a house on fire, and immediately proceeded towards the spot, to render the sufferers all the assistance in his power. He found the flames rapidly advancing towards the residence of the Honourable Mr North, whose valuable library he determined if possible to save from the destruction with which it was threatened. He laboured at the task which he had thus imposed upon himself, for a period of four hours, during a heavy rain, and amid the playing of numerous fire-engines; and his efforts were so successful, that most of the books were saved. Unfortunately he fell in the course of his exertions and injured his hip; but took no notice of the accident until an indolent encysted tumour had been formed. On consulting his surgical advisers, he found that it was necessary for him to submit to a most painful and dangerous operation. The tumour was removed with success, on the 17th of May, 1810, but unfavourable symptoms soon afterwards appeared, and he expired on the 4th of the following month.

Windham was an able, honest, and indefatigable senator; capable of brilliant efforts whenever he chose to exert himself, and always commanding the respect of the house. His speeches were bold and masculine. The following is a specimen of his parliamentary oratory. He was speaking of the Egyptian expedition: "Whole wars," said he, "might pass over without affording an opportunity of fairly measuring our strength with the enemy. But in Egypt, the very scene seemed to be chosen for a fair trial of strength; the two armies seemed as it were to be withdrawn from the world. They were both left without any other resource than that which they could draw from their own courage and discipline; they had no allies to share the merit of victory, or bear the disgrace of defeat. Their motto seemed to be '*Væ victi!*' and all they asked was a clear stage and no favour. Who were those that we conquered? Not Greeks or Copts, Batavians or Cisalpines, who have been found to recruit those armies by which they have been conquered; but the tried, the chosen, the best troops of France: we were contending with the pride and glory of the republic, with troops whom the French themselves would have chosen as the depositaries of their military character. He would not say that those we had beaten were the best of those troops who had been sent to Egypt; but, undoubtedly, having remained the longest, they had more of that character which is supposed to belong to veterans. We know what they thought of themselves,—we know that they boasted that they would destroy us, if they once caught us out of our ships; but, like the young and untried Orlando, we overthrew the experienced wrestler; and he might say, that upon this occasion we had given them a Rowland for an Oliver. He would say, in the language of the same piece, that 'no one would entreat them to another encounter.' He would not do the French army in Egypt injustice: he did not doubt but that they would venture

another encounter; he would not say that fortune might not be favourable to them in it: but this he would say, that from this time forth no French army would ever meet an English army with any thing like feelings of contempt; they would know that they could not rely upon any superiority of courage or discipline. He thought he had a right to urge all these to the house as compensations for our losses. We might sustain still greater ones; the expedition—which God forbid—might ultimately fail! For no man could say that we were out of fortune's reach; but whatever the event might be, it could not take from us our glory; in that respect we were out of the reach of chance. He did not urge these considerations as a justification of the conduct of ministers, but as compensations for the losses we had sustained."

Cuthbert, Lord Collingwood.

BORN A. D. 1750.—DIED A. D. 1810.

THIS gallant admiral and good man was a native of Newcastle-upon-Tyne. He was descended from a most respectable and ancient family. "His ancestor, Sir Cuthbert Collingwood," says a writer in the 'Quarterly Review,' "was one of the English knights taken by the Scots at what was called the Raid of the Reidswire, and he is accordingly mentioned in the 'Border Minstrelsy:'—

> But if you would a souldier search,
> Amang them a' were taen that night,
> Was nane sae wordie to put in verse
> As Collingwood, that courteous knight.

The Collingwoods suffered severely from their devotion to the cause of Charles I., and were subsequently deprived of almost all their land in consequence of their participation in the insurrection of 1715, when the head of the family was taken prisoner and put to death, like his friend Lord Derwentwater; who is made to address him, in the ballad called 'Derwentwater's Good Night,' in a gallant stanza, which we wonder the present writer did not quote:

> 'And fare thee well, George Collingwood,
> Since fate has put us down;
> If thou and I have lost our lives,
> King James has lost his crown.'"

The subject of the present notice was born in the year 1750. At a very early age his genius indicated a propension towards a maritime life; he was, however, continued at the grammar-school conducted by the Rev. Mr Moises for the space of six or seven years. In the year 1761 he entered into the naval service of his country, under circumstances precisely similar to those that attended the *debût* of his friend Lord Nelson: we mean that he was consigned to the protection and patronage of his maternal uncle Captain—afterwards Admiral—Braithwaite, who at that period commanded the Shannon frigate, wherein he was rated as a midshipman; in which situation on board the Gibraltar we find him in the year 1766. From 1767 to 1772 he appears to have

been master's mate of the Liverpool; whence he was taken into the Lennox, under the command of Captain Roddam, by whom he was recommended to Vice-admiral Graves, and afterwards to Vice-admiral Sir Peter Parker.

He had now been thirteen years in the service, and in a manner unpromoted; so little did the encouragement which he met with at the commencement of his nautical career countervail his merit. "There is," however, "a tide in the affairs of men." The following year, the American war having commenced, he was appointed fourth lieutenant of the Somerset, and received his commission that memorable day on which was fought the battle of Bunker's-hill; an action in which he was, with a party of seamen, engaged. In the same year, Lieutenant Collingwood was in the Hornet sloop-of-war ordered to Jamaica; the Lowestoffe soon after arrived at the same station; and here his friendship with Nelson, who was then second lieutenant, was renewed. On the promotion of the latter into the Bristol, the admiral's ship, Lieutenant Collingwood succeeded to the Lowestoffe; and when the former was, in 1773, advanced from the Badger to the rank of post-captain in the Hinchinbroke, the latter was made master and commander in the Badger; and again, upon his promotion to a larger ship, Captain Collingwood was made post in the Hinchinbroke; so that in the gradations of preferment the active and energetic spirit of Collingwood seems to have followed the flights of the towering genius of Nelson.

In 1780 he was employed in the expedition sent up the river San Juan; and, being supported against the pestilential climate by a strong constitution, survived most of his ship's company. Captain Nelson, who had been promoted to a larger ship, caught, though in a milder degree, the infection; but Captain Collingwood, whose firmer constitution had resisted many attacks, survived most of his crew, having, in four months, buried 180 of the 200 men that had composed it. In December following he was appointed to the command of the Pelican, of 20 guns; though his continuance in this ship was but of short duration; for, on the 1st of August, 1781, in consequence of one of those hurricanes so fatal to the West Indies, which had raged through the night, this vessel was wrecked upon Morant quay. Providence again interposed to save the lives of Captain Collingwood and his ship's company; for, when day-light appeared, they, by the assistance of rafts, which the danger of the hour led them to construct from small and broken yards, &c. got on shore, and upon the sandy-hills in the vicinity, almost without food or water, remained ten days, until the Diamond frigate, which had, in consequence of an intimation of their distress, been sent from Jamaica, relieved them.

The next appointment of Captain Collingwood was to the command of the Sampson, of 64 guns. In this ship he served until the peace of 1783. He was, however, soon after ordered to take the command of the Mediator, and return to the West Indies, where he again met his friend Nelson, who at that time commanded the Boreas frigate on the same station,—a circumstance that was equally agreeable to both. The friendship which subsisted between these two young men, who were destined hereafter to make so conspicuous a figure upon the great theatre of naval and national glory, appears from the letters which were written during this period by Nelson, to his friend Captain Locker.

In one of which, dated on board the Boreas, September 24th, 1784, he says, "Collingwood is at Grenada, which is a great loss to me, for there is nobody that I can make a confidant of." In another, dated November 23d, "Collingwood desires me to say he will write you soon such a letter that you will think it a history of the West Indies. What an amiable good man he is!" Again, March 16th, 1785, St Kitts,—"What a charming good man! He is a valuable member of society." Off Martinique, March 5, 1786, he writes, "This station has not been over pleasant: had it not been for Collingwood, it would have been the most disagreeable I ever saw." In the Mediator, and upon this station, he remained until the latter end of 1786, when, in consequence of his ship being paid off, he took the opportunity to visit his native country, and renew his acquaintance with his family and friends whom he had left at an early age, and to whom, from his long separation, he had become what might be termed a stranger at home.

At his retirement, in his native county, Northumberland, Captain Collingwood, after a service of twenty-five years, continued to enjoy himself; and in this interval of repose, anxious to seek for connubial happiness, he formed a connection with a lady of great personal merit, and of a family ancient and highly respectable. This lady was Sarah, the daughter of John Erasmus Blackett, Esq., one of the aldermen of Newcastle, and brother of Edward Blackett, Bart. of Matson, Northumberland. From the endearments of a connection so happily formed, and from the social circle of his friends to whom his amiable and virtuous character endeared him, he was, on the breaking out of the war with France in 1793, called to the command of the Prince, Rear-admiral Bowyer's flag-ship; with whom he served in this vessel, and subsequently in the Barfleur, until the engagement of the 1st of June, 1794. The bravery of Captain Collingwood, and the very distinguished share that the ship in which he acted under the admiral had in the victory of that glorious day, are well-known, although at the time his eminent services were not in the official despatches particularly marked, or rather, we may say, remained totally unnoticed, nor was his name included in the list of those who were awarded medals on account of the victory. This act of injustice created much surprise among the officers of the fleet, one of whom, Captain Packenham, of the Invincible, is said to have remarked, "that if Collingwood had not deserved a medal, neither had he, for they were together the whole day." Rear-admiral Bowyer's flag, in consequence of his honourable wound in this day's action, no longer flying on board the Barfleur, Captain Collingwood was, on the 7th of August, 1794, appointed to the command of the Hector; whence he was removed to the Excellent, and employed in the blockade of Toulon. While on board this ship he had the glory of sharing in the brilliant victory off Cape St Vincent. In a letter to his wife, Captain Collingwood thus describes this engagement:—"We flew to them as a hawk to his prey, passed through them in the disordered state in which they were, separated them into two distinct parts, and then tacked upon their largest division. The Culloden, and Captain, Commodore Nelson's ship, were the first that brought them to close action. I by chance became the admiral's leader, (for the circumstances were such as would admit of no regular order,) and had the good fortune to get very early action. The first ship we engaged was the San Salvador del Mun-

do, of 112 guns, a first rate; we were not farther from her when we began than the length of our garden. Her colours soon came down, and her fire ceased. I hailed, and asked if they surrendered; and when by signs made by a man who stood by the colours, I understood that they had; I left her to be taken possession of by somebody behind, and made sail for the next, but was very much surprised on looking back to find her colours up again, and her battle recommenced. We very soon came up with the next, the San Isidro, 74, so close alongside, that a man might jump from one ship to the other. Our fire carried all before it; and in ten minutes she hauled down her colours; but I had been deceived once, and obliged this fellow to hoist English colours before I left him, and made a signal for somebody behind to board him, when the admiral ordered the Lively frigate to take charge of him. Then making all sail, passing between our line and the enemy, we came up with the San Nicholas, of 80 guns, which happened at the time to be abreast of the San Joseph, of 112 guns; we did not touch sides, but you could not put a bodkin between us, so that our shot passed through both ships, and, in attempting to extricate themselves, they got on board each other. My good friend, the commodore, had been long engaged with those ships, and I came happily to his relief, for he was dreadfully mauled. Having engaged them until their fire ceased on me, though their colours were not down, I went on to the Santissima Trinidada, the Spanish admiral Cordova's ship, of 132 guns, on four complete decks, such a ship as I never saw before. By this time, our masts, sails, and rigging, were so much shot, that we could not get so near her as I would have been; but near enough to receive much injury from her, both in my men and ship. We were engaged an hour with this ship, and trimmed her well; she was a complete wreck. Several others of our ships came up, and engaged her at the same time; but evening approaching, and the fresh Spaniards coming down upon us, the admiral made the signal to withdraw, carrying off the four ships that had surrendered to our fleet." And in one addressed to his father-in-law, he says, "Take it altogether, it is perhaps the most brilliant action upon record; and I cannot help feeling an almost spiteful satisfaction that Lord Howe is outdone. His 1st of June (grand as it was) bears no proportion, in any respect, to this. There the number of ships was nearly equal; here the enemy were nearly double; 28 guns more would have made them double our force; there they had only two 3-deckers, and we had eight or nine; here the enemy had six 3-deckers, and one—the Santissima Trinidada—of 4 decks, while we had only two first-rates, and four 90 gun-ships, and of our fifteen ships, one was a little 64, the Diadem. I am sure you will admire the fortitude and magnanimity of Sir John Jervis, in determining to attack so superior a force; but should we not be grateful to him who had such confidence in his fleet, that he thought no force too great for them? Though the different ships were very differently circumstanced, and bore unequal shares in the action, all have the merit of having done their utmost. After I had driven the San Nicholas on board the Josef, and left them, on their fire ceasing, to be taken possession of by somebody behind, they fell on board my good friend the commodore; and as they had not surrendered, he, in his own active person, at the head of his ship's company, boarded them, and drove the Spaniards from deck to deck at the point of their swords,

They at last both surrendered; and the commodore, on the quarter-deck of a Spanish first-rate, San Josef, received the submission and the swords of the officers of the two ships, while one of his sailors bundled them up with as much composure as he would have made a faggot, though twenty-two sail of their line were still within gun-shot."

The Excellent was paid off in January, 1799; but in a few weeks after Captain Collingwood was raised to the rank of rear-admiral, and hoisted his flag on board the Triumph. Soon after this he was employed in the blockade of Brest,—an irksome piece of service, of which he appears to have been heartily tired.

The truce of 1802 afforded him an opportunity of visiting his family at Morpeth. "His amusements," says his biographer, "were found in the intercourse with his family, in drawing, planting, and the cultivation of his garden, which was on the bank of the beautiful river Wansbeck;" but, he continues, "while, in cheerfulness and tranquillity, he was thus fully realizing those hopes of happiness which he had so long entertained, hostilities with France recommenced; and in the spring of 1803 he was once more called away from his home, to which he never returned again. The exact date of his departure from the north does not appear; but in the narrative of his life, from which several extracts have already been made, he observes, 'Since 1793 I have been only one year at home. To my own children I am scarcely known; but while I have health and strength to serve my country, I consider that health and strength to be its due; and if I serve it successfully, as I have ever done faithfully, my children will not want for friends.'"

After the renewal of the war, Admiral Collingwood successively shifted his flag from the Venerable to the Culloden; from her to the Dreadnought; and from the latter vessel to the Royal Sovereign, in which he bore a gallant and glorious part at Trafalgar. This vessel was the first that broke through the enemy's line in that decisive engagement. "Lord Nelson," says Collingwood's biographer, "had made the Royal Sovereign's signal to pass through the enemy's line at the twelfth ship from the rear; but Admiral Collingwood observing her to be a two-decked ship, and that the second astern of her was a first-rate, deviated so far from the order as to proceed to the attack of this last, which carried Admiral Alava's flag. While they were running down, the well-known telegraphic signal was made, of 'England expects every man to do his duty.' When the admiral observed it first, he said that he wished Nelson would make no more signals, for they all understood what they were to do: but when the purport of it was communicated to him, he expressed great delight and admiration, and made it known to the officers and ship's company. Lord Nelson had been requested by Captain Blackwood, (who was anxious for the preservation of so invaluable a life,) to allow some other vessels to take the lead, and at last gave permission that the Temeraire should go ahead of him; but resolving to defeat the order which he had given, he crowded more sail on the Victory, and maintained his place. The Royal Sovereign was far in advance when Lieutenant Clavell observed that the Victory was setting her studding sails, and with that spirit of honourable emulation which prevailed between the squadrons, and particularly between these two ships, he pointed it out to Admiral Collingwood, and requested his permission to do the same. 'The ships of our line,' replied the ad-

miral, 'are not yet sufficiently up for us to do so now; but you may be getting ready.' The studding sail and royal halliards were accordingly manned, and in about ten minutes the admiral, observing Lieutenant Clavell's eyes fixed upon him with a look of expectation, gave him a nod; on which that officer went to Captain Rotheram, and told him that the admiral desired him to make all sail. The order was then given to rig out and hoist away, and in one instant the ship was under a crowd of sail, and went rapidly ahead. The admiral then directed the officers to see that all the men lay down on the decks, and were kept quiet. At this time the Fougueux, the ship astern of the Santa Anna, had closed up, with the intention of preventing the Royal Sovereign from going through the line; and when Admiral Collingwood observed it, he desired Captain Rotheram to steer immediately for the Frenchman, and carry away his bowsprit. To avoid this, the Fougueux backed her main top-sail, and suffered the Royal Sovereign to pass, at the same time beginning her fire; when the admiral ordered a gun to be occasionally fired at her, to cover his ship with smoke. The nearest of the English ships was now distant about a mile from the Royal Sovereign; and it was at this time, while she was pressing alone into the midst of the combined fleets, that Lord Nelson said to Captain Blackwood, 'See how that noble fellow, Collingwood, takes his ship into action. How I envy him!' On the other hand, Admiral Collingwood, well knowing his commander and friend, observed, 'What would Nelson give to be here!' and it was then, too, that Admiral Villeneuve, struck with the daring manner in which the leading ships of the English squadrons came down, despaired of the issue of the contest. In passing the Santa Anna, the Royal Sovereign gave her a broadside and a half into her stern, tearing it down, and killing and wounding four hundred of her men; then, with her helm hard a-starboard, she ranged up alongside so closely, that the lower yards of the two vessels were locked together. The Spanish admiral, having seen that it was the intention of the Royal Sovereign to engage to leeward, had collected all his strength on the starboard; and such was the weight of the Santa Anna's metal, that her first broadside made the Sovereign heel two streaks out of the water. Her studding-sails and halliards were now shot away; and as a top-gallant studding-sail was hanging over the gangway hammocks, Admiral Collingwood called out to Lieutenant Clavell to come and help him to take it in, observing that they should want it again some other day. These two officers accordingly rolled it carefully up, and placed it in the boat." To his father-in-law, Admiral Collingwood writes thus:—"This was a victory to be proud of; but in the loss of my excellent friend, Lord Nelson, and a number of brave men, we paid dear for it. When my dear friend received his wound, he immediately sent an officer to me to tell me of it, and give his love to me. Though the officer was directed to say the wound was not dangerous, I read in his countenance what I had to fear; and before the action was over, Captain Hardy came to inform me of his death. I cannot tell you how deeply I was affected; my friendship for him was unlike any thing I have left in the navy,—a brotherhood of more than thirty years. In this affair he did nothing without my counsel, we made our line of battle together, and concerted the mode of attack, which was put in execution in the most admirable style. I shall grow very

tired of the sea soon; my health has suffered so much from the anxious state I have been in, and the fatigue I have undergone, that I shall be unfit for service. The severe gales which immediately followed the day of victory ruined our prospect of prizes. Our own infirm ships could scarce keep off the shore; the prizes were left to their fate, and as they were driven very near the port, I ordered them to be destroyed by burning and sinking, that there might be no risk of their falling again into the hands of the enemy. There has been a great destruction of them; indeed, I hardly know what, but not less than fifteen or sixteen, the total ruin of the combined fleet."

For his services on this occasion, Admiral Collingwood was raised to the peerage by the title of Baron Collingwood of Caldbourne and Hethpoole in Northumberland, and was granted a pension of £2000 for life, with other rewards to his family. He also succeeded his late comrade, Lord Nelson, in the command-in-chief of the Mediterranean station,—a most harassing employment, but in which he acquitted himself very ably. His health, however, at last gave way, and on the 3d of March, 1810, he felt himself compelled to resign his command to Rear-admiral Martin, and sail for England in the Ville de Paris. When informed that he was again at sea, he seemed to rally for a time his exhausted strength, and said to those around him, "Then I may yet live to meet the French once more:" thus 'strong in death' appeared 'the ruling passion.' On the following morning, when his friend Captain Thomas, on entering his cabin, observed, that he feared the motion of the vessel disturbed him, "No, Thomas," he replied, "I am now in a state in which nothing in this world can disturb me more. I am dying; and I am sure it must be consolatory to you, and all who love me, to see how comfortably I am going to my end." He told one of his attendants that he had endeavoured to review, as far as was possible, all the actions of his past life, and that he had the happiness to say that nothing gave him a moment's uneasiness. He spoke, at times, of his absent family, and of the doubtful contest in which he was about to leave his country involved, but ever with calmness and perfect resignation to the will of God; and in this blessed state of mind, after taking an affectionate farewell of his attendants, he expired without a struggle at six o'clock in the evening of that day, having attained the age of fifty-nine years and six months. The following is from the report of the surgeon of the Ville de Paris:—"In no part of his lordship's brilliant life did his character appear with greater lustre than when he was approaching his end. It was dignified in the extreme. If it be on the bed of sickness and at the approach of death,—when ambition, the love of glory, and the interests of the world, are over,—that the true character is to be discovered, surely never did any man's appear to greater advantage than did that of my Lord Collingwood. For my own part, I did not believe it possible that any one, on such an occasion, could have behaved so nobly. Cruelly harassed by a most afflicting disease, obtaining no relief from the means employed, and perceiving his death to be inevitable, he suffered no sigh of regret to escape, no murmuring at his past life, no apprehension of the future. He met death as became him, with a composure and fortitude which have seldom been equalled, and never surpassed."

"As a naval officer," says the Quarterly reviewer, "skilled in the

practical part of his profession, Lord Collingwood, we believe, had few equals. He was a strict disciplinarian, and kept his ship in the highest order without severity; to corporal punishments he had rarely occasion to resort, and, whenever that happened, it is stated, he was for many hours afterwards melancholy and silent, sometimes not speaking a word again for the remainder of the day. He never omitted assembling the crew on Sundays for divine worship; but he had no opinion of those saintly gentlemen, who were more attentive to praying than to the comfort or discipline of the crew. 'I cannot,' he is said to have observed, 'I cannot, for the life of me, comprehend the religion of an officer who can pray all one day, and flog his men all the next.' We hope this may be a salutary hint to some of the same class who, we have been given to understand, are still to be found in command of his majesty's ships, 'flogging' and 'praying' alternately, as in the time of Lord Collingwood. When Lord St Vincent repressed, in the Mediterrean fleet, the spirit of mutiny which had unhappily prevailed at the ports of England, he was so convinced of the excellence of that prompt and decisive system which Captain Collingwood pursued, that it was his frequent practice to draft the most ungovernable spirits into the Excellent. 'Send them to Collingwood,' he used to say, 'and he will bring them to order.' On one occasion, a seaman was sent from the Romulus, who had pointed one of the forecastle guns, shotted to the muzzle, at the quarter-deck, and standing by it with a match, declared that he would fire at the officers, unless he received a promise that no punishment should be inflicted upon him. On his arrival on board the Excellent, Captain Collingwood, in the presence of many of the sailors, said to him, with great sternness of manner, 'I know your character well, but beware how you attempt to excite insubordination in this ship; for I have such confidence in my men, that I am certain I shall hear in an hour of every thing you are doing. If you behave well in future, I will treat you like the rest, nor notice here what happened in another ship: but if you endeavour to excite mutiny, mark me well, I will instantly head you up in a cask, and throw you into the sea.' Under the treatment which he met with in the Excellent, this man became a good and obedient sailor, and never afterwards gave any cause of complaint.' His abhorrence of corporal punishment, and his conviction of its utter worthlessness, as the means of discipline, grew stronger with his experience, so that a whole year would sometimes pass over without a single man being flogged in his ship. 'I wish I were the captain for your sakes,' cried Lieutenant Clavell one day to some men who were doing some part of their duty not to his satisfaction, when some one touched him on the shoulder, and, turning round, he saw the admiral, who had overheard him. 'And pray, Clavell, what would you have done if you had been captain?' 'I would have flogged them well, Sir.' 'No, you would not, Clavell; no, you would not,' he replied; 'I know you better.' When a midshipman made a complaint, he would order the man for punishment the next day; and, in the interval, calling the boy down to him, would say, 'In all probability the fault was yours; but whether it were or not, I am sure it would go to your heart to see a man old enough to be your father disgraced and punished on your account; and it will, therefore, give me a good opinion of your disposition, if, when he is brought out, you ask

for his pardon.' When this recommendation, acting as it did like an order, was complied with, and the lad interceded for the prisoner, Captain Collingwood would make great apparent difficulty in yielding; but at length would say, 'This young gentleman has pleaded so humanely for you, that in the hope that you will feel a due gratitude to him for his benevolence, I will for this time overlook your offence.' Lord Collingwood always kept the men strictly to their duty, and when they were sick, he visited them daily, even when an admiral, and supplied them from his own table; but by his attention to discipline, cleanliness, and above all, keeping the decks and their clothes dry, and the ship well ventilated, he had rarely more than five or six men on the sick-list, in a crew of eight hundred. 'The attention,' says his biographer, 'which Lord Collingwood paid to the health of his men has been already mentioned; but it may be added here, that in the latter years of his life he had carried his system of arrangement and care to such a degree of perfection, that perhaps no society in the world, of equal extent, was so healthy as the crew of his flag-ship. She had usually eight hundred men; was, on one occasion, more than one year and a half without going into port, and during the whole of that time never had more than six, and generally only four, on her sick list. This result was occasioned by his attention to dryness, (for he rarely permitted washing between decks,) to the frequent ventilation of the hammocks and clothes on the booms, to the creating as much circulation of air below as possible, to the diet and amusement of the men, but, above all, by the contented spirits of the sailors, who loved their commander as their protector and friend, well assured that at his hands they would ever receive justice and kindness, and that of their comforts he was more jealous than of his own.'"

Henry, Viscount Melville.

BORN A. D. 1740.—DIED A. D. 1811.

HENRY, younger son of Robert Dundas, Lord Arniston, president of the court of session, was born in 1740, and educated at the university of Edinburgh. He was called to the bar at an early age, and, though of gay habits, soon obtained considerable celebrity as an advocate. In 1773 he was appointed solicitor-general,—in 1775, lord advocate,—and two years after, joint-keeper of the signet for Scotland.

His immediate ancestors had ranked as the ablest lawyers of their time; his own talents, even more than his connexions, soon raised him to the highest honours of the law; and his personal qualities completed the ascendancy which his talents had obtained. "I know few men," said Lord Kaimes, when dedicating to Lord Melville, then Mr Dundas, his 'Elucidations of the Law of Scotland,' "I know few men, young or old, who have your candour, to make truth welcome against their own prepossessions; still fewer, who have your talents, to make it triumph over the prepossessions of others."

When lord-advocate he entered into parliament for his native county. Pursuing there the objects of a higher ambition, he early engaged in the business of politics, and withdrew himself entirely from the profes-

sion of the law. He appeared in parliament at the time when the fate of a falling ministry could neither be averted nor delayed; but his abilities and intrepidity preserved him amidst the wreck. Anticipating the event, he made himself master of some of the chief branches of public business; and as chairman of a secret committee on the causes of the Carnatic war, displayed a knowledge of Indian affairs that announced sufficiently the value of his aid and the danger of his hostility. From the fall of Lord North, to the nomination of a steady and efficient ministry under Pitt, he acted a leading part. To Pitt's administration his assistance was invaluable. Under the earl of Shelburne he held the office of treasurer of the navy, to which, on the overthrow of the coalition, he was again appointed. The first great measure in which he was engaged related to our possessions in the East. Our influence in India had been as extraordinary in its origin as our power prodigious, and it required for its support the most intimate acquaintance with its nature and circumstances. General Malcolm observes, "that from the day on which the company's troops marched a mile from their factories, the increase of their territories and their armies became a principle of self-preservation." The comparative smallness of their numbers, by lulling the jealousy of the country power, contributed essentially to the company's success. "It made them bend their superior and commanding knowledge to the conciliation of the natives of India, whom they literally employed to conquer each other." An empire thus established required a government powerful and vigilant. The command of so large a territory in the hands of individuals was justly considered dangerous. The government of India had long been corrupt; and, from the principle of its origin and progress, it was the nature of it to be so. A different plan was now, however, to be formed; but the means of repairing past, and of preventing apprehended mischiefs, were not so easily devised. Mr Fox's India bills had miscarried, and had wrought the fall of the administration that proposed them. The intention of what is commonly called Pitt's bill, was essentially different. It was more that of temporary reform and a moderate control of power which should gradually remove admitted evils. Fox, with his usual powers of discrimination, pointed out the defects of the bill. He observed, "that it established a weak and inefficient government, by dividing its powers. To the one board belonged the privilege of ordering and contriving measures; to the other, that of carrying them into execution. Theories which did not connect men with measures, were not theories for this world. The new tribunal he stigmatized as a screen for delinquents, as a palpable and unconstitutional violation of the sacred right of a trial by jury. Since no man was to be tried but on the accusation of the company or the attorney-general, he had only to conciliate government in order to his remaining in perfect security. It was a part of the general system of deception and delusion, and he would venture to pronounce it a bed of justice, where justice would for ever sleep." Yet, says Malcolm, "the admitted abuses which it corrected, the great strength of the administration in England at the time when it was introduced, the ability and influence of the president of the board of control, and the firmness and integrity of the nobleman who was first invested with the high powers which the amended bill of 1786 so wisely gave to the governor-general of India,—all contributed to cover its

defects, and to bring its merits into the most prominent point of view." By these, and by the economical regulations of Mr Dundas, the affairs of the company were somewhat retrieved, and the accounts of their revenue, expenditure, and commerce, which he presented annually to parliament, are pronounced by one of his biographers to be "masterpieces of clearness, order, and accuracy, and especially of skill to reduce the complex and the intricate to a beautiful and instructive simplicity."

Sailors are proverbially regardless of themselves. Towards the close of the American war, the frauds to which they were exposed had alarmingly increased. Persons of the meanest order were continually employed in encouraging their vices, watching their necessities, and imposing on their ignorance. They at first readily supplied the inexperienced seaman with trifling sums of money, and then in the hour of intoxication, and in the carelessness of his heart, induced him to grant instruments which stripped him at once of all he had acquired, and even anticipated the reward of his future gallantry and toils. By forged authorities the widows and orphan children of those who had fallen in the service were deprived of their inheritance. Wills, on false pretences, were procured by those sharpers in favour of themselves; and when such devices failed, those instruments were forged. By the same infamous means, not less than one-half of the arrears due at the termination of the American war were actually carried off; the most artful of the perpetrators generally escaping with impunity and opulence. On entering upon office, Lord Melville took, without delay, the most simple and effectual steps to check the progress of the evil. Forms were prescribed for wills and for delegated powers; and the superior officers of ships were in most cases the necessary witnesses. Every sort of guard was provided to protect the thoughtless and the ignorant. A general abstract of the acts, relating to the wages of seamen, was transmitted to the clergyman of every parish throughout the kingdom, with a letter of instructions, pointing out the manner in which the surviving relatives were to state their pretensions, and the arrear was then payable by the revenue officer living nearest to the residence of such as were entitled to receive it. Still, during the seaman's absence, his wife and family remained under the pressure of their former poverty and wretchedness; no effectual scheme had been hitherto proposed, none even thought of to relieve them; it was reserved for Lord Melville to establish a system of remittance and supply, so extensive as to convey relief into every corner of the kingdom, to the scattered families of our absent seamen. All the provisions of those valuable acts were afterwards extended to Ireland on the application of its government.

Of the same benevolent character was the measure of restoring the forfeited estates, which sprung directly from this enlightened statesman. It healed the wounds which civil discord had inflicted, and transformed the cradle of rebellion into a nursery of infant loyalty, and of growing attachment to the throne.

Dundas held the office of treasurer of the navy during the administration of the marquess of Rockingham, and that of his successor, Lord Shelburne. In 1801 he retired from office with Pitt and his friends, and was created Viscount Melville. On the return of Pitt to office in 1804, he became first lord of the admiralty. Meanwhile, the commis-

sioners of inquiry into the abuses existing in the offices of the public revenue presented their tenth report, which appeared to implicate the new first lord of the admiralty, for having, while treasurer of the navy, retained in his own hands large sums of the public money. On the 8th of April, 1805, Whitbread, in a splendid speech, moved in the commons,—"That, in the year 1785, an act of parliament was passed, (25th Geo. III. cap. 31,) intituled, 'An act for better regulating the act of treasurer of his majesty's navy;' whereby it is directed, that no money shall be issued from the treasury to the treasurers of the navy; and shall not be paid out of the bank unless for naval service, and in pursuance of drafts signed by the treasurer, or some person or persons authorized by him, which drafts shall specify the heads of service to which such sums are to be applied, and that the regulations under the said act shall take place from the 31st of July, 1785.

"That the execution of the said act was postponed till the month of January, 1786, and from that time till the month of June, 1788, when Lord Melville left the office of treasurer, contrary to the practice established in the treasurership of the Right Hon. Isaac Barre, contrary to the resolutions of the house of commons, of 18th June, 1792, and in defiance of the provisions of the above-mentioned act of the 25th Geo. III. cap. 31, large sums of money were, under pretence of naval services, and by a scandalous evasion of the act, at various times, drawn from the bank, and invested in exchequer and navy bills, left upon the security of stock, employed in discounting private bills, in purchasing bank and East India stock, and used in various ways for the purposes of private emolument.

"That Alexander Trotter, Esq. paymaster of the navy, was the person by whom, or in whose name the public money was thus employed; and that in so doing he acted with the knowledge and consent of Lord Viscount Melville, to whom he was at the same time private agent, and for whose use or benefit he occasionally laid out from 10 to £20,000, without considering whether he was previously in advance to his lordship, and whether such advances were made from the public or private balances.

"That the Right Hon. Lord Viscount Melville having been privy to, and connived at the withdrawing from the bank of England, for purposes of private interest or emolument, sums issued to him as treasurer of the navy, and placed to his account in the bank, according to the provisions of the 25th Geo. III. cap. 31, has been guilty of a gross violation of the law, and a high breach of duty.

"It further appears, that subsequent to the appointment of Lord Melville as treasurer of the navy in 1784, and during the time he held that office, large sums of money issued for the service of the navy were applied to other services; and that the said Lord Melville, in a letter written in answer to a precept issued by the commissioners of naval inquiry, requiring an account of the money received by him, or any person on his account, or by his order, from the paymaster of the navy, and also of the time when, and the persons by whom, the same were returned to the bank or paymaster, has declared that he has no materials by which he could make up such an account, and that, if he had materials, he could not do it without disclosing delicate and confidential

transactions of government, which his duty to the public must have restrained him from revealing.

"That Lord Melville, in applying monies issued for the service of the navy to other services, stated to have been of so delicate and confidential a nature, that, in his opinion, no account can or ought to be given of them, has acted in a manner inconsistent with his duty, and incompatible with those securities which the legislature has provided for the proper application of the public money."

In the debate which followed, Pitt took part with his old colleague, and moved, as an amendment, that the report of the commissioners should be referred to a select committee of the house of commons. The resolutions were afterwards supported by Mr Tierney, Mr G. Ponsonby, Mr Fox, Lord Henry Petty—in a speech of singular ability—Lord Andover, Mr Wilberforce, and Lord Archibald Hamilton; and were opposed by the master of the rolls, Mr Canning, Lord Castlereagh, and Mr Wallace. On the division the numbers appeared to be equal,—216 for the motion and 216 against it. The speaker, Mr Abbot, gave the casting vote in favour of the original motion, and the whole of the resolutions were consequently carried. Lord Melville, on the following day, resigned his place, as first lord of the admiralty. On this being announced to the house, Whitbread said, that had the issue of the debate been merely of a personal or party nature, he might have been satisfied with Lord Melville's removal from the responsibility, dignity, and emolument, attached to the situation which he had resigned; but he thought it necessary that his lordship should be prevented from ever again polluting with his presence the councils of his sovereign, and before any other proceeding, he should move an address to the throne, praying his majesty to deprive the noble lord of every civil office held during the pleasure of the crown, and to dismiss him from the councils of the king for ever. He then asked whether Pitt was prepared to give a pledge to this effect, and whether Trotter had been dismissed? Canning replied that he had, but he did not think that the case of Lord Melville, which, at the most, amounted to no more than a bare suspicion, warranted the severity of the proceedings now proposed. After a very animated conversation, Whitbread agreed to withdraw his motion, in lieu of which he moved that the resolutions of the former night be laid before his majesty by the whole house. On the following day they were presented accordingly.

On the 6th of May Whitbread moved for the erasure of Lord Melville's name from the list of privy-counsellors, when Pitt said he had reason to believe that the measure was considered generally as expedient; and he had therefore felt it his duty to recommend it. He added, "I may be allowed to feel much, and peculiarly on this occasion. I certainly do feel a deep and bitter pang at having to discharge this my duty to the house and the public. Any cause of sorrow to Lord Melville will raise in my mind emotions of anguish. The blow to Lord Melville, whether one of degradation real or nominal, whether an injury light or substantial, whether the result of popular inquietude, or of the popular sense of justice misled, from whatever source the degradation of Lord Melville, or however transient, is an event to occasion me the utmost pain. This is a feeling of which I am not ashamed. It is a feeling which I cannot separate from my bosom. It is a feeling

which I could not separate from my conduct, but from respect to the opinions of this house, to the sentiments of parliament, and to regard for my public duty. I will add no more. I own I think the present discussion was unnecessary; and if not unnecessary, I can believe that it is not more gratifying to those over against me than it is to me." Whitbread then inquired whether Lord Melville held any place of profit during the pleasure of the crown? and being answered none but for life, he withdrew his motion.

The commissioners of naval inquiry had, in the early progress of these discussions, been sedulously occupied in the researches rising out of the tenth report, and Whitbread now gave notice of an intention finally to move for an impeachment, which was met, on the part of Robert Dundas, son of Lord Melville, by a requisition that the noble lord should be previously admitted and heard by the house. Leave having been obtained from both houses, his lordship, escorted by the sergeant-at-arms, advanced within the bar on the 11th of June, and entered upon his defence. He solemnly asserted that he never knew that Trotter had drawn any money for purposes of speculation. His lordship as positively denied any participation in the profits of Trotter; he admitted that, when money was drawn for naval purposes, he had suffered Trotter to place it in the house of Coutts & Co. until it should be wanted; but he affirmed that he had never given him power to draw money from the bank indiscriminately. He certainly did suppose the paymaster derived a profit from the sums invested in Coutts's hands, but he had never considered it as a clandestine or unlawful proceeding; and the reason he had not directly disclaimed any share in those profits, when examined before the committee, was because he had that moment been informed of the confusion in which his paymaster's accounts stood, and there was a doubt in his own mind whether he might not unintentionally have received what was his own property from unlawful profits. His lordship referred to two sums of about ten thousand pounds each, the circumstances relative to which he felt equally bound, by private honour and public duty, never to disclose, though he affirmed that those sums were neither used nor meant to be employed for any object of profit by him. He had certainly directed his agent to procure for him the loan of twenty thousand pounds, for which he had paid regular interest; but it was not till within the last six weeks that he knew Trotter was the lender of the money. After explaining the nature of his transactions with respect to the loyalty loan, to which he had subscribed the sum of ten thousand pounds, his lordship said, when he destroyed all vouchers it was because he considered them useless, and not from the most remote apprehension of danger from their existence. He could scarcely believe that an impeachment was intended,—he was equally incredulous with respect to an indictment,—and he did not yet despair of receiving justice from his deluded country.

His lordship having withdrawn, Whitbread said, the excuse offered by Lord Melville for not directly answering questions, in consequence of the confused state of Trotter's accounts, was strange and incredible. He dwelt on the suspicious circumstances of refusing to give any account of the two sums of ten thousand pounds, and declared that if his lordship would refer the matter to a jury of honour, consisting of the chancellor of the exchequer, Windham, and any other person of equal

integrity, he should, in case they acquitted him, feel satisfied. Whitbread concluded by moving that Henry, Lord Viscount Melville, be impeached of high crimes and misdemeanours. A long debate ensued, in the course of which Bond objected to an impeachment as cumbrous and expensive, and moved, as an amendment, that the attorney-general be directed to prosecute Lord Melville for the several offences which appeared to have been committed by him. The motion for impeachment was rejected by a majority of seventy-seven, and Bond's amendment adopted by two hundred and thirty-eight to two hundred and twenty-nine voices: it was, however, ultimately determined, on the 25th of June, that the mode of prosecution by impeachment should be resorted to, and Whitbread was appointed manager, with direction to acquaint the lords on the following day therewith. On this occasion Pitt delivered his last speech in the senate, and argued strongly in favour of a trial by impeachment, in preference to proceedings by a criminal prosecution.

Due preparation being made in Westminster-hall for the trial, on the morning of April the 29th, 1807, the lords and commons assembled, and Lord Melville took his place within the bar. After the ceremonies of reading the charges, &c. were gone through, the lord-chancellor called on the managers of the house of commons to make good their charges; upon which Mr Whitbread began a speech which lasted three hours and twenty minutes. At the conclusion the house adjourned to the next day. On the 30th the trial was resumed with the usual ceremony and witnesses examined. May 1st, 2d, and 3d, were alike employed in reading the report of the commissioners for naval inquiry, hearing exceptions by Lord Melville's counsel, examining witnesses, &c. On the 5th the examination of Mr Trotter commenced about 11 o'clock, and finished at 4 in the afternoon. He admitted that he was the private agent of Lord Melville as well as deputy-paymaster, and also that he had advanced his lordship several loans of money, but denied that his lordship had applied the public money to his own use or emolument. On the 6th the trial proceeded and was adjourned over to the 8th, on which day, as well as the 9th, several witnesses were examined. On the 10th Sir S. Romilly summed up the evidence for the prosecution. He spoke three hours and a half, and the court adjourned to the 13th, which day and the 14th were occupied by Mr Plomer, who spoke nearly four hours each day in defence of his lordship. Mr Adam, on the same side, engaged the attention of the court on the 15th. On the 16th and 17th Mr Whitbread replied to Mr Plomer and Mr Adam, and supported the prosecution, which finally closed the proceedings. The peers agreed to take the matter into consideration on the 28th. A motion of thanks to the managers was made on the 23d in the commons by General Fitzpatrick, and agreed to with only one dissentient voice. At the appointed period the peers assembled,—the assistance of the judges on certain points of law was resorted to,—and on the 12th of June their lordships proceeded to deliver their verdict. The result was, that his lordship was acquitted of all the charges; but in four of the articles the majority in his favour did not amount to double the number of those who gave a contrary judgment. The whole number of peers voting was one hundred and thirty-five.

Lord Melville was subsequently restored to his seat at the council-

board, but never again engaged in public life. He died at his seat in Scotland on the 27th of May, 1811.

His lordship was a man of excellent business-habits and great powers of application. "His eloquence," says one of his eulogists, "was manly and vigorous; it rose superior to ornament, and was always more intent on convincing the understanding than pleasing the fancy. Unravelling with ease the most intricate details, and seizing with intuitive rapidity the strongholds of his subject, he could either convey it to his audience with the simplicity of statement, or impress it on their conviction with uncommon powers of argument and great dignity of language and address. His speeches in debate bore the stamp of a mind rich in common sense, in political sagacity, and in the perfect knowledge of life and of affairs. From these qualities even the splendid and argumentative eloquence of Mr Pitt has often received the most powerful support. In the affairs of his own department Lord Melville was always prepared to supply the fullest information, when the prudence of office permitted the disclosure; and in the bills which it belonged to his duty to propose, he was never anticipated by the suggestions of others; but whenever he chose to adopt them he always improved by making them his own." His early attachment to Pitt remained steadfast and unchangeable amidst all the vicissitudes of a long and arduous career. The strong affection he entertained for his person,—his unaffected grief for the premature death of his friend,—the fond enthusiasm with which he dwelt upon his memory,—are seldom observed in the attachments of politicians, and are therefore the more striking and amiable when they appear.

Sir Peter Parker, Bart.

BORN A. D. 1723.—DIED A. D. 1811.

SIR PETER PARKER, Bart. was son of Rear-admiral Christopher Parker, descended from a very respectable and ancient family in Ireland. He was born in 1723, and entered the navy at a very youthful age, under the auspices of his father. In 1743 Admiral Matthews, at that time commander-in-chief on the Mediterranean station, advanced him to the rank of lieutenant on board the Russel, Captain C. Long. During the year Parker filled this appointment the Mediterranean fleet continued in Hieres bay, blocking up the French and Spanish fleets in the harbour of Toulon. On the 6th of May, 1747, he was promoted to be post-captain of the Margate frigate; and thence advanced, at the beginning of the year 1749, to the command of the Lancaster, a third-rate.

In 1757 Captain Parker commanded the Woolwich of 44 guns, on the Leeward Island station, in the squadron under Commodore Moore He remained on this station until after the capture of Guadaloupe, in which service he was very actively engaged, when the French squadron having sailed for St Domingo, and Commodore Moore having no longer any naval force to oppose, that officer shifted his pendant from the Cambridge to the Buckingham, and sent several of the large ships home with the convoy. Among these was the Bristol of 50 guns, then

commanded by Captain Parker, who, on his arrival in England, was removed to the Montague. In this ship he for some time cruised in the Channel, where he met with considerable success, capturing several private ships of war and other vessels.

Captain Parker's next command was that of the Buckingham of 70 guns. In this ship he had the good fortune to distinguish himself. In the spring of 1761, when Commodore Keppel sailed on the expedition against Belleisle, the Buckingham was employed in the commodore's squadron, and after the surrender of Belleisle continued to be engaged in covering the newly-acquired conquest, and in blocking up the small remains of the French naval force in the different contiguous ports. Immediately after the surrender of Belleisle Commodore Keppel detached a squadron under the command of Sir Thomas Stanhope, to attack such of the enemy's ships as might be lying in Basque road, and to destroy the works which had been erected on the Isle of Aix. The Buckingham was in this squadron, and to Captain Parker was intrusted the performance of the latter service. Towards the end of July the fortifications were completely destroyed; but, previously to the accomplishment of this business, Captain Parker had a brisk encounter with a number of praams belonging to the enemy, which, having been expressly constructed for the purpose of carrying very heavy cannon, were considered extremely formidable; while, from the circumstance of their lying remarkably low in the water, it was conceived that the guns of a ship could not be brought to bear upon them; but in this they were deceived, and the praams were obliged to abandon their ill-judged attack. The damage sustained by the ships under Captain Parker's command was very inconsiderable. Our officer continued to command the Buckingham till the year 1762, when that ship being extremely crazy and out of repair was ordered to be dismantled, and her captain appointed to the Terrible, a new ship of 74 guns just launched. A treaty of peace having been ratified at the beginning of the year 1763 the Terrible was put out of commission, and Captain Parker was not engaged in any service of importance until the commencement of the American war.

In 1772 Captain Parker received the honour of knighthood, and in 1774 was nominated to the command of the Barfleur of 90 guns. Towards the end of the year 1775 Sir Peter Parker was appointed to a command on the American station with the rank of commodore. He accordingly hoisted his broad pendant on board the Bristol, a ship newly launched, and on the 26th of December sailed from Portsmouth with a squadron of ships of war and a fleet of transports, having on board a large body of troops under the command of Earl Cornwallis destined for an attack on Charlestown in South Carolina. Meeting, however, with extremely bad weather and other impediments on his passage, he did not arrive at Cape Fear till the beginning of May. He was here joined by General Clinton and a reinforcement of troops, but from some farther delay the squadron was prevented from proceeding to Charlestown till the beginning of the ensuing month. The fleet having crossed the bar, it was found requisite, before they could advance higher up, to possess themselves of Sullivan's Island, which lay about six miles below the town, commanding the harbour. The Americans had long exerted their utmost ability and ingenuity to put this

place in a formidable state of defence,—they had expended considerable sums of money in the erection of fortifications, and it was garrisoned by 300 men. This island, however, it was resolved to attack; and on the 28th of June, in the morning, the general and commodore having finally settled their plan, the Thunderbomb took her station, covered by the Friendship armed ship, and began to throw shells into the fort; at the same time the Bristol, Experiment, and Solebay, opened a most furious cannonade. The Sphynx, Syren, and Actæon, owing to the unskilfulness of their pilots, in coming up to their stations, ran upon some shoals and stuck fast; the two first were with much difficulty got off, but not until it was too late for them to be of any service. It being found impossible to save the Actæon, her officers had her scuttled and burnt. The springs of the Bristol's cable being cut by the shot, she lay for some time exposed to a dreadful raking fire. Captain Morris, her commander, was severely wounded in several places, but refused to quit his station till a shot took off his arm. The Bristol's quarter-deck was twice entirely cleared, excepting the commodore, who displayed the most intrepid courage and resolution. Unfortunately the army under General Clinton could not co-operate in this attack, not having been able to cross that part of the river which the guides had represented as fordable. On the approach of night, Sir Peter Parker, finding all hope of success at an end, called off his shattered ships, and retired out of reach of the enemy's shot. After this failure Sir Peter repassed the bar, and sailed with his squadron for New York; where, on his arrival, he put himself, as instructed, under the orders of Lord Viscount Howe, the commander-in-chief.

In December Sir Peter Parker and General Clinton were sent, with a squadron of ships of war and a body of land forces, to reduce Rhode Island. During the remainder of the time that he staid in America the commodore continued in command at New York, but the reduction of Rhode Island was the last service of importance in which he was engaged there.

On the 29th of May, 1777, Sir Peter Parker was promoted to the rank of rear-admiral of the blue squadron; in the month of November following he was appointed to command on the Jamaica station, as successor to Admiral Gayton; and on the 29th of January, 1778, Rear-admiral Sir Peter Parker arrived at Port-Royal, and took on him the command of his majesty's squadron, in the Bristol of 50 guns. On the 19th of March, 1779, he was advanced to be vice-admiral of the blue.

On the 26th of September, 1780, Sir Peter Parker was made vice-admiral of the white. He continued his command at Jamaica during the year 1781, his cruisers being uniformly successful; but in the following year he returned to England. This was the memorable year of Rodney's splendid victory, and Sir Peter Parker had the honour of conveying to the British shores the Conte de Grasse and several other French officers of rank who were taken on the 12th of April.

Sir Peter Parker's progress in the navy had been regular, steady, and uniform; his private and professional character stood unimpeached; and shortly after his arrival in England, as a reward for his numerous services, he had the honour of being raised to the dignity of a baronet of Great Britain. During the peace which subsisted from 1783 to 1793, Admiral Parker held no command; but on the commencement

of hostilities against France in the latter year, he hoisted his flag on board the Royal William, of 84 guns, as commander-in-chief at Portsmouth.

At the general election in 1784 Sir Peter was a candidate for the borough of Seaford in Sussex, with the Honourable Mr Neville, and was returned; but the return was declared void. In 1787 he was elected for Malden. On the death of Admiral Howe he became admiral of the fleet. He died in 1811.

Spencer Perceval.

BORN A. D. 1762.—DIED A. D. 1812.

SPENCER PERCEVAL was the second son of John, Earl of Egmont, by Catherine Compton, Baroness Arden, in her own right. He was educated at Harrow and Trinity college, Cambridge. In 1786 he was called to the bar, and in 1796 obtained a silk gown.

He entered parliament in the latter year as member for Northampton, which borough he represented during the remainder of his life. He soon rose so high in the estimation of the premier, that when that minister was about to fight a duel with Tierney, he said, in reply to a question by Lord Harrowby, that, in the event of his death, Perceval appeared the best fitted to succeed him in office. His first speech, delivered on the 2d of June, 1797, was in support of the Sedition and mutiny bill.

Under the Addington ministry, Perceval, in 1801, became solicitor-general, and the following year attorney-general, which office he retained until the death of Pitt. In this situation he was called upon to conduct the prosecution of Jean Peltier for a libel on Napoleon Bonaparte, first consul of France, before Lord Ellenborough and a special jury in Westminster-hall, on the 21st of February, 1803.

Mr Abbot opened the pleadings on the part of the prosecution in the following manner: "Gentlemen of the jury, this is an information against the prisoner, Jean Peltier, for publishing, in a paper called 'L'Ambigu,' several libels against Napoleon Bonaparte, who was at the time of the said publication, and is now, first consul and chief magistrate of the French republic. The information states that there subsisted at the time of such publication, and does now subsist, peace and harmony between this United kingdom and the republic of France; and that the said libels tend not only to disturb this peace and harmony so happily subsisting between the said countries, by exciting animosities, jealousies, and resentments, but directly tend to degrade and vilify the said Napoleon Bonaparte in the eyes of the French nation, and to stir up and excite persons in France to assassinate and murder the said first consul." The learned counsel then read the translations of the different libels which were the subject of this prosecution. The first was in the form of an ode on the 18th Brumaire; the second was also in verse, and entitled 'The Prayer of a Good Patriot on the 14th of July, 1802;' the third was a long speech, supposed to have been delivered by Lepidus to the Romans on the dictatorship of Sylla. These pieces were extremely long. The first ode contained, among many other strong pas-

sages, the following: "O eternal disgrace of France! When Cæsar was on the Rubicon, he was opposed by the senate, by Pompey, and by Cato; and, though victor on the plains of Pharsalia, a dagger yet remained in the hands of the last of the Romans; but Frenchmen wear their chains without a murmur!" It also contained many other strong passages, calling to the French nation to arm,—to march,—for the times admitted no delay. The second libel was also in verse; and, after affecting to admire the fortune of Bonaparte, whom it describes under the name of the 'Son of Letitia,' concludes, "I do not envy his fortunes! Let him be named first consul for life! There is nothing now wanting to him but the sceptre and the crown,—let him have them, let him be elected emperor! The story of Romulus reminds me of this; and I wish his apotheosis may follow on the morrow."—The third libel begins in this manner: "I hardly conceive that the mildness of your nature and character will permit you to give credit to the various atrocities committed by the present dictator; it is not only you who suffer, but your children yet unborn are proscribed, perhaps before they have seen the light. And was it for this that France has combated Prussia, Russia, Austria, and all Europe, to surrender her sovereignty and her liberty to a Corsican rebel?" The libels were of prodigious length, and were read throughout by Mr Abbot.

Mr Attorney-general opened the prosecution nearly as follows: "Gentlemen of the jury, you are now, by the indictment that has been read, put distinctly and fully in possession of every information on the subject on which you have been brought here to decide. The case is simple, and the question, in my mind, by no means difficult to be tried. It will be for you to examine whether or not the defendant be the author of these publications, and whether or not this prosecution be rightly brought forward before a British jury, and in a British court of justice. It is impossible not to know that considerable interest and curiosity are attached to this trial; and when I cast my eye about the court and observe an attendance so different from what usually graces trials in courts of justice, I feel that such motives must have operated in a more than ordinary degree. Many, no doubt, have been curious to hear the observations that may fall from me in conducting the present prosecution. Yet, sorry as I should be to disappoint such an assembly, the course which duty and inclination point out to me will not be likely to gratify such expectation. This duty and inclination confine me to the dry and dull trial of the intention; for the law will determine by what takes place in court,—by reason,—by justice,—whether a publication of this kind can be defended as innocent, or tolerated as inoffensive. In discussing these questions, so notorious and so recent, there can neither be much instruction nor amusement; and if any one could suppose that on this, or any other occasion, I should either derogate from the dignity of my public duty, or shrink from the faithful discharge of it, he will be disappointed. Though no person can entertain a higher opinion than I do of the abilities and acquirements of the learned gentleman who is to lead the defence; though no person be more unaffectedly convinced of his splendid talents, his brilliant imagination, his cultivated mind, and his enlightened reason; yet I doubt if even he can satisfy much curiosity on this occasion.

"The points to be considered are: Whether the defendant be the

author of the publication or not?—What was the intention of publishing?—What is the legal character of guilt or innocence belonging to it?—These questions are the only points at issue between us; and these will afford little opportunity of displaying the powers of imagination and reasoning to excite interest or gratify curiosity; for I cannot bring myself to suppose that the learned gentleman would so far adopt the spirit of the libel as to make his defence a republication of the slanderous matter that it contains; neither can I be persuaded that he could have been instructed by his client to come into court for the purpose of making the proceedings here a vehicle for the wider dissemination of the libel. If such were his intentions, he would have a wide and abundant field to expatiate on. Of all the extraordinary and eventful facts that arose out of the late extraordinary revolution, that which originated the present government is most surprising. Yet if no other considerations than those of an ordinary discretion were to influence his management of the defence, he will abstain from that course which may exasperate justice, without serving the cause of his client.

"What is it brings me here in the discharge of a public duty? I prosecute this libel because it endangers the tranquillity of this country. When the question shall arise for consideration of the punishment, I appeal to my learned friends, if I would not ill discharge my duty to the public, to the honour and character of the law, if I should not earnestly press the consideration, that proceedings, which had been made the vehicle of defamation and slander, should not escape in a British court with impunity. The present prosecution is to satisfy justice, and to see that the law be not disappointed. Without previously troubling you with stating what the prosecution is, I shall state to you what it is not. It is not for a work containing an impartial account of the transactions of any given period;—it is not for an historical narration of events in a neighbouring country, accompanied with philosophical reflections on their causes and consequences;—it is not for a publication whose author,—even approaching to licentiousness,—has dealt in simple defamation in any particular instance. But the case which the present prosecution brings to notice was conceived originally in libel and in defamation. Defamation is its best object. Its further object is, to excite the subjects of the first magistrate of the French republic, at peace with this country, to deprive him of his authority, and to assassinate him. It was published with the intention of traducing and defaming Napoleon Bonaparte, first consul of France, and of exciting the hatred of the subjects of this country and of his own against him.

"Gentlemen, I shall now say a few words on the law of the case. I do not feel myself called upon to define to what extent the subjects of one country may carry their observations or strictures on the administration of affairs in another. But I have no difficulty in asserting that a publication like the present, tending to embroil the tranquillity of nations, and encouraging the assassination of one who is, *de facto*, first magistrate of France, is not more opposite to the feelings and sentiments of Englishmen than it is libellous and illegal. The fair detail of history,—the impartial recital of events,—the unprejudiced account of transactions, not rendered the vehicle of defamation,—is not the subject of information. Defamation constitutes the whole of this publication, and I am confident no lawyer will maintain that it is not an offence of the

deepest die and meriting the severest reprehension. It is not possible that there can be any difficulty in supporting the proposition that such an offence against the laws of the country ought to be severely punished. The prosecution is not unprecedented. Instances of the same kind occur in the history of the country. I shall cite you two: Lord George Gordon was prosecuted for a libel against the queen of France. J. Vint was accused and convicted of a libel against the emperor of Russia, yet the libel with which he was charged was not marked by any such foul and hideous features as the subject of the present prosecution. If you find, then, that upon that principle and this authority that crime was punished by a British court of justice, it will only be necessary for me to call your attention to the libel that is the subject of the present prosecution.

"It is not immaterial to observe that two of those charged are in the first number of the 'Ambigu.' And here it may not be amiss to notice the frontispiece of this work. It bears a sphynx, as you may perceive, with a variety of enigmatical Egyptian figures, of which it would neither be easy nor of consequence to discover the meaning. There is one circumstance, however, which is decisive of the object of the publication. The face of the animal resembles that of the prints which are publicly known in this country to be intended as likenesses of Bonaparte. Having never seen the first consul I cannot positively affirm that it is a fac simile of his countenance; but, as it bears a striking resemblance to the prints that are said to be like him, this circumstance, coupled with the matter of publication, can leave little room to doubt that its object was to defame and render him vile in the eyes of the world in general. Two numbers, the first and third of the 'Ambigu,' are subjects of prosecution. I shall direct your attention first to the matter of the third. [Here the learned attorney stated, that, as he had, to save himself the pain of going through the whole libel, procured a learned friend to read it through, he would not follow him, but observe upon the material parts as he proceeded.] This libel asserts that they had in vain maintained a glorious contest against Austria, Russia, and the powers of Europe, if their liberties were to be sacrificed to the Corsican. It goes on: 'And now the tiger dares to call himself the founder and regenerator of France, possessing himself of the fruit of their labours, as of a spoil taken in war!' It excites them to rise, to march, to regain their liberty, and seek revenge. Bonaparte, it says, has no longer any object of ambition but security. His Mamelukes, having no contact with the army, nor speaking the language of France, are ready to act as mutes, cut-throats, and hangmen. Every thing—justice, the law, the finances, is in the possession of the despot. It then calls upon them to avenge their wrongs or perish with glory." After having read these passages, the learned attorney called the attention of the jury to the two libels contained in the first number of the 'Ambigu.' "Upon what principle, I will ask," said the attorney-general, "are those examples of assassination recalled, if not for the purpose of exciting the subjects of that chief magistrate to rebellion and assassination? Let me not be told that I am an enemy to the English press, when I prosecute the abuse of it,—a licentiousness that would bring it into discredit, infamy, and disgrace. I will put it to your bosoms, whether such a publication would constitute a crime in this country,—a publication so base, so disgraceful, that even in a time of war I should not

hesitate to pronounce it unjustifiable? We were then, and are happily now, at peace; and the conduct that a state of war cannot sanction, must be criminal in a high degree in peace. Let me not be told of character. The first magistrate of a great nation,—no matter whether descended from a long line of royal ancestors, or lately raised from the abyss of obscurity,—is entitled to respect, and should be treated with decorum. We may be told, gentlemen, of abusive articles in the 'Moniteur:' I am not here to vindicate the conduct or the publications of the French government, or its journalists. If there be any feelings in another country that can reconcile such vile calumnies, let them have the benefit, but let not us have the disgrace."

The evidence was then called in support of the prosecution; which consisted merely of proving the publication of the two papers, at the desire, and by the request, of the defendant Mr Peltier, by Mr De Boffe, against whom an information was also filed; but he suffered judgment to pass by default. Mr Mackintosh then rose, and addressed the jury, on the part of the defendant, in a strain of consummate eloquence, for nearly three hours. The attorney-general's reply was pretty well contrived, and a verdict of guilty obtained.

In March, 1807, Mr Perceval was appointed chancellor of the exchequer; and on the resignation of the duke of Portland, and the resignations of Castlereagh and Canning, he was named first lord of the treasury.

On the 11th of May, 1812, he fell by the hand of an assassin of the name of Bellingham, who shot him with a pistol while entering the lobby of the house of commons. The following extract from the attorney-general's speech on the trial of Bellingham, places the deed and the motives which instigated it in as clear a light as the whole transaction will admit of. "It is not revenge," said the learned gentleman, in his address to the jury, "nor is it resentment, that ought to have any influence on your consideration of the question. You are to satisfy public justice,—to take care, by your verdict, this day, that the public shall not be exposed to the perpetration of such horrid crimes. With respect to the prisoner, who has committed this murder and assassination, I know nothing of his life, or how it has been spent, except so far as relates to the circumstance of this case. He was in business, and acted as a merchant; in the course of his transactions, he showed himself a man of sound understanding, in every act which he performed; he not only conducted his own affairs with understanding, but he was selected by other persons to manage theirs. Some three or four years ago, not finding his affairs prosper in this country, he was intrusted by a house, I believe in the north, to execute business of great importance. He went to Russia, and there, whether through his own misconduct, or by the justice or injustice of that country, I know not, he was thrown into prison, and applied to his majesty's minister, Lord Granville Leveson Gower, and to the secretary of legation, Sir Stephen Shairpe, for assistance and remuneration for certain losses. They, for reasons which it is unnecessary, and would be improper for me to state, refused to grant it. He then came to this country, and went on in the pursuit of his affairs in the regular mode. He found persons ready to avail themselves of his activity, experience, and knowledge, and by them he was employed. But he seems to have cherished in his mind

a feeling of the propriety of making an application to government, to indemnify him for losses which he said he had sustained through the means of the Russian government; and he applied to many persons in this country to assist him in procuring that recompense which he conceived he was entitled to. The grounds of his application were examined, as they always are, by his majesty's ministers, who found them unworthy of attention, and therefore the claim was rejected. He then had recourse to another contrivance, which he hoped to have effected. As his majesty's ministers did not wish to interfere, he became desirous of having his case laid before parliament, to see if he had friends enough there, to obtain that which he had in vain sought from government. He made applications to various members of parliament, who declined complying with his request. He then applied to Mr Perceval himself, the late minister, to countenance his claims; which, according to the forms of parliament, was necessary to be signified to the house, when pecuniary assistance was prayed for. Governed by those principles of justice which always regulated and directed his conduct, he did not think himself justified in acceding to the request, and he refused it. From the moment the prisoner found Mr Perceval would not countenance what he called a remuneration,—from that moment the desire of revenge took root in his mind. He had been resident in this city for four months; and from the time he found his application would not be received, he made preparation for effecting the horrible purpose which he at last fatally accomplished. He provided himself with a brace of pistols,—he purchased ammunition,—and was ready to take advantage of the first opportunity which offered to prosecute his revenge; and for the purpose of greater certainty, he informed himself of the time when Mr Perceval usually attended the house. That every thing might be complete, he added to the common dress he wore a pocket at the side, to receive one of the pistols. On the day when this atrocious act was committed, he placed himself in the lobby of the house of commons, at the entrance, close to the door, and waited till the victim of his malignity was likely to appear. He prepared himself for the deed; and just as Mr Perceval was passing the threshold, he discharged his pistol. It unfortunately took effect. Mr Perceval died almost instantaneously! Under these circumstances, you have to say, whether the person who stands at the bar be or be not the murderer? Whether he shall or shall not answer the justice of his country, for the act he has performed?"

The assassin admitted the deed, and expressed his deep regret that he had been compelled to select so amiable a man as Mr Perceval for his victim; but argued that in all the circumstances he was justifiable in revenging himself as he had done.

Granville Sharp.

BORN A. D. 1735.—DIED A. D. 1813.

THIS venerable philanthropist was born at Durham, on the 10th of November, 1735, O. S. He was the ninth son of Dr Thomas Sharp, and grandson of Archbishop Sharp, the friend of Tillotson. In the

spring of the year 1750 he left Durham, and in May was bound apprentice in London to a linen-draper. At the expiration of his apprenticeship he quitted his situation, and engaged himself in the service of another linen factory, which he had reason to suppose established on a large foundation; but finding the concern far more contracted than he had imagined, he soon relinquished his engagement.

In this period he made his first advances in learning. A series of controversies with an inmate of his master's house, who happened to be a Socinian, first excited him to the study of the Greek tongue. They disputed concerning the Trinity, and the atonement of Christ; on these topics the Socinian declared that Granville was mistaken in the opinions which he uttered, and that his misconception arose from his want of acquaintance with the Greek language, "in which," he asserted, "the subjects of their dispute did not suffer the interpretation which he put on them, and he therefore referred him to the New Testament in its original text." He learned Hebrew nearly at the same time, and from a cause exactly similar. A Jew, who appears to have resided also in his master's house, frequently contested with him the truths of the Christian religion, and when hard pressed by his earnest reasonings, constantly declared that he misinterpreted the prophecies, from ignorance of the language in which they were written; referring him to the Hebrew Bible, in the same manner as the Socinian had done to the Greek Testament.

In 1765 his attention was first directed towards the sufferings of a race of men who had long been the sport and victims of European avarice. The professional arrangements of his brother, Mr William Sharp, whose house was open every morning for the gratuitous relief of the poor, were the first means of bringing the individual, Strong, to the knowledge of either brother. Pain and disease, the consequence of severe blows and hardships, led the miserable sufferer to seek the aid of medical attendance; and it was in one of his morning visits to the surgery in Mincing Lane that he was met by Granville, as he approached the door of the house, ready to faint through extreme weakness. On inquiry it was found that he had been a slave of Mr David Lisle, a lawyer of Barbadoes, whose barbarous treatment had by degrees reduced him to a state of weakness, and whose brutal heart had then turned him adrift in the streets. This happened in 1765. By the united care of the two brothers, into whose hands Strong had providentially fallen, he was restored to health, and placed in the service of a respectable apotheeary in Fenchurch Street. In this comfortable situation he remained for two years, when, as he was one day attending his mistress behind a hackney coach, he was seen, and quickly recognised by the lawyer to whom he had been a slave; and who, conceiving from his appearance that he must have regained his strength sufficiently for useful labour, formed a design to recover possession of him. He followed the coach for the means of obtaining intelligence of his abode, and laid a plan to entrap him.

"Some days afterwards, he—David Lisle—employed two of the lord-mayor's officers to attend him to a public house, from whence he sent a messenger, to acquaint Jonathan Strong that a person wanted to speak with him. Jonathan of course came, and was shocked to find that it was his old master who had sent for him, and who now im-

mediately delivered him into the custody of the two officers. Jonathan, however, sent for his present master Mr Brown, who likewise came, but being violently threatened by the lawyer, on a charge of having detained *his property*—as he called Strong—he was intimidated, and left him in Lisle's hands. After this Mr Sharp received a letter from the Poultry Compter, signed Jonathan Strong, a name which he did not at first recollect; he sent, however, a messenger to the Compter to inquire about him, but the keeper denied that he had any such person committed to his charge." This refusal was sufficient to rouse the suspicion and call forth the active benevolence of Mr Sharp. He went himself to the Compter, inquired for the master of the prison, and insisted on seeing Jonathan Strong. He was then called, and was immediately recollected by Granville Sharp, who charged the master of the prison, at his own peril not to deliver him up to any person whatever who might claim him, until he had been carried before the lord-mayor—Sir Robert Kite—to whom Granville Sharp immediately went, and gave information, that one Jonathan Strong had been confined in prison without any warrant; and requested of his lordship to summon those persons who had detained him, and to give him notice to attend at the same time. This request was complied with. When the appointed day was come, Sharp attended at the mansion-house, and found Jonathan in the presence of the lord-mayor, and also two persons who claimed him: the one a notary public, who produced a bill of sale from the original master, to James Kerr, a Jamaica planter, who had refused to pay the purchase money until the negro should be delivered on board a ship bound to Jamaica, the captain of which vessel, David Lair, was the other person then attending to take him away. The lord-mayor having heard the claim, said, that "the lad had not stolen any thing, and was not guilty of any offence, and was therefore at liberty to go away;" whereupon the captain seized him by the arm, and told the lord-mayor, "he took him as the property of Mr Kerr." Mr Beech, the city-coroner, now came behind Sharp and whispered in his ear the words "charge him;" on which Sharp turning towards the captain, said, "Sir, I charge you for an assault!" On this, Lair quitted his hold of Jonathan's arm, and all came away. A few days after this transaction, Sharp was charged by a writ, with having robbed the original master, David Lisle, the lawyer, of a negro slave and also of another slave, &c. &c.

In these charitable exertions Granville appears to have been seconded by his brother James. He alludes to this circumstance, in a letter addressed to the Rev. Dr Muysson, in November, 1767, in which he mentions "a law-suit commenced against him and his brother James for having lawfully and openly obtained the liberty of a poor negro before the chief-magistrate of the city." But the action at law was not the only weapon employed to alarm him, and to deter him from the prosecution of his humane task,—Lisle sought out the negro's *friend* at his brother William's house, and having announced his name, was admitted. The conversation, on one part at least, was warm; and Lisle, after ineffectual denunciations of revenge in various ways, attempted to intimidate by a challenge. In what manner a defiance of this nature was received by a man of Mr Sharp's character, we learn from his own notes: "Oct. 1, 1767. David Lisle, Esq.—a man of the

law—called on me in Mincing Lane, to demand gentleman-like satisfaction, because I had procured the liberty of his slave, Jonathan Strong. I told him, that 'as he had studied the law so many years, he should want no satisfaction that the law could give him.'"

Mr Sharp kept his word faithfully, but in a way little to be expected from a person who, as he himself states, "had never once opened a law-book to consult it, till on occasion of the present cause." His first step, in order to defend himself from the legal process instituted against him, was to apply to an eminent solicitor in the lord-mayor's office, and to retain Sir James Eyre, then recorder of the city—and afterwards lord-chief-justice of the court of common pleas—as his counsel. After some consideration of the case, the solicitor brought him a copy of the iniquitous opinion given in the year 1729, by the attorney and solicitor-general, York and Talbot, that a slave coming from the West Indies to Great Britain or Ireland, does not become free, and assured him that they should not be able to defend him against the action, as the Lord-chief-justice Mansfield was also decidedly of the same opinion.

It appears that he now gave himself up for nearly two years, to an intense study of the English laws on those points particularly which regard the liberty of the person in British subjects. In his difficult task of legal inquiry he had no instructor, no assistant, except his own conscience. During his studies he applied to the celebrated Blackstone, but received little satisfaction from his opinion on the interesting subject in question. He consulted, likewise, several other professional men of eminence, but could find no one whose opinion was favourable to his undertaking. "Even my own lawyers," he repeats, "were against me." By continued application, however, before the final term when he was to answer the charge against his brother and himself, Granville had added to a thorough investigation of the English laws much extraneous research into those of other nations; and he had compiled in manuscript a tract 'On the Injustice and dangerous tendency of tolerating the least claim to private Property in the persons of Men in England." This tract, when completed, he submitted to the perusal of Blackstone; and then employed his utmost efforts to circulate it, by means of numerous copies among those on whom he wished it to produce a favourable effect. The arguments contained in it were irresistible, and by its success he had the satisfaction of amply fulfilling his promise to his antagonist. "The substance of this tract," he says, "was handed about among the gentlemen of the law, in twenty or more different manuscript copies, for nearly two years, until the lawyers employed against the negro, Jonathan Strong, were intimidated, and the plaintiff was compelled to pay treble costs for not bringing forward the action; after which," he adds, "the tract was printed in 1769."

At length, the important case of James Somerset presented itself,—a case which is said to have been selected at the mutual desire of Lord Mansfield and Mr Sharp, in order to bring to a final judgment a subject of contest, which from the benevolence of the latter so frequently occupied, and from the legal researches and abilities of the former so much embarrassed, the courts of judicature. Somerset had been brought to England, in November, 1769, by his master Charles Stewart, and in process of time left him. Stewart found an opportunity of seizing him un-

awares; and he was conveyed on board the Ann and Mary, Captain Knowles, in order to be carried to Jamaica, and there to be sold for a slave. The leading counsel was Mr Sergeant Davy, who brought the case into court before Lord Mansfield, on the 24th of January, but professed the cause to be of so high importance, that it might be deferred till another term, in order to give him time to prepare fully for its support. This request Lord Mansfield declined granting, but fixed the hearing for that day fortnight; apprizing Sergeant Davy at the same time, that "if it should come fairly to the general question, whatever the opinion of the court might be, even if they were all agreed on one side or the other, the subject was of so general and extensive concern, that from the nature of the question, he should certainly take the opinion of all the judges upon it." On the 7th of February the case was again brought before Lord Mansfield, assisted by the three justices, Ashton, Willes, and Ashurst. The cause of liberty was opened by Mr Sergeant Davy, with a vast mass of information on the subject of slavery, prefaced by a declaration of his intention to maintain before the court the proposition, "That no man at this day is or can be a slave in England." Mr Sergeant Glynn followed on the same side, and enforced very powerfully the arguments proposed by the leading counsel. At the conclusion of Mr Sergeant Glynn's speech, Lord Mansfield, after some short questions, added, "This thing seems, by the arguments, probable to go to a great length, and it is the end of the term; so it will be hardly possible to go through it without stopping, therefore, let it stand over to the next term."

On the 9th of May the question was again brought before the court, on the broad and general ground, "Whether a slave, by coming into England, becomes free?" On this second reading, the pleadings in favour of Somerset were resumed by Mr Mansfield, who, in a speech of strong sense and expression, contended, that if the negro Somerset was a man—and he should conclude him one till the court should adjudge otherwise—it was impossible he could be a slave in England, unless by the introduction of some species of property unknown to our constitution. He considered the dispute as between one human creature, the master, and another the negro, whether the latter should be entitled to the important rights which nature had given him. He was stated by the master to have been a slave in America, but that did not prove him a slave in England, where no such condition of men exists. "From all that can be drawn from the state of Africa or America," said the orator, "the negro may very well answer—It is true I was a slave, kept as a slave in Africa, I was first put in chains on board a British ship and carried from Africa to America; I there lived under a master from whose tyranny I could not escape; if I had attempted it I should have exposed myself to the severest punishment; and never, from the first moment of my life to the present time, have I been in a country where I had a power to assert the common rights of mankind. I am now in a country where the laws of liberty are known and regarded; and can you tell me the reason why I am not to be protected by those laws, but to be carried away again to be sold?—To hear a negro state that argument," he continued, "and have it answered, consistently with our laws, seems to me to be impossible; for, on the contrary, he is as fully and clearly entitled to the protection of those laws, as every one who

now hears me." He concluded by expressing his conviction that the alteration which had been attempted in the laws of England, by the introduction of a new species of slavery, was so prodigious and important, and would require so many and various regulations, that it would be far beyond the extent of any power that could legally exercise it, except the legislature itself. "But I hope," added he, "such a kind of slavery will never find its way into England; and I apprehend, that by your lordships' decision, this man will receive his liberty."

At the end of Mr Mansfield's speech it appears that the cause was further adjourned to the 14th of May. The expectation of all parties was now raised to the utmost pitch, when finally, in Trinity-term, on Monday, the 22d of June, "The court proceeded to give judgment in the case of Somerset the negro, then before the court, on the motion of the Habeas Corpus." Lord Mansfield first stated the return, and then spoke to the following purport: "We pay due attention to the opinions of Sir Philip Yorke and Mr Talbot, taken in the year 1729, whereby they pledge themselves to the West India planters for the legal consequences of slaves coming here, or being baptized. This opinion was solemnly recognised by Lord Hardwicke, sitting as chancellor, June 9th, 1749, to this effect: 'That there had been a prevailing opinion in the colonies that baptism was an emancipation of a negro slave, and that, in consequence of coming here, such slave became free; but he was satisfied there was no ground for the opinion; and he and Lord Talbot had so expressed themselves upon a cause referred to them for their opinions, when attorney-general and solicitor-general. They had given it all the consideration that the subject could require, and he was satisfied that neither baptism nor coming to England made any alteration in the temporal state of the slave;—that the statute of the 12th of Charles II. chap. 24. had abolished *villeins regardant;* but if a man was *villein in gross,* he knew of no law which could possibly prevent the operation of such confession.' We have likewise paid due regard to the many arguments urged at the bar of inconvenience; but we are all so clearly of one opinion upon the question before us, that there is no necessity to refer it to the twelve judges. The question is, whether the captain has returned a sufficient cause for the detainer of Somerset? The cause returned is, that he had kept him by order of his master, with an intent to send him abroad to Jamaica, there to be sold. So high an act of dominion must derive its force from the law of the country; and if to be justified here, must be justified by the laws of England. Slavery has been different in different ages and states. The exercise of the power of a master over his slave must be supported by the laws of particular countries; but no foreigner can in England claim a right over a man: such a claim is not known to the laws of England. Immemorial usage preserves a positive law after the occasion or accident which gave rise to it has been forgotten; and, tracing the subject to natural principles, the claim of slavery never can be supported. The power claimed never was in use here, or acknowledged by the law. Upon the whole, we cannot say the cause returned is sufficient by the law; and therefore the man must be discharged." The ever-memorable result of this trial is thus noticed by Mr Sharp: "The judgment thus pronounced by Lord Mansfield, has established the following axiom, as proposed by Mr Sergeant Davy: 'As soon as any slave sets his foot

on English ground, he becomes free.' A sentence to be engraved for ever on our hearts."[1]

On the memorable day which terminated the cause of Somerset and established the rights of all negroes in England, Mr Sharp received the first offering of a correspondence instituted for the sole object of forwarding the deliverance of African and other slaves, but tending also in its progress to render him a partaker in the great political strife between Great Britain and her colonies. His correspondent was Anthony Benezet, a highly respectable member of the society called Quakers, in North America. He had established a free-school at Philadelphia for the education of black people, and he took every opportunity which his situation gave him of pleading in their behalf. The tract on the injustice of slavery, and the dispersion of it throughout America by Benezet and other zealous Quakers, during the course of three successive years, from 1769, had already produced the most powerful effects. The house of Burgesses and Virginia sent a petition to the king, dated 1st of April, 1772, wherein they implored his majesty's paternal assistance in averting "a calamity of the most alarming nature." "The importation of slaves," they said, "into the colonies from the coast of Africa hath long been considered as a trade of great inhumanity, and under its present encouragement, we have too much reason to fear will endanger the very existence of your majesty's American dominions." In some other colonial assemblies it had either excited or strengthened an earnest wish to abolish slavery as well as the slave-trade.

Granville Sharp was at this time a clerk in the ordnance-office. That situation he resigned on account of his conscientious objections to the proceedings against the American colonies. This act he thus notices: "July 28th, 1775, Board at Westminster. Account in Gazette of the battle of Charlestown, near Boston; and letters with large demands of ordnance-stores being received, which were ordered to be got with all expedition, I thought it right to declare my objections to the being any way concerned in that unnatural business, and was advised by Mr Boddington to ask leave of absence for two months, as the board would take it more kindly than an abrupt resignation. I wrote that day to Sir Charles Cocks, clerk of the ordnance, and received a very polite answer. Sir Jeffery Amherst and Mr Langlois were made acquainted with my objections by Mr Boddington, and also with the advice he had given me, and they approved of the manner of my absenting myself.

"April 10th, 1777.—This morning I called on Sir C. Cocks, and resigned my post in the ordnance, Mr Boddington having acquainted me that matters were so circumstanced in the office at present, that Sir Charles did not think it prudent to grant me any longer leave of absence. I went on, however, with the current business of the office, excepting what related to preparations against the Americans, until Monday, the 31st of July, when I delivered up my keys to Mr Boddington."

Granville's situation, after he had resigned his employment in the ordnance-office, was sufficiently singular. His resignation had in it all that is considered, in a worldly point of view, as an excess of impru-

[1] The fullest account of the pleadings in this most interesting case is to be found in Hargrave's 'Collection of the State Trials.'

dence. He had expended the remains of his paternal inheritance and the fruits of his employment in acts of bounty, and the protector of the helpless stood himself without the means of sustenance. But the cordial attachment of his brothers—all now prosperous—brought them instantly around him. In a family overflowing with mutual love and benevolence, the accession to their household of such a relation as Granville had ever been accounted a treasure, not a burden; they reverenced that obedience to conscience which had deprived him of his competency, and they strove to compensate his loss by every act of respect and kindness.

Soon after Mr Sharp's resignation occurred the case of Millachip, a freeman of the city of London, pressed in the month of March, 1777. His cause was instantly taken up by the common council, and an order was given by the lord-mayor that an application should be made to the admiralty to obtain his discharge. This application not being successful, a committee of the common council was authorized to proceed in taking such measures as they should think fit for procuring his immediate liberation. A writ of Habeas Corpus was then obtained by the city-solicitor from Lord Mansfield; and the impressed man having in the mean time been sent down to the Nore, the city-marshal carried the writ on board the admiral's ship, then lying there, and Millachip was instantly given up, brought back to town and discharged. But after the short interval of a fortnight Millachip was a second time impressed, and the committee, in consequence, ordered application to be made for another writ of Habeas Corpus, directed to the commander of the receiving vessel. Some objections were made by Judge Aston to the mode of proceeding adopted by the city in procuring the former writ. But Mr Dunning, the counsel, having explained and justified their conduct, the writ was granted, and the cause was brought before Lord Mansfield on the 7th of May, 1777. It was finally ordered to stand over, and Millachip, in the mean time, was discharged on the recognizance of the city-solicitor; but the case was never brought to an issue. Although various memorandums demonstrate that Granville took a very active interest in this proceeding, it is difficult to ascertain —at so great a distance of time—in what degree either his communications with the members of the committee, or his example in the conduct of the negro causes might have influenced their measures. A report from the committee on cases of impressment appears among his papers, and there can be little doubt that, agreeably to his former custom, he circulated his own and General Oglethorpe's remarks among all those who were peculiarly concerned in the circumstance. It is not unlikely that the 'Remarks on Impressed Seamen,' generally attributed to him, were written at this time, though printed long afterwards.

In the course of his exertions concerning impressed seamen his notes record an interview with Dr Johnson. "May 20th, 1770.—Called on Dr Johnson. Had a long debate with him about the legality of pressing seamen. He said it was a condition necessarily attending that way of life; and when they entered into it, they must take it with all its circumstances; and, knowing this, it must be considered as a voluntary service, like an inn-keeper who knows himself liable to have soldiers quartered upon him."

From the time that he published his tract 'On Equitable Representa-

tion,' he took a very active part in promoting the plan, then in public agitation, of parliamentary reform. He entered into an extensive correspondence with the committees of associations formed in various counties; and shortly afterwards, finding that his ideas of the legal duration of parliament did not coincide with those of several of the committees, he forwarded a printed circular letter to the petitioning counties, cities, and towns, addressed to their respective general meetings; in which he strenuously maintained the doctrine of 'Annual Parliaments, or more often if need be,' in opposition to the proposal which had issued from the general meeting of the county of York, under the influence of the Rockingham party, in favour of triennial parliaments. Among his manuscripts appears an 'Alphabetical List of Public Meetings for Parliamentary Reformation, to which Books were sent and Letters written to each Committee, by G. S.' The list contains the names of forty-one general meetings and their respective chairmen,—such was his unrelaxing assiduity in the prosecution of every measure which he conceived to be conducive to public good.

In 1783 Mr Sharp found himself called on for a renewal of his benevolent efforts in behalf of African slaves. The case which presented itself was of the greatest enormity and most atrocious description. The master of a slave-ship, trading from Africa to Jamaica, and having four hundred and forty slaves on board, had thought fit, on a pretext that he might be distressed on his voyage for want of water, to lessen the consumption of it in the vessel by throwing overboard one hundred and thirty-two of the most sickly among the slaves. On his return to England the owners of the ship claimed from the insurers the full value of those drowned slaves, on the ground that there was an absolute necessity for throwing them into the sea, in order to save the remaining crew and the ship itself. The underwriters contested the existence of the alleged necessity; or, if it had existed, attributed it to the ignorance and improper conduct of the master of the vessel. A contest of pecuniary interest then brought to light a scene of horrid brutality.

In the arduous attempt to found the colony of Sierra Leone, if we compare the great expenses necessarily incurred, with the slender fortunes of the founder, it seems difficult to account for the means by which Mr Sharp was so long enabled to prosecute his benevolent enterprise. Besides the heavy charges defrayed by the government at his solicitation, he, on various occasions, advanced considerable sums far exceeding his income, and it is not immediately evident from what sources he drew his supplies. The profits acquired in his situation at the ordnance must long before have been expended. In 1780 he received a small increase of wealth by a legacy from a relation. In 1783, on the death of his beloved brother James, the widow having been left with the care of business of large extent, and wholly out of the province of female attention, he undertook the entire management of it, and, for that purpose, left his brother William's house in the Old Jury—which had till then been his home—and became an inmate with his sister-in-law in Leadenhall-street, where the business was then carried on. He conducted this new department with his accustomed good sense and diligence, for more than six years, until the whole concern was finally arranged and closed, and the widow was at liberty to retire into the country. During the term of his management he received a liberal

stipend from the business. In 1787, just at the commencement of the Sierra Leone enterprise, an additional source of means came unexpectedly into his hands. On the 31st of October in that year he thus writes his brother: "Dear brother, as every thing that nearly concerns me is equally interesting to all my dear brothers and sisters, I ought sooner to have informed you of a small addition to my income, by the will of my late worthy friend, Mrs Oglethorpe, who died last Friday, at her seat at Cranham-hall, Essex. I am appointed one of her executors, and am also joined in two separate trusts: so that a great deal of my leisure must necessarily be taken up; but, in recompence, she has left me the manor of Fairsted in Essex, with a recommendation to settle it in my lifetime to charitable uses after my death, leaving the appropriation to my own direction and choice. I shall be very anxious to have the best advice and most mature consideration, how I may most advantageously dispose of this little estate for public charity after my death." That the income derived from this bequest was employed on the African settlement is an obvious conclusion. These were his whole resources. Regularity, economy, and parsimonious self-denial, must have supplied the rest.

After numerous and unwearied endeavours on the part of the Quakers in America, and of the zealous Clarkson and Granville Sharp in England, in behalf of the slaves, the time had arrived when it appeared to be within the bounds of hope that an association of benevolent persons, protected by a congenial movement in the British parliament, might lead to a retrieval of the human character from the ignominy of the slave-trade. Endeavours were therefore used to collect, and unite in one body, the various parties who had severally, and almost independently of one another, begun to make exertions of a similar nature; and in the spring of 1787 special meetings were convened of a few men of eminent character, all of whom were friendly to the cause.

On the 22d of May a committee was chosen, consisting of twelve members, whose declared duty and purpose it was to promote, by every means in their power, an abolition of the traffic in the human race. Granville Sharp was included in the committee. The incipient labours of the association were cheered by an important coincidence which occurred at this time. The efforts of the humane Anthony Benezet and other American Quakers had, by gradual advances, at length effected a general manumission of slaves among the whole body of men of their persuasion; and the year 1787, in which the committee was appointed in England for promoting the abolition of the trade, was distinguished in America by the gratifying circumstance of there not remaining a single slave in the possession of an acknowledged Quaker.

Eleven years had now elapsed since the criminality of the slave-trade was first adverted to in the house of commons. It was in 1776, that a motion was made by Mr David Hartley—son of the celebrated physician and metaphysician—and member for Hull, the purport of which was, "That the slave-trade was contrary to the laws of God and to the rights of men." The motion was seconded by Sir George Saville. But the proposition failed entirely of support, and its very memory had nearly vanished. It was now resumed with a happier prospect. The trials which had occurred with regard to negroes in this country, had awakened a very general attention to the subject of

African slavery; and although prejudice and interest still guarded the ground against the attempts of philanthropists, considerable access to liberal minds had been gained by the assiduous and affecting eloquence of these new pleaders in the cause of humanity. The committee for effecting an abolition of the slave-trade assumed its denomination in June, 1787, and immediately dispersed circular letters, giving an account of the institution. These letters soon procured the friendly notice of the Quakers at large. In order to diffuse a more general knowledge of the subject, the committee deemed it right to adopt the publication of a work which Mr Clarkson had presented to them, entitled, 'A summary View of the Slave-trade, and of the probable consequences of its Abolition.' Numerous copies of this useful tract were dispersed, and the curiosity of the public became every day more excited by the authentic information thus unexpectedly laid before them. The new class of moral revolutionists in France warmly espoused the cause of the abolition. Brissot and Claviere—his friend and afterwards his fellow-sufferer under Robespierre's tyranny—requested to be admitted members of the association.

At the first general meeting for the formation of the British and foreign Bible society, Granville Sharp presided. The year 1813, the last year of his life, was distinguished by an association denominated the Protestant Union, formed for the purpose of defending, by the sole weapons of argument and reason, a cause which the members held most sacred,—the cause of religious freedom.

Mr Granville Sharp had uniformly opposed the system of Popery, most conscientiously believing that it was utterly subversive of the principles of genuine liberty, as well as of our Protestant establishment. When, therefore, the Roman Catholic question was agitated, from the lively interest which he took in it, and from his frequent conversations with several friends on its great importance to the united kingdom, it was at length agreed to convene a meeting of respectable persons firmly attached to the principles of the constitution, as established at the Revolution; but unconnected with party, and having no political purposes whatever to serve; and calmly and dispassionately to consider the subject. A meeting was accordingly held at the Crown and Anchor tavern in the Strand, on the 22d of January, 1813, when Mr Sharp was called to the chair. After some discussion, the address and resolutions, published by the Protestant Union in their first paper, were unanimously adopted. These resolutions were reprinted and circulated in Ireland, and had a great effect in rousing the dormant spirit of Protestantism in that country. The Protestant Union was encouraged by the warm approbation of many eminent characters throughout the united kingdom, and Mr Sharp received many high eulogiums on the principles developed in their papers.

As Granville had continued unmarried, his brothers' houses were for many years his general residence; and it was not till the beginning of the year 1792, that he took chambers in the Temple for the purposes of various business that pressed upon him. In the exercise of his religion, he was careful to preserve a behaviour free from ostentation; but it was at the same time firm, and profoundly reverential. As he rose early, his first employment was either reading the Holy Scriptures, or chanting a portion of the Hebrew Psalms to his harp. His evenings

were closed in the same manner. When in London, he regularly attended the service at St Paul's, and joined in the choral part. In the respective families of his relations he regularly attended, and generally read the morning and evening prayers from the Liturgy. Nothing was more remarkable in Mr Sharp's social intercourse, than the firmness with which he delivered his most serious opinions on many ordinary occasions, and the unembarrassed simplicity with which he uttered them, blending religion with almost every topic, both in conversation and in writing. Some of his religious views were singular. The near approach of the millennium was a favourite idea with him; and his belief in Satanic influence was carried to an extraordinary length.

In the month of June, 1813, having made an offer of some books to the Temple library, he thought it requisite to attend in person to the delivery of them, and proposed a visit to London for that purpose. Every argument which affection could dictate, was urged to dissuade him; but all proved ineffectual. The offer of the family-carriage was then withheld, in the hope that forgetfulness might prevent the apprehended evil; but at breakfast-time the next morning he did not appear as usual, and on inquiry it was found that he was gone to London in the stage-coach. A servant was immediately despatched after him; but he had left his chambers also. He returned with the stage to Fulham in the afternoon; said he had packed and sent his books, but had had no food, and was nearly exhausted. His danger had been imminent. It appeared that the coachman who conveyed him to town, perceiving his altered state, had felt considerable anxiety on his account, and as soon as he had settled the business of the coach, went in search of him to his chambers, at the door of which he found him, wandering about in a state of incertitude, being unable to guide himself to the part of the town that he designed to reach. He was easily persuaded by the coachman to go back to Fulham, and was thus happily preserved from more distressing accidents. On the day preceding his death, he breakfasted as usual with the family. His weakness was much increased; and he was several times compelled to lie down on his bed during the course of the afternoon. He appeared often to labour for breath. Night and partial repose came on. In the morning his countenance was changed—in colour only; in expression it remained unaltered. About four o'clock in the afternoon, he fell into a tranquil slumber, in which, without a struggle or a sigh, he breathed his last.

His remains were on the 13th of July, 1813, deposited in the family vault at Fulham. The following epitaph, written by the Rev. John Owen, rector of Eaglesham in Essex, was placed on the north side of the tomb: "Here, by the Remains of the Brother and Sister whom he tenderly loved, lie those of Granville Sharp, Esq. At the age of seventy-eight, this venerable philanthropist terminated his career of almost unparalleled activity and usefulness, July 6th, 1813; leaving behind him a name that will be cherished with affection and gratitude, as long as any homage shall be paid to those principles of justice, humanity, and religion, which, for nearly half a century, he promoted by his exertions, and adorned by his example."

Mr Granville Sharp was learned in languages from principle, not from curiosity, or the mere pleasure of literary research. His objects in the study of Hebrew and Greek were exclusively the love of truth,

the glory of God, and the good of his fellow-creatures. No man's mind was ever less actuated by vanity and ambition. He was singularly fortunate in the application of his learning to the illustration of the original languages of Scripture. His doctrines of the Greek article, and of the Hebrew conversive *vau*, and of other particularities of the Hebrew language, though not unknown to scholars before his time, had all the merit of discovery, and more than that merit in the valuable use which he made of them. His doctrine of the Greek article was violently opposed by Socinian writers, but without the least injury to its principle, and with a strong presumption in its favour.

Sir William Medows.

BORN A. D. 1738.—DIED A. D. 1813.

SIR WILLIAM MEDOWS was born on the 31st of December, 1738 He was the grandson of Sir Philip Medows, knight-marshal. His eldest surviving brother, who succeeded to the estates of his uncle, the duke of Kingston, in 1788, took on that occasion the family-name of Pierrepoint, and was elevated to the peerage in 1796, by the title of Lord-viscount Newark.

The subject of this notice entered the army as an ensign in the 50th regiment in 1756, and obtained a lieutenancy in the November following. In one of the expeditions to the coast of France in 1758, he acted as aid-de-camp to Lord Ancram. When the 50th regiment was ordered to Germany early in 1760, he repaired thither with it, and joined the allied army under Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick and the marquess of Granby. In March, 1764, after his return from the continent, Lord Ancram obtained for him a troop in the 4th regiment of horse, of which his patron was lieutenant-colonel; and in October, 1766, he succeeded to the majority of the same corps. On the 31st of December, 1769, he procured the lieutenant-colonelcy of the 5th regiment of foot, but was removed to the 12th light dragoons in September, 1773.

On the breaking out of the American war, he exchanged into the 55th in September, 1775, and repaired with it to America. The commander-in-chief appointed him to the command of the first brigade of grenadiers. At the head of this gallant body of men—on which the brunt of every brilliant action fell, particularly that of Brandywine, fought September 13th, 1776—Colonel Medows highly distinguished himself. The lieutenant-colonelcy of the 5th regiment of foot was conferred upon him in November, 1777; and on the 25th of that month he obtained the rank of colonel by brevet.

When it was determined by the English cabinet to strike a blow at the French West India islands, and Major-general Grant was appointed for this purpose, with a body of chosen troops, Colonels Medows and Prescott were nominated brigadier-generals of the little army. The capture of St Lucia—which from its excellent harbours had proved of great service to the enemy in these seas—was deemed an important object. In December, 1778, General Grant with 500 men, and the two brigadier-generals, left English harbour in Barbadoes, and on

the evening of the 13th, the troops effected a landing in St Lucia. Brigadier-general Medows' brigade, consisting of the 5th foot, together with the grenadiers and light infantry companies of the different regiments, in all about 1300 men, formed the reserve of this little army. The place he landed at was the Grand Cul de Sac, on accomplishing which, he pushed forward to gain possession of the heights on the north side of the bay, where the French regular and militia forces were strongly posted. Though this was a very arduous task in so hot a country, and peculiarly difficult from the nature of the ground, yet the brigadier-general, at the head of his gallant followers, forced the passes, and soon after carried the Vizie, a most important post, and repulsed the French troops under Count d'Estaing, who attempted to relieve the island. Medows received a severe wound in the right arm on this occasion, but refused to quit the field. Observing that part of his troops had been driven into disorder by the desperate attack of the French, he waved his sword in his left hand, and, pointing to the standard, exclaimed, "Soldiers, as long as you have a bayonet left to point against your enemies, defend these colours." The conduct of Brigadier-general Medows was warmly applauded by his majesty, who, as a reward for his meritorious services, appointed him colonel of the 89th regiment, on the 15th of November, 1780, and ordered him to England to command a body of forces to be employed on a secret expedition.

In the spring of 1781, Commodore Johnstone was appointed to direct the operations of a squadron, the object of which was to seize on the Cape of Good Hope, which would have proved an important acquisition for Great Britain. It appears, from an anonymous pamphlet, assuredly written by Commodore Johnstone, and published in 1787, in which part of the secret instructions are detailed, that the commodore and general were "to concert the necessary measures for carrying into immediate execution, and exert their utmost endeavours to take the Cape of Good Hope, with all its defences, fortifications, and works thereunto belonging." No attempt was, however, to be made unless the scheme appeared feasible to both officers. On the 13th of March, the squadron, with thirteen Indiamen under convoy, sailed from St Helen's, and on the 10th of April they anchored in Port Praya bay, St Jago, one of the Cape de Verd islands. The French cabinet soon learned the destination of this fleet, and endeavoured to counteract it, by sending Suffrein with a powerful force after the British. Suffrein, after being repulsed in an attack upon the British squadron, made the best of his way to the Cape, where he had landed a reinforcement before the British fleet hove in sight. Commodore Johnstone thought, notwithstanding Suffrein's arrival, it was possible to succeed in taking the Cape; and that for this purpose the troops should be landed at Saldanha bay, forty-two miles from the Cape, to which they ought immediately to march. General Medows, on the other hand, now considered the expedition against the Cape impracticable, after the arrival of the succours under Suffrein; and having received intelligence of the defeat of the British army in India, by Hyder Ali, proceeded under convoy of part of the squadron to Madras. To this spirited determination the preservation of the Carnatic, and perhaps all India, may be ascribed. The men-of-war also which were detached with them served as a powerful reinforcement to Admiral Hughes, and enabled him to

cope with Suffrein, who possessed a superior fleet. On his arrival in India he was nominated governor of Madras, as well as commander-in-chief of the forces in that presidency. He took uncommon pains to organize the army before he led it against Tippoo Sultan, who had succeeded to the throne of Mysore by Hyder Ali's death. In the accomplishment of this object he met with many obstacles, but by his skill and perseverance he overcame them all. The plan he formed was, with the Carnatic army of 15,000 men, to occupy the Coimbatore country, cut off Tippoo's supplies, and by that quarter penetrate into the Mysore through the Jujulhatty pass, while Major-general Robert Abercromby was, with the Bombay army, to reduce the territory west of the Gauts, and if necessary form a junction. In the mean time, the Carnatic was left to the care of Colonel Kelly, with a small army stationed between Madras and the passes leading to the Mysore. Tippoo had now recourse to negotiation. He wrote to Medows congratulating him on his appointment to the government of Madras, and proposing to send some confidential person to explain, as he observed, several important circumstances, "so that the dust which had obscured the general's upright mind might be removed." The general's answer was: "I received yours, and understand its contents. You are a great prince, and but for your cruelty to your prisoners, I should add an enlightened one. The English, equally incapable of offering an insult as of submitting to one, have always looked upon war as declared from the moment that you attacked their ally the king of Travancore. God does not always give the battle to the strong, nor the race to the swift; but generally success to those whose cause is just. On that we depend."

After repeated attacks on different points by Tippoo, and the capture of several important posts by the British army, General Medows judged it prudent, on the commencement of the rainy season, to desist from any further operations. The following year, Earl Cornwallis, who had been appointed governor-general, assumed the direction of the army at Vellant. One of the most brilliant actions in this campaign was the capture of Nundydroog, a fortress seated on a hill, 1700 feet high, and accessible only on one side where it is defended by walls and redoubts. Major Goldie, who was sent against it, after a fortnight's toil and hazard, at length breached the walls, but the commandant refused to surrender. Lord Cornwallis then sent General Medows with a party to make the assault. On approaching, some person remarked, that a mine was supposed to be near the breach. The general promptly replied, "That if a mine was really there, it was a mine of gold," and rushed without delay to the attack and carried the place. After various efforts on the part of Tippoo, the British succeeded in driving him within the walls of Seringapatam; but on the 24th of February, hostilities ceased, and on the 19th of March, 1792, a pacification took place. The commander-in-chief in his letter to the East India company, dated the 4th of March, says: "No words can express the sense that I shall entertain through life of the ability, refined generosity, and friendship with which General Medows has invariably given his support and assistance." After the termination of this war General Medows returned to England, and as a reward for his signal services, his majesty was pleased to invest him with the insignia of the order of the Bath.

On the 12th of October, 1793, he was made a lieutenant-general,

and in November, 1796, he was appointed to the command of the 7th dragoon-guards, in which he had served both as a captain and a major. At the brevet promotion of the 1st of January, 1798, he was made a general and governor of the Isle of Wight. When the Marquess Cornwallis had resigned the viceroyship of Ireland, and the command of the forces in that part of the kingdom, and it became necessary he should be succeeded in the latter situation by an officer of talents and reputation, General Sir William Medows was appointed to that office, and was sworn in a member of his majesty's privy council in Ireland; but resigned the employment some time before his death, which took place at Bath, on the 14th of November, 1813.

While in the high office last alluded to, his attention to the duties of it was unremitting, and, as on former occasions, highly honourable to him. By his appointment as commander of the forces, he became governor of Kilmainham hospital, near Dublin, where he resided; and on every occasion manifested that humane disposition for which he had always been conspicuous. His frequent visits to the veterans when at dinner, and inspection of their messes, bedding, and interior economy, forms a noble trait in the character of this gallant officer.

He was invariably cheerful even in the heat of an engagement; and his troops are said, on more than one occasion, to have mounted the breach laughing at their general's last joke.

William, Viscount Howe.

BORN A. D. 1729.—DIED A. D. 1814.

THIS officer was a younger brother of the celebrated admiral, Richard, Earl Howe. He entered the army in early life, and distinguished himself under Wolfe at Quebec. At the battle of Bunker's hill he commanded a brigade, and, on the departure of General Gage for England, he assumed the chief command of the British forces in North America.

The evacuation of Boston had been previously determined on by the British ministry, in order to concentrate the force in America on some more vital point. It was conducted by General Howe with success on the 17th March, 1776. It was now resolved to attack New York. To this service was allotted a very powerful army, consisting of about 30,000 men,—a force far superior to any thing that America had hitherto seen. The troops were amply provided with artillery, military stores, and warlike materials of every kind, and were supported by a numerous fleet. General Howe having in vain waited two months at Halifax for his brother, and the expected reinforcements from England, on the 10th of June sailed from that harbour with the force which he had previously commanded in Boston, and directing his course towards New York, arrived in the latter end of June off Sandy Hook. Admiral Lord Howe, with part of the reinforcement from England, having arrived at Halifax soon after his brother's departure, without dropping anchor followed, and soon after joined him near Staten island. The British general on his approach found every part of New York island, and the most exposed parts of Long island, fortified and well-

defended by artillery. But he succeeded in making good his landing, and compelled Washington to evacuate Long Island, which he did under cover of a dense fog.

General Howe and his brother, in addition to their military and naval command, were possessed of special powers to act as commissioners for restoring peace to the colonies. Accordingly some negotiations were immediately instituted by them with this view. General Sullivan, who had been taken prisoner on Long Island, was sent on parole with a verbal message from Lord Howe to congress, "That though he could not at present treat with them in that character, yet he was very desirous of having a conference with some of the members, whom he would consider as private gentlemen; that he, with his brother the general, had full power to compromise the dispute between Great Britain and America, upon terms advantageous to both; that he wished a compact might be settled at a time when no decisive blow had yet been struck, and neither party could say it was compelled to enter into such agreement; that were they disposed to treat, many things which they had not yet asked, might and ought to be granted; and that if upon conference they found any probable ground of accommodation, the authority of congress would be afterwards acknowledged to render the treaty complete." Three days after this message was received, Sullivan was requested to inform Lord Howe, "That congress being the representatives of the free and independent States of America, they cannot with propriety send any of their members to confer with his lordship in their private characters; but that, ever desirous of establishing peace on reasonable terms, they will send a committee of their body to know whether he has any authority to treat with persons authorized by congress for that purpose on behalf of America, and what that authority is, and to hear such propositions as he shall think fit to make respecting the same." Franklin, John Adams, and Edward Rutlege, formed the committee appointed for this purpose. They met Lord Howe on Staten Island, and were received with great politeness. On their return they made a report of their conference, which they summed up by saying: "It did not appear to your committee that his lordship's commission contained any other authority than that expressed in the act of parliament, namely, that of granting pardons, with such exceptions as the commissioners shall think proper to make, and of declaring America, or any part of it, to be in the king's peace on submission; for as to the power of inquiring into the state of America, which his lordship mentioned to us, and of conferring and consulting with any persons the commissioners might think proper, and representing the result of such conversation to the ministry, who, provided the colonies would subject themselves, might, after all, or might not, at their pleasure, make any alterations in the former instructions to governors, or propose in parliament any amendment of the acts complained of, we apprehend any expectation from the effect of such a power would have been too uncertain and precarious to be relied on by America, had she still continued in her state of dependence." Lord Howe had ended the conference on his part by expressing his regard for America, and the extreme pain he would suffer in being obliged to distress those whom he so much regarded. Dr Franklin thanked him for his regards, and assured him, "that the Americans would show their gratitude by endeavouring to

lessen, as much as possible, all pain he might feel on their account, by exerting their utmost abilities in taking good care of themselves."

The Americans, however, resolved not to risk their army for the sake of New York. They removed all the public stores, and allowed the British to take quiet possession of the place. General Washington then successively retreated across the North river to Newark, Princetown, and the Pennsylvania side of the Delaware. Howe soon after retired into winter-quarters. In the next campaign he defeated the Americans on the heights of Brandywine, and took possession of Philadelphia, after which he passed a second winter in still greater inactivity, it was alleged, than the preceding. Shortly after the opening of the third campaign, he was superseded in his command by Sir Henry Clinton.

The return of the Howes excited a considerable sensation; and as their characters had been covertly attacked by ministers, who wished to excuse their own misconduct by throwing the blame upon the commanders, they, as well as General Burgoyne, demanded a parliamentary inquiry. The minister endeavoured to avoid all inquiry whatever, and insisted that parliament was not the place where such inquiry could be instituted. To this it was answered, that to deny the competence of the house to institute this inquiry was a daring violation of the privileges of parliament. On this occasion Sir William Howe proposed that Earl Cornwallis should be examined, "as to the general conduct of the American war; to military points generally and particularly." To this the minister proposed an amendment, "that Lord Cornwallis be called in and examined relative to general and particular military points, touching the general conduct of the American war." Nothing could excite greater indignation than this evasion of inquiry; but on a division, the minister carried his amendment by 189 to 155. The main question was rejected by 180 to 158. Thus all inquiry appeared at an end; but the opposition renewed the motion for the examination of Lord Cornwallis, a few days after, and were so ably supported, that no means employed by the minister were sufficient to prevent the hearing of that noble lord. Besides Lord Cornwallis, Major-general Grey, Sir Andrew Snape Hammond, and others, were examined, and it was made to appear from their evidence that the force sent to America was at no time equal to the subjugation of the country. It was, at the same time, proved that the American minister had been constantly reminded of the difficult and impracticable nature of the war, that he had discredited what was said on the subject, and that the reinforcement he at length had sent came too late for any effectual purpose.

In 1782 General Howe was made lieutenant-general of the ordnance, and in 1786 colonel of the 19th dragoons. In 1795 he became governor of Berwick; in 1799 he succeeded to the Irish viscounty of his brother, Admiral Howe; in 1804 he resigned his office of lieutenant-general of the ordnance. He died without issue on the 12th of July, 1814; at which time he was a privy-counsellor and governor of Plymouth. He represented Nottingham in several parliaments, but does seem to have ever taken any conspicuous part in political affairs.

William, Lord Auckland.

BORN A. D. 1743.—DIED A. D. 1814.

WILLIAM EDEN, Lord Auckland, descended from the ancient family of Eden of West Auckland, in the county of Durham, on which the rank of baronetage was conferred by Charles II. in 1672, was the third son of Sir Robert, the third baronet. He was educated at Eton, and became a student of Christ-church, Oxford, in 1763. In 1765 he was admitted of the Inner Temple, and called to the bar in 1768.

He first devoted his attention to the law, with a design of following the practice of it, and actually went the northern circuit, being patronized and recommended by Mr Wedderburne, in concert with whom he is supposed to have planned and effected the coalition. In 1771 he published 'Principles of Penal Law,' 8vo,—a work consisting of detached observations, but without any regular chain of causes and effects. It however discovered a considerable share of ingenuity and genius, and recommended its author to the notice of the minister, who soon afterwards appointed him under-secretary of state for the northern department. In this employment he conducted himself with great ability; and, in addition to the emoluments of his office, had the post of one of the directors of Greenwich hospital given to him: he was also taken under the patronage of the duke of Marlborough, and chosen member for Woodstock. In March, 1776, he was advanced to the dignity of a lord of trade and plantations; and in 1778, when the too late adopted plan of treating with the colonies was determined upon, he, with Lord Carlisle, and Governor Johnstone, was nominated to the important office of commissioner. He embarked for America with his coadjutors; but their mission was not attended with any success. It seems, however, to have been the means of introducing him to the friendship of Lord Carlisle, whom, in December, 1780, he accompanied to Ireland as secretary. He continued in this station until the change of the ministry, in April, 1782, when he defended his patron with a degree of warmth and spirit, which before had not been discovered to form part of his character. Being in England at this juncture, he took a very decided part against the new administration.

In November, 1779, he published four letters, addressed to the earl of Carlisle, on the spirit of party,—on the circumstances of the war,—on the means of raising supplies,—and on the representations of Ireland respecting a free trade. This publication, at once ably and candidly written, called forth a considerable degree of public attention; it was afterwards enlarged, and gave rise to a good deal of party-reasoning in print. These letters were followed by a short controversy with Dr Price on the population of England, a discussion which was pursued by others with great ability. In April, 1783, Mr Eden was sworn of his majesty's privy-council in England, and appointed vice-treasurer of Ireland, which office he resigned in December following. In 1785 he was nominated one of the lords of the committee of council for trade and plantations, and sent as minister plenipotentiary to the court of Versailles, for the purpose of negotiating a treaty of commerce be-

tween Great Britain and France. That treaty was concluded and signed in September, 1786. In January, 1787, he signed a farther commercial convention; and in August the same year, another for preventing disputes between the subjects of the two crowns in the East Indies. In these truly important treaties, the consummate abilities of Mr Eden as a man of business, and his intimate knowledge of British commerce and manufactures, and of the true interests of both were conspicuously displayed. The connexion between the two countries was placed on a footing certainly not in itself disadvantageous to France; but so much more beneficial to Great Britain than that on which any former commercial treaty had rested, that the country was contented to reap the fruits of it in silence for nearly three years, before France discovered, or chose to acknowledge, that it was possible for her negotiators to be overmatched by an Englishman. The convention respecting India was of still higher consideration than the commercial treaties, important as they were. It involved interests of state policy of the first magnitude; it put an end to the claims so often previously set up by France against our right of sovereignty in India, and annihilated, as far as the most solemn compact can have that effect, every question, dispute, or challenge of our right which could in future be brought forward. In 1788 Mr Eden went as ambassador to Spain; and on his return, in October, 1789, was elevated to the dignity of an Irish peer. A few weeks afterwards he was appointed ambassador to the United States of Holland; and on occasion of the Spanish armament in 1790, he obtained the prompt and friendly detachment of a considerable Dutch squadron to Portsmouth; and in December of the same year his lordship concluded and signed the convention between the Emperor Leopold, the kings of Great Britain and Prussia, and the States-general, relative to the affairs of the Netherlands.

In 1792–3 Lord Auckland took an active part as ambassador to Holland, in the efforts made for preventing the mischief which overwhelmed so many of the continental powers; and in May of the last mentioned year, was promoted to the dignity of a British peer. A few months afterwards his lordship relinquished the diplomatic career, and returned home, but not to waste the remainder of his life in ignoble sloth or useless ease. From that period he not only attended his parliamentary duties with exemplary diligence, but took an active part in most of the proceedings of that branch of the legislature of which he was a member. As an orator he was correct, fluent, and intelligent; and whenever the occasion seemed to justify it, he appealed to his fellow-subjects through the medium of the press also. In 1795 he published 'Remarks on the Apparent Circumstances of the War,' and more than once stood forward as a writer on the popular topics to which the eventful times so frequently gave birth.

On the death of the earl of Mansfield in 1796, Lord Auckland was chosen chancellor of Marischal college, Aberdeen, and in 1798 appointed to the office of joint post-master-general, which he held till the end of Mr Pitt's administration in 1801. In the session of 1799–1800, his lordship renewed the attempt to check the growing practice of adultery, by bringing forward a bill, the principle of which was to prevent the intermarriage of the guilty parties; but it was warmly opposed, and finally thrown out in the house of lords. In 1799 Lord Auckland sup-

ported the measure of the income tax, and published the substance of his speech on that occasion. He also published his speech in support of the union with Ireland, and in the course of it stated that he had been particularly employed with others in preparing the details of that measure to be submitted to parliament. His lordship married in 1776, Eleanor, second daughter of Gilbert Elliot, and sister to Earl Minto, by whom he had a large family. The unfortunate loss of his eldest son is said to have affected his lordship so severely, that he never recovered from the shock. His death was wholly unexpected. While sitting at breakfast with his family he was seized with a spasm, fell from his chair, and instantly expired, May 28th, 1814.

Gilbert, Lord Minto.

BORN A. D. 1751.—DIED A. D. 1814.

THE RIGHT HON. LORD MINTO, governor-general of India, was the representative of a branch of the family of Elliot, of great antiquity in the south of Scotland. His father, Sir Gilbert, was a conspicuous member of the house of commons, and held various offices in administration. Lord Minto was born in 1751, and educated at an English university. Having visited the principal countries of Europe, he was, in 1774, elected a member of parliament. Although of a whig family, yet his father's attachment to the politics of the court led him to join the friends of administration in that embarrassing crisis, when the contest with America began to assume a serious aspect. The conduct of ministers, however, was too feeble, or two timid, to secure the support of their friends; and Lord Minto, then Sir Gilbert Elliot, with many others, connected themselves with the opposition. In all the measures adopted by that portion of the parliament, Sir Gilbert bore a distinguished part, and so well did he stand in their judgment, as to be selected to fill the speaker's chair, in opposition to the ministerial candidate, Mr Addington, now Lord Sidmouth.

About this time the great question of reform in parliament, and in different branches of public affairs, was publicly agitated and popularly encouraged. On this occasion, Sir Gilbert Elliot withdrew from the ranks of opposition. During the disorders created in France by the other powers of Europe, the people of Corsica sought to place themselves under the protection of Britain. Sir Gilbert Elliot was pitched upon as a competent person to manage this business; and in the end of September, 1793, having been sworn in a member of the privy-council, he was appointed a commissioner to that effect. Early in 1794 the principal strong-holds of Corsica were surrendered by the French to the British arms. The king accepted the sovereignty of the island; and on the 19th of June, 1794, Sir Gilbert Elliot, as viceroy, presided in a general assembly of the chiefs of Corsica, in which was adopted a constitutional code, reprehended by some as extremely democratical, but perhaps not ill-adapted to the genius and situation of the people for whom it was intended. Notwithstanding this arrangement, a considerable party, devoted to France and their country, remained in Corsica, who, encouraged by the successes of the French armies in the adjoin-

ing region of Italy, at last rose in arms against the British authority. In the measures to be pursued to repress this disorder, diversity of opinions unhappily took place among the heads of the civil and military authorities. The insurrection at Bastia, the capital of the island, was suppressed in June, 1796; but the French party gradually acquiring strength, it was, in September following, deemed wise to abandon the island entirely. The viceroy returned to England early in 1797, when his services were rewarded by his exaltation to a British peerage, as Baron Minto, of the county of Roxburgh in Scotland.

In July, 1797, Lord Minto was appointed ambassador to Vienna, then the theatre of the most important and complicated negotiations in which the country was engaged. It was through the intervention of his lordship, during this embassy, that liberal and honourable steps were taken on the part of a great personage in this country, to extricate from indigence, and to secure a becoming provision for the only surviving branch of the royal house of Stuart, then languishing in penury at Venice, in consequence of the invasion of Rome by the French. In parliament, for the union with Ireland, Lord Minto was a strenuous advocate. When the peace of Amiens was on the carpet, he was ranked with those who conceived the interests of this country to have been less firmly secured than ought to have been done. As he had been an advocate for the union with Ireland, so was he one of those who earnestly regretted that any obstacle should arise to the completion of the conditions of Roman Catholic emancipation, on which a considerable portion of the people of Ireland were supposed to have given to the union their express or their tacit consent.

When the administration of the marquess of Wellesley in India expired, he was succeeded by Lord Minto, under whose general government many highly important acquisitions have been made by the British arms, for the benefit of the state at large, as well as of the India company in particular. In the successful expedition against the great Dutch settlements at Batavia and other parts of Java, Lord Minto not only issued the necessary orders, and took the necessary measures to insure success, but accompanied the troops embarked in person. His period of residence in Bengal drawing to an end, Lord Minto was relieved by the earl of Moira, and soon afterwards took shipping for England, where he arrived in the middle of May, and from that time his health was visibly on the decline. He departed this life, June 21st, 1814.

Hood, Viscount Bridport.

BORN A. D. 1728.—DIED A. D. 1814.

ALEXANDER HOOD was the second son of the Rev. Samuel Hood, vicar of Thorncombe, Devon, but originally of the country of Dorset, where the family once possessed considerable property.

He was allowed to enter the navy at an early age, after receiving the elements of education under the paternal roof. On the 2d of December, 1746, he received a lieutenant's commission, and in 1756 was posted with the command of the Prince George. In the following year

he commanded the Antelope, and signalized himself by destroying the Aquilon, a French frigate of 48 guns, after a running-fight of two hours' duration. In 1758 he was present in Admiral Saunders's ship, at the defeat of the French squadron under Du Quesne. In 1761, while in command of the Minerva of 32 guns, he fell in with the Warwick, originally an English ship of 60 guns, but then mounting 34, with a very full complement of men. A desperate action ensued, in which both vessels were so crippled as to be in danger of going down; but the French colours were at last struck. In the month of August, in the same year, Captain Hood had the honour of convoying the Princess Charlotte of Mecklenburg-Strelitz to England. In June, 1778, Captain Hood was present in the Robust of 74 guns, in the action with D'Orvilliers off Ushant. In the recriminations which ensued betwixt the two English admirals, Keppel and Palliser, Captain Hood was slightly involved.

On the 26th of September, 1780, Captain Hood was appointed rear-admiral of the White. In 1782 he accompanied Lord Howe, when that officer sailed to the relief of Gibraltar, and threw in supplies in the face of the combined fleets of France and Spain. The next year, Rear-admiral Hood was chosen representative for Bridgewater, and shortly after for the town of Buckingham. In 1787 he became vice-admiral of the White, and in the following year was made a knight-companion of the Bath.

On the 1st of February, 1793, Sir Alexander Hood was appointed vice-admiral of the Red, and hoisted his flag in the Royal George, one of the channel fleet under Earl Howe, to whom he acted as second in the memorable engagement of the 1st of June, 1794. For the honourable share he bore in this conflict, he was created Baron Bridport of Cricket St Thomas in Ireland.

In June, 1795, Lord Bridport sailed from Spithead with fourteen sail of the line, to cruise off the French coast; and on the 23d of that month he fell in with the French fleet, and captured three ships of the line close in with Port L'Orient. In March, 1796, he succeeded Lord Howe as vice-admiral of Great Britain, and on the 31st of May was raised to the peerage of Great Britain by his former title. When Lord Howe resigned command of the channel fleet, Lord Bridport was appointed to it.

The year 1797 was disgraced in the annals of this country by the great naval mutiny which first broke out in the channel fleet. In the month of February, in that year, letters were sent from all the line of battle-ships at Portsmouth to Lord Howe, praying for his lordship's influence towards obtaining a redress of certain grievances; as these, however, were anonymous, and appeared to be all written by one person, and couched in the same language, they were considered as the production of some factious individual, and were thrown aside as unworthy of answer. This neglect of the petition of the seamen on their return to port, (March 31st,) occasioned a correspondence by letter to be kept up, and passed from ship to ship through the whole fleet, till at length it was unanimously agreed upon, that no ship should lift an anchor till the demands of the fleet were fully complied with. In this state matters remained till April 14th, when orders were sent to Portsmouth for Lord Bridport to sail with the channel fleet. On the following day, however, when his lordship made the signal to prepare, not a

ship obeyed the signal. Instead of weighing anchor, the seamen of the admiral's ship ran up the shrouds, and gave three cheers, which was the signal to the rest of the fleet for making public their resolutions. These cheers were instantly answered by the other ships; and it was manifest in a moment that the combination was complete. The officers strenuously exerted themselves to bring the men to a sense of their duty, but without effect. The petty officers had concurred with the men, in the determination not to do their duty till their pay was increased; all the different crews, however, were very orderly and peaceable in their conduct, performing every duty of the ships as usual, except that of weighing anchor. The next day a boat from each ship was demanded, and two men from the crew of each were appointed delegates to represent the whole; the admiral's cabin being fixed upon as the properest place for their deliberations. At this time none of the officers were suffered to go on shore. Petitions were now drawn up, and presented to Lord Bridport, Sir Allan Gardner, and the port-admiral, setting forth, that "while the soldiers and marines had received additional allowances, the pay of the seamen had not been augmented; they therefore desired an increase of wages; and a hope was expressed, that an answer might be given to their petition before they were ordered to put to sea again." This expression, however, was qualified with one exception, "unless the enemy were known to be at sea." On the 17th, every man in the fleet was sworn to support the cause in which he had embarked,—the admiral's body servants not being exempted from the oath. Ropes were raised *in terrorem* at the fore-yard arm of every ship, and several officers who had behaved in a tyrannical manner were turned ashore. The deputies consulted together every day on board the Queen Charlotte, returning at night to their respective ships. On the 18th, a committee of the admiralty (Earl Spencer, Lord Arden, Admiral Young, and Mr Secretary Marsden) arrived at Portsmouth, and in the course of this and the two following days several propositions were made to reduce the fleet to obedience, but ineffectually. On the 21st, Admirals Gardner, Colpoys, and Pole, went on board the Queen Charlotte in order to confer with the delegates, who in a great measure became converts to the admirals; but would settle nothing, as two delegates from one ship, the Royal George, were on shore. On the return of these two delegates on board the Queen Charlotte, they informed the delegation and the admirals, that it was the determination of the Royal George to agree to nothing that should not be sanctioned by parliament, and guaranteed by the king's proclamation of pardon.

In the whole of these proceedings the conduct of the sailors was orderly, systematic, and determined; they took possession of all the magazines,—loaded all their guns,—confined every officer to his respective ship,—kept watch regularly the same as at sea,—and put every thing into a state of defence. Intoxication or misconduct in any of the men was severely punished, and no spirituous liquors were suffered to be brought on board any ship. On the 22d the men were somewhat pacified, and caused two letters to be written, one to the lords of the admiralty, stating the grounds of their conduct on the preceding day, and another to Lord Bridport, in which they avowed no intentional offence to him, and styled him their father and friend. This had a good effect, for on the 23d the admiral returned to his ship, hoisted his flag

again, and, after a short address to the crew, informed them, that he had brought with him a redress of all their grievances, and the king's pardon for the offenders. After some deliberation these proffers were accepted, and every man returned to his duty. It was now thought that all disputes were finally settled; the 'delicate silence,' however, of Mr Pitt, in omitting to explain the reasons which called for an increase of pay to be granted to the navy, when he submitted a motion for that purpose to the house of commons, was construed by the seamen into a disposition not to accede to their demands; and on Sunday morning, May 7th, when Lord Bridport made the signal to weigh anchor and put to sea, every ship at St Helen's refused to obey. In the course of the afternoon they ordered a meeting of the delegates, as before, on board the London of 98 guns, which carried the flag of Vice-admiral Colpoys. The admiral resolved to oppose their coming on board, and apprized the men of his ship of his intention. He ordered the marines under arms; some of whom obeyed the order, while others refused. The delegates persisting to come on board, the admiral ordered the marines to level their pieces at them, and a slight skirmish took place. By the fire of the marines five seamen were killed, two of whom were delegates. The whole crew of the London now declared open hostility to the officers and marines; they turned the guns in the fore part of the ship towards the stern, and threatened to blow all aft into the water, unless they surrendered. The officers surrendered, and the marines laid down their arms, and Admiral Colpoys and Captain Griffiths were confined several hours in separate cabins. In consequence, however, of the resolution of the house of commons, passed May 8th, and the king's free pardon being communicated to the seamen on May 10th, they appeared to be satisfied; the officers were generally reinstated in their commands, the red flag was struck, and the whole of the grand fleet prepared to put to sea. The mutiny, however, afterwards run through the whole of the fleet at Plymouth and Sheerness.

The North sea fleet, as well as the ships lying at the Nore, appear to have had the redress of other grievances in view, besides what related to the increase of pay and provisions demanded by the grand fleet at Spithead. A more equal division of prize-money,—more regular and frequent payment of wages,—and certain privileges of permission to go on shore when in port, as far as might be convenient to the service,—were points insisted upon by this division before they would agree to return to their regular state of subordination. During the progress of this alarming mutiny, various opinions existed in the public mind, in regard to the conduct the most prudent to be adopted towards the mutineers; some persons, with the ministry, would listen to nothing short of unconditional submission, while others insisted that part of the articles, at least, might have been granted, and that by moderate concession, the love and fidelity of the navy would be more effectually secured than by adopting harsh and coercive measures.

At the commencement of the mutiny, the mutineers were suffered to go on shore without interruption, and to parade about Sheerness, with music, flags, and a triumphal appearance, calculated to make converts to their cause. Their head-quarters were in a public house, from the windows of which a red flag was hoisted many days successively. The delegates and committee men went on shore or on board as they

pleased, and seemed commanders of Sheerness, as well as of the ships at the Nore. Lord Keith and Sir Charles Grey, however, who had been sent down to superintend the naval and military proceedings in that quarter, put an end to this indulgence on their arrival. With a view to extort compliance with their demands, the mutineers proceeded to block up the Thames, by refusing a free passage up and down the river to the London trade. The ships of neutral nations, however, colliers, and a few small craft, were suffered to pass, first receiving a passport signed by Richard Parker, as president of the delegates. In order to concentrate their force, all the ships which lay near Sheerness dropt down to the Great Nore. The line-of-battle ships were drawn up in a line, about half-a-mile distant from each other, and moored with their broad sides fronting each other. In the spaces between the line-of-battle ships, the detained merchantmen, &c. were moored. The force of the mutineers, at its greatest height, consisted of eleven ships of the line, exclusive of frigates, in all twenty-four sail. Each ship was governed by a committee consisting of twelve members, together with two delegates and a secretary. To represent the whole body of seamen, every man-of-war appointed two delegates, and each gun-boat one; the mode of assembling these was by beating a drum.

The crew of the Lancaster, of 64 guns, which lay at Long Reach, betrayed evident dispositions to join the ships at the Nore, but were prevented from passing down the river, by the batteries at Tilbury fort and Gravesend, and other works which were amply defended by the military. All communications being stopped with the shore, the mutineers supplied themselves with water and provisions from the ships they detained, and a party of seamen landed in the Isle of Grain and carried off a number of sheep, &c. The accounts, however, of their plundering different trading-vessels were exaggerated: the chief act which they perpetrated of this kind, was robbing a vessel of 300 sacks of flour, of which they found themselves in need, and which were distributed throughout the fleet.

A deputation of the admiralty, at the head of which was Earl Spencer, went down to Sheerness, but they had no conference with the delegates, demanding unconditional submission as a necessary preliminary to any intercourse. Earl Spencer departed from Sheerness without any attempt to compromise the dispute, after having caused it to be signified to the seamen that they must expect no concessions whatever, except such as has been already made by the legislature. On the 30th of May, the Clyde frigate was carried off from the mutinous fleet, by a combination of the officers, aided by some of the seamen; as was the St Fiorenzo, the officers of which cut her cables, and got under weigh at the instant when the boatswain's whistle was piping all hands to dinner. These ships were fired at by several others, and the St Fiorenzo sustained some damage in her hull and other works.

All the buoys were now removed from the mouth of the Thames, the neighbouring coast, by order of government; a precaution it is said to have greatly perplexed the mutineers, as any large ships which might attempt to sail away were in danger of running aground. Great preparations were also made at Sheerness, against an attack from the ships, and furnaces and red-hot balls were kept ready. On Sunday, June 4th, the whole fleet evinced its loyal disposi-

tion by a general salute, which was fired from all the ships at the Nore, in compliment to his majesty's birth-day; and the ships were decorated in the same manner as on rejoicing days; the red flag being, however, kept plying at the main of the Sandwich. On the 5th of June, about nine at night, the Serapis frigate, of 44 guns, and the Discovery attempted to desert the fleet, making for the fort at Sheerness, with the view of returning to obedience. When this was perceived, all the line-of-battle ships within reach, instantly poured broadsides at them. The frigate, however, got out of reach, although much shattered and damaged in the masts and rigging. On Tuesday, the Agamemnon, Leopard, Ardent, and Isis, men-of-war, and the Ranger sloop, joined the mutinous ships at the Nore, having left the fleet of Admiral Duncan. Lord Northesk, captain of the Monmouth, at the desire of the delegates, went on board of the Sandwich, where he received propositions for an accommodation, in the form of a letter,[1] which he was desired to lay before his majesty. Being furnished with a passport from Richard Parker, he went up to town by water. The demands in the seamen's letter being thought improper, Captain Knight, of the Inflexible, carried down the refusal of the lords of the admiralty.

Measures were now taken by Lord Keith and Sir C. Grey, to attack the fleet from the works at Sheerness, with gun-boats, &c.; the defection, however, of the Repulse, Leopard, and Ardent, on the night of Friday the 9th, with other symptoms of treachery among the mutineers to their own cause, rendered the use of force unnecessary. On Saturday several other of the ships pulled down the red flag, as a signal for the merchantmen to go up the river, and the store and victualling ships to remain behind; all of these, however, profited by the opportunity to effect their escape, after having been fired at by the fleet.

The mutineers now framed a more moderate set of articles, describing the nature of their grievances and demands, which they sent to the admiralty by Captain Cobb. Ministers, however, were fully determined not to grant any demands but to force the seamen to unconditional submission. On the 11th, the Neptune, of 98 guns, manned with press-gangs, volunteers, &c. Sir E. Gower commander, fell down to Longreach, with a view to act offensively against the mutineers; the Lancaster, which had surrendered on the 8th, the Agincourt, and a number of gun-boats, were also equipped in the river for the same destination. The firmness of the seamen was already shaken by the formidable preparations of government, and the want of fresh provisions and water; and it was evident that the combination was falling to pieces. On the 12th, most of the ships struck the red flag, and hoisted the union, to signify their desire of returning to obedience. On Tuesday morning, June 13th, the Agamemnon, the Standard, the Nassau, the

1 TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE EARL NORTHESK.

My Lord,—"You are hereby required and directed to proceed to London with such papers as are intrusted to your care, and to lay the same before our gracious sovereign, King George the Third, and to represent to our gracious sovereign, that the seamen at the Nore have been grossly misrepresented; at the same time, if our gracious sovereign does not order us to be redressed in fifty-four hours, such steps will be taken as will astonish our dear countrymen."

By order of the delegates of the whole fleet,

RICHARD PARKER, President.

Iris, and the Vestal, ran away from the other ships, and got under the protection of the guns at the fort, not a single shot being fired at them. The crews, however, of these vessels, were very far from being unanimous, as several men were wounded and killed in the struggles which took place on board them, between parties of the officers and those of the seamen. On the evening of the same day, not a red flag was seen flying at the Nore, and the blue was universally hoisted. On Friday the 16th, all resistance to the authority of the officers ceased on board the ships, and the mutiny was in effect terminated, although some of the ships which had proceeded up the river were not reduced to entire obedience,—the Belliqueux, and two or three more, held out the last. The officers of the Sandwich surrendered their delegates, Parker and Davis, to a party of soldiers sent on board by Sir C. Grey, together with Gregory, Higgins, and about thirty other delegates; these were committed to the black hole, in the garrison at Sheerness. On the first appearance of the soldiers, one of the delegates, Wallace, of the Standard, shot himself dead. During the progress of the mutiny, a letter, dated June 4th, (which, however, is believed to have been fictitious,) was sent to the delegates at the Nore, from the seamen of Sir Roger Curtis's squadron, and another from the late delegates of the ships at Plymouth, exhorting the mutineers to return to their duty. These letters, forged or otherwise, are said to have had considerable effect in creating divisions among the men.

On Thursday the 22d, the trial of Parker commenced on board the Neptune, off Greenhithe, before a court-martial consisting of captains in the navy, of which Sir T. Pasley was president. Parker was charged with "making and having endeavoured to make a mutiny amongst the seamen of his majesty's ships at the Nore, and with having behaved himself contemptuously towards his superior officers." The trial was continued by adjournment to Monday the 26th, when the president, after observing that the crime of which the prisoner was convicted was "as unprecedented as wicked, as ruinous to the navy as to the peace and prosperity of the country," adjudged him to suffer death at such time and place as the lords of the admiralty should appoint. The leading articles of the charges against Parker were, that he had behaved in two instances with insolence to Admiral Buckner; the first, in not allowing the admiral to appear on the quarter-deck of the Sandwich; and the second, in forcibly taking away two marines from the commissioner's house at Sheerness, in spite of the remonstrances of the admiral; that in the different conferences with the officers he had always taken the lead as spokesman; that he had laid one seaman in irons, and ordered another to be flogged; that he had assumed "the honour of representing the whole fleet;" that he had often proceeded from ship to ship, haranguing the respective crews, who cheered him as he passed,—on which occasions he ordered the men forwards; and that he was on board the Director when that ship opened a fire on the Repulse, and he gave his orders to fire. After the sentence was passed, the prisoner, with a degree of undismayed composure which excited the astonishment and admiration of every one present, spoke as follows: "I bow to your sentence with all due submission; being convinced I have acted by the dictates of a good conscience. God, who knows the hearts of all men, will, I hope, receive me. I hope that my death will atone to

the country; and that those brave men, who have acted with me, will receive a general pardon. I am satisfied they will all return to their duty with alacrity." His conduct, during the whole of the trial, was respectful and firm; and he remained, to the last moment, apparently unmoved.

Such is a brief outline of those unprecedented transactions in the British navy, which we trust will never find a parallel in our marine annals. Lord Bridport soon after retired from active service, but subsequently became general of marines, and in 1801 was created Viscount. His lordship died in 1814, without issue. He appears to have been a good seaman, and the affectionate epithets applied to him by the mutineers, even in the very height of their frenzy, sufficiently attest the respect with which he was regarded throughout the navy.

Sir Thomas Picton.

BORN A. D. 1757.—DIED A. D. 1815.

THIS gallant officer was descended from an old Pembrokeshire family. He entered the army in 1771, when he obtained an ensigncy in the 12th regiment of foot. In 1783 we find him holding a captaincy in the 75th, and distinguishing himself by his activity in quelling a mutiny in that corps while stationed at Bristol.

In 1794 he embarked for the West Indies, where he became aid-de-camp to Sir John Vaughan; in 1796, on the capture of St Lucia, Sir Ralph Abercromby recommended Picton to the lieutenant-colonelcy of the 68th regiment; and on the fall of Trinidad, Colonel Picton was appointed governor of that important island. While in this station he allowed the torture to be applied, according to Spanish law, to a young Spanish woman, in order to extort from her a confession as to some robberies to which she was supposed to have been accessory. For this act, Governor Picton was tried in the court of king's bench in 1806, and pronounced guilty by the jury. A new trial, however, was granted, and legal proceedings continued till 1808, when he obtained an exculpatory verdict. The duke of Queensbury liberally proffered him £10,000 to defray the expenses of this long-suspended trial, and the inhabitants of Trinidad voted him £5000 at a public meeting, in testimony of their entire approbation of his conduct in the governorship. He declined the first of these offers, and was with difficulty prevailed upon to accept the other, and on a destructive fire happening on the island, he instantly subscribed a sum of equal amount for the relief of the sufferers.

When a British army was sent in 1809 to rescue Holland from the hands of the French, Major-general Picton commanded a brigade, and was at the siege of Flushing, of which town he was appointed governor after its surrender. During his stay at Walcherin, he caught the fever to which all are subject who are doomed to reside in that insalubrious island. Before he was perfectly recovered, he was again called into active service in Portugal; where he commanded the third division of the British army,—a division remarkable and remembered for its distinguished zeal, celerity, and courage, animated as it was, with the spirit of its gallant commander. At the siege of Badajos, General Pic-

ton distinguished himself in a peculiar manner; he was directed to make a feigned attack on a castle which commanded the ramparts of the fortress; but he very soon perceived the practicability of taking this castle; and, therefore, with a decision peculiar to his character, he converted the feigned into a real attack, and hoisted the British flag on the wall of the castle, to the equal surprise and joy of the army. And to this bold manœuvre was the reduction of the fortress principally owing

General Picton served during the whole of the peninsular war; though, previous to the battle of Salamanca, he became so ill as to be obliged to resign, for a time, the command of his division, which on that day was intrusted to the gallant Sir Edward Pakenham. Before the battle of Vittoria, Picton was sufficiently recovered to resume his command; and in that battle his division acted in a manner which excited at once the surprise and admiration of the whole army. For nearly four hours did it alone sustain an unequal conflict with a vast superiority of force. General Picton was engaged in the battles of the Pyrennees and of Toulouse, and did not quit the army till nothing remained to be done. At the close of the war, rewards were distributed to the general officers who had distinguished themselves during its continuance; some were promoted to a peerage, who had had no opportunities of distinguishing themselves, and who had acquired no distinction, while General Picton, who had rendered the most signal services, was left untitled and unhonoured; for the only title which he enjoyed he received after the capture of Badajos.

When the war again broke out, in consequence of Bonaparte's escape from Elba and return to France, a command was offered to General Picton in the duke of Wellington's army, by the secretary-at-war. But the general declined it, on the supposition that, from the appointment of the duke to be generalissimo of the combined armies in the Netherlands, he would himself be placed under the command of some other officer; at the same time he declared his readiness to go, provided the duke of Wellington himself should express a wish to have him Soon after, the duke signified his earnest desire to have General Picton with him, and the general accordingly went, but with a full conviction on his mind that he should never return. In the battle of the 16th of June, 1815, in which he was opposed to Ney, with a very inferior force, and wholly destitute of artillery, he sustained a most unequal contest during the greater part of the day; and though he necessarily suffered much from the repeated attacks of a superior force, he gallantly maintained his ground. It is not generally known, but it is a certain fact, that in this action he received a wound from a musket-ball in the hip; he concealed the wound most studiously from all but his own servant, who dressed it as well as he could, and who had positive injunctions not to reveal it to any one. The general knew that this was only a prelude to a decisive battle which must soon take place, and at which he was resolved to be present. On the 18th of June, at the ever-memorable battle of Waterloo, the division of Picton, so long the terror of the French, nobly sustained the character it had so dearly earned. It was placed purposely by the discerning eye of Wellington in a most important position, which it defended against every attack of the enemy. It was in repelling one of these attacks, on which the fate of that eventful day materially depended, that General Picton received

a cannon-ball in the breast, which instantly terminated his glorious career, and stretched him a lifeless corpse on the field of victory.

Sir Robert Calder.

BORN A. D. 1745.—DIED A. D. 1815

THIS gallant seaman was the fourth son of Sir James Calder, by a daughter of Rear-admiral Hughes. He entered the navy at the age of fourteen, and in 1766 was appointed lieutenant of the Essex. In August, 1780, he was posted.

In 1796 he was appointed post-captain to Sir John Jervis, and brought home the despatches announcing the victory off Cape St Vincent, for his conduct in which engagement he was knighted. On the 22d of August, 1798, he was created a baronet; and in February, 1799, became Rear-admiral of the blue.

While Nelson was in pursuit of the Toulon fleet, it was Sir Robert Calder's fortune or misfortune—for such to him it proved in the sequel—to fall in with Villeneuve on the 22d of July, 1805. The following is Sir Robert's despatch to the admiralty secretary on this occasion:

"PRINCE OF WALES, *July* 23*d*, 1805.

"SIR,—Yesterday at noon, lat. 43 deg. 30 min. N., long. 11 deg. 17 min. W., I was favoured with a view of the combined squadrons of France and Spain, consisting of twenty sail-of-the-line, also three large ships armed *en flute*, of about fifty guns each, with five frigates and three brigs; the force under my direction at this time consisting of fifteen sail of the line, two frigates, a cutter, and lugger. I immediately stood towards the enemy with the squadron, making the needful signals for battle in the closest order; and, on closing with them, I made the signal for attacking their centre. When I had reached their rear I tacked the squadron in succession; this brought us close up under their lee, and when our headmost ships reached their centre the enemy were tacking in succession. This obliged me to make again the same manœuvre, by which I brought on an action which lasted upwards of four hours, when I found it necessary to bring-to the squadron to cover the two captured ships whose names are in the margin. (St Rafael, 84 guns; and Firma, 74 guns.) I have to observe, the enemy had every advantage of wind and weather during the whole day. The weather had been foggy at times a great part of the morning, and very soon after we had brought them to action, the fog was so very thick at intervals that we could with great difficulty see the ship ahead or astern of us. This rendered it impossible to take the advantage of the enemy by signals I could have wished to have done: had the weather been more favourable, I am led to believe the victory would have been more complete. I have very great pleasure in saying every ship was conducted in the most masterly style, and I beg leave here publicly to return every captain, officer, and man, whom I had the honour to command on that day, my most grateful thanks for their conspicuously gallant and very judicious good conduct. The Honourable Captain Gardner, of the Hero, led the van-squadron in a most masterly and officer-

like manner, to whom I feel myself particularly indebted; as also to Captain Cuming for his assistance during the action. Inclosed is a list of the killed and wounded on board the different ships. If I may judge from the great slaughter on board the captured ships, the enemy must have suffered greatly. They are now in sight to windward, and when I have secured the captured ships, and put the squadron to rights, I shall endeavour to avail myself of any opportunity that may offer to give you some further account of these combined squadrons.—I have the honour to be, &c. R. CALDER.

This letter excited public expectation considerably, and a second and more decisive engagement was anticipated, but on the 16th of August intelligence reached the admiralty that the combined squadrons had reached Ferrol. Sir Robert soon after arrived in England, and, at his own solicitation, was brought to a court-martial, on the 23d of December. The points insisted on by Sir Robert Calder, for not renewing the engagement on the 23d, were: that the enemy's force was superior to his, and at a considerable distance, with a heavy swell on that day; that his fleet was not fully prepared for a fresh action; that he had only 14 sail of the line, without frigates, and the enemy, 18 sail, with frigates; that if he had attempted to engage the enemy the Windsor Castle (a crippled ship) and the two prizes might have been exposed and perhaps taken. But above all, the admiral had apprehensions that while pursuing the combined fleet, the Ferrol or Rochefort squadrons might appear, and his fleet become an easy prey to the united force of the enemy. Under all these circumstances he judged it most prudent not to attempt to engage the combined fleet on the 23d. Upon this ground the admiral rested his justification and defence. After four days' trial Mr Gretham, the judge-advocate, read the sentence of the court, which was to the following effect: "The court were of opinion, that the charge of not having renewed the engagement with the combined fleet, and of not having taken or destroyed all the ships of the enemy, which it was his duty to have engaged, was proved; and that the conduct of Vice-admiral Calder was not the effect of cowardice or disaffection, but had arisen from an error in judgment, for which he was highly censurable, and deserved to be severely reprimanded; and, (added the judge-advocate,) he is severely reprimanded accordingly."

Upon the sentence being pronounced Admiral Calder appeared deeply affected,—he turned round and retired without a word. He was accompanied by a great number of friends, and on descending from the deck of the Prince of Wales into his barge scarcely lifted up his head. Sir Robert immediately retired into private life, from which, however, he emerged, in 1810, to accept the office of port-admiral at Plymouth. His death occurred on the 1st of September, 1815.

Samuel Whitbread.

BORN A. D. 1758.—DIED A. D. 1815.

THIS illustrious patriot was the only son of Samuel Whitbread, Esq, many years a respectable brewer in London, by his second wife, Mary.

third daughter of Earl Cornwallis, and was born in the year 1758. He was taught English at home, and was sent to Eton at a very early age. In that seminary he was contemporary with Mr Lambton, afterwards M. P. for Durham—a promising young man who died at a very early age—with Mr Charles Grey, now Earl Grey, and several other distinguished characters who have since filled eminent stations. Jonathan Davies, M.A., was the head-master; and for his private tutor he had Dr George Heath, who, in 1791, succeeded the former as head-master of the school. From this celebrated seminary, with all the advantages which are likely to have been reaped under such able instructors, he repaired to the university of Oxford. He was entered first of Christchurch, but soon removed to St John's.

After visiting many parts of his native country, Mr Whitbread, at a proper period, was sent on his travels over the continent of Europe, under the care of the Rev. W. Coxe, with whom he repaired to France; after visiting every thing remarkable there, as well as contemplating the vestiges of Helvetian liberty, he returned home, qualified to become a legislator in his native country. The tutor some years afterwards dedicated one of his works to his pupil in the following terms: "To Samuel Whitbread, jun., Esq. M.P. this third volume of Travels into Poland, Russia, Sweden, and Denmark, is inscribed, as a testimony of esteem and friendship." Soon after his return from his travels, Mr Whitbread, like his father, aspired to a seat in parliament. The family influence in Bedfordshire arose out of character and virtue, a reciprocity of good offices, and a liberal hospitality afforded by the possession of large estates. These legitimate pretensions enabled Mr Whitbread, in 1790, after a struggle of some duration, to represent the borough of Bedford.

Mr Pitt was at this time premier. The member for Bedford spoke for the first time on the Spanish armament, but it was on the Russian that he first distinguished himself. The heads of the opposition had moved a resolution expressive of the impolicy of the armament, while the ministry recurred to the previous question, demanding, at the same time, an entire reliance on the wisdom of the cabinet. It is almost unnecessary to remark, that a divided opposition was beaten on this occasion by a confiding majority. Yet the former in the end triumphed; for, although the eyes of the ministry were shut to the evils of a Russian war, still the complaints of commercial men poured in so thick, in the form of petitions, that the folly of expending British blood and treasure about the possession of Oczakow became conspicuous. An armistice accordingly took place; and it was on that occasion that the Empress Catherine requested and obtained the bust of Mr Fox, whom she considered as the presiding genius who had hushed the storm of war. As the ministers had deferred explanation during the struggle, and at its termination studiously avoided the subject, Mr Whitbread, on the 29th of February, 1792, moved "That a committee of the whole house should take into consideration the papers on the table, respecting the late armament against Russia." On being seconded by Mr Grey, after an eloquent speech of an hour's duration, he moved his resolution: "That no arrangement, respecting Oczakow and its district, appears to have been capable of affecting the political or commercial interests of this country, so as to justify any hostile interference, on the part of Great Britain, between Russia and the Porte." Earl Fitzwilliam at the same

time called the attention of the other house to the same subject; but the minister in both cases triumphed, so far as the suffrages of large parliamentary majorities could be deemed a triumph. It was visible, however, that from this period he ceased to be popular, and was obliged to recur to the influence of numbers, instead of that of opinion, for support.

In the glorious and ever-to-be-honoured struggles of the minority in parliament, and of the people out of doors, to prevent the commencement of that series of tragical wars which desolated Europe for twenty-five years, Whitbread was one of the small minority who rallied round Fox, and whose voice was always raised in the cause of liberty and humanity. To follow his career during this eventful period, and to give even the most imperfect sketch of his speeches on various occasions would far exceed our limits; they form part of the public and parliamentary history of the times, to which we refer the inquisitive reader.

In 1795 a considerable degree of scarcity prevailed, and the situation of the poor became truly deplorable. The hardships incident to labourers, tradesmen, and manufacturers, were referred to the consideration of the house by the member for Bedford, who observed that the maximum, or highest extent of wages to husbandmen, was fixable by the magistrate, but not the minimum, or lowest,—a circumstance which was productive of these hardships. Accordingly, a few days after this, he brought in a bill to authorize justices of the peace to regulate still further the price of labour at every quarter-session. On this occasion he was supported by Fox, Jekyll, and Honeywood; and opposed by Burdon, Buxton, Vansittart, and Pitt.

Mr Whitbread, as well as the party with whom he acted, from the beginning blamed the war with France as impolitic and unnecessary. It is not, therefore, surprising that they should seize on every opportunity to close the scene of blood; and we accordingly find that when Bonaparte, on his return from Egypt, addressed a letter to the king of England, in which he evinced an ardent desire for the termination of hostilities, and his majesty was advised to treat this overture with contempt, Whitbread made a most able speech, in which he contended that the war might have been avoided in the first instance; that, had it not been for the interference, the folly, and ambition, of the other powers of Europe the French revolution would have had a very different result; that Bonaparte's letter to his majesty was full of good sense, equally free from republican familiarity and courtly adulation; that, under our present circumstances, we ought not to refuse the proposals of the first consul for a general pacification; and that it was the interest of this country that a peace should be concluded as speedily as possible. Mr Whitbread had by this time acquired a high character for talents and integrity, and was considered as only second to Mr Fox in the house of commons.

In 1801 Mr Pitt and his colleagues withdrew suddenly from office, and Mr Addington leaped from the speaker's chair to the treasury-bench and became minister. As he professed himself a friend of economy a fruitful crop of abuses now presented themselves. Those in the naval department alone excited at once the attention and the indignation of the country. The reports of the commissioners implicated

Lord Melville, who had returned to power, but who, on many accounts, was far from being popular. He had been one of the most zealous in the prosecution of the American war; he was said to have been the chief cause of the continuance of the slave-trade; and he had, on all occasions, been the decided enemy of constitutional reform and liberal government. On the 8th of April, 1805, Mr Whitbread moved twelve resolutions on this subject. These resolutions were strenuously and powerfully opposed by Mr Pitt, who was supported by Mr Canning, the attorney-general, and the master of the rolls; while Tierney, Lord Henry Petty, Wilberforce, &c. spoke against the previous question. On a division the numbers proved exactly equal, there being two hundred and sixteen on each side; but the minister's motion—by which it had been intended to put an end to all inquiry—was negatived by the speaker's vote. A few days after Mr Whitbread moved that "an humble address should be presented to his majesty, praying that he would graciously be pleased to dismiss Lord Melville from all offices held by him during pleasure, and also from his council and presence for ever." This motion, however, was withdrawn; but a vote having been passed "that the former resolutions be laid before his majesty," and also "that they be carried up by the whole house," the name of Viscount Melville was struck from the list of privy-councillors. On the 11th of June Viscount Melville himself, having been admitted within the body of the house, entered into an elaborate defence; but on his retiring Mr Whitbread, after an able and eloquent speech, moved "That Henry Lord Viscount Melville be impeached for high crimes and misdemeanors." This proposition was baffled by various intervening debates till the 25th, when it was finally carried by a majority of one hundred and sixty-six against one hundred and forty-three. On the 26th Mr Whitbread moved that the house should nominate twenty-one members to prepare and manage the articles, and was himself placed at the head of this list as manager on the nomination of Lord Temple.

On the 4th of July Mr Whitbread brought up the report of this committee, which was followed by eight articles of impeachment. The trial accordingly commenced in Westminster-hall on Tuesday, April 29th, 1806. Mr Whitbread, as soon as the charges and answer had been read, rose and opened the accusations in a speech of extraordinary ability. The trial then proceeded through fourteen days, and on the fifteenth day Mr Whitbread closed the proceedings by an able rejoinder to the counsel for Lord Melville. On the sixteenth and last day Lord Erskine pronounced a verdict of acquittal.

Thus ended a trial which had engaged the earnest attention of the public, and from which, previously to the event, a different result was generally expected. On two of the charges there was only a majority of fourteen, and on a third of sixteen, for the acquittal of his lordship; yet, under all the circumstances, a great triumph was gained by the constitution in this trial. Lord Melville was at the time of the decision of the commons in the plenitude of power, and he was aided by all the influence of Pitt; it was therefore proved that the constitution was not devoid of elasticity, and could on a great occasion recover its due tone. It was agreed that the chairman of the committee of impeachment had conducted himself on the occasion in the most liberal, able, and decorous manner.

The rupture of the treaty of Amiens was the constant theme of Mr Whitbread's animadversions, from the day of the famous message, in March, 1803, when it was asserted that the French were making preparations in their ports, till within a short period of his death. The friends of liberty who had opposed the former war against the constitutional monarchy and republic of France, and whose exertions doubtless tended to shorten that war, had themselves justly become the enemies of Bonaparte, who, in 1799, had availed himself of his popularity, and usurped the supreme power. The war-party, who from the first had aimed at the forcible restoration of the Bourbons, availed themselves, therefore, of this feeling of the friends of peace, and both parties now united in the new war, not against France, it was said, but against the tyranny of Bonaparte. The friends of the Bourbons and the systematic opponents of all liberty were therefore blended on this occasion with the genuine friends of liberty, who equally disliked the Bourbons and the uncontrolled sway of Bonaparte. Thus the war became popular, and few lovers of liberty perceived, in the first instance, the snare into which they were falling. Mr Fox and Mr Whitbread were, however, among those few. They contended on every occasion, in opposition to the original war-party, that the war was unnecessary, and they urged to those known friends of liberty, who were among the most vehement partisans of the war, that foreign nations ought not to interfere with the internal policy of other countries; that the alleged tyranny of Bonaparte was a mere French question; and that any supposed benefit of a Bourbon, or any other government, to be imposed by foreign armies, was not worth the sacrifices of blood and treasure called for by such a war. The eloquence of these patriots failed, however, in its effect; and perhaps no war was ever so popular as that which was thus commenced about Malta,—the alleged surveys of our ports by authorized spies—though the best surveys might be purchased for a few shillings—and the alleged preparations in the French ports. An extensive party favoured the renewal of a contest of which it had always approved, and another party yielded its judgment on minor questions to its honest but ill-directed hostility to the misconduct of the head of the French government, in having dissolved the constitutional bodies by the bayonet! A systematic opposition to this war constituted, therefore, for the last twelve years, a chief feature in the public labours of Mr Whitbread. It was an onerous, irksome, and often ungracious task. He objected to its principles, and yet was often called upon to praise the valour of the fleets and armies of the executive; and at one time, when the country was considered in danger, he raised and organized a battalion of 350 volunteers at Bedford.

When Fox and the whig party came into power in 1806, it was understood that Whitbread might have enjoyed a high appointment; but, as he considered that a seat in the legislature ought not to be used as a passport to office, and that any office would shackle his wonted independence, he contented himself in voting with the ministry on such questions as he approved. On the violent rupture of the negotiations after the decease of Fox, we again find him protesting with energy against the principle, the expediency, and the justice of the war.

About this time Mr Whitbread, in the opinion of many of his friends, unnecessarily committed himself by replying publicly to a circular ad-

dress of Sir Francis Burdett to the electors of Westminster, of whom Mr Whitbread was one. Sir Francis retorted with energy on the hustings to the insinuations of Mr Whitbread, who was led to demand a formal explanation. Mr Whitbread had been a member of the famous society of the 'Friends of the People' in 1790, and had always voted in favour of parliamentary reform; yet, after the dissolution of that society, he never made the desire of parliamentary reform the chief test of patriotism, and in this he appears to have differed from Sir Francis Burdett, Messrs Cartwright, Cobbett, and a very numerous party.

The miscellaneous parliamentary labours of Mr Whitbread include nearly every branch of political economy, and the detail of his speeches would constitute a luminous history of the last twenty years. Against the slave-trade, in all its ramifications, he was ever animated; in whatever regarded the diffusion of knowledge and the extension of education he was zealous; and in every measure connected with the melioration of the condition of the people, the reform of the penal laws, and the management of the poor, he was active even to the day of his lamented death. Few legislators ever exhibited more perfect intelligence on so many complicated subjects as those which were constantly brought before him; in debate his intellectual vigour was irresistible, and, in whatever business he engaged, his decision was so prompt and immoveable that it savoured of severity even while its correctness could seldom be disputed. He distinguished himself during the discussion in 1809, relative to the orders in council, and acted in a very spirited manner during the inquiry into the conduct of the duke of York. On the downfall of Napoleon he strongly censured the proceedings of congress, and emphatically expressed his indignation at the declaration of the allies when Bonaparte returned from Elba. He opposed a new war, and protested against dictating a government to France, or forcing the Bourbons upon the French people by foreign bayonets. On the splendid success of the British arms at Waterloo he concurred in a tribute of national gratitude to the duke of Wellington, although he declared that his opinions as to the impolicy and injustice of the contest were still unshaken.

It is asserted that he once so far mistook his own powers as to attempt the composition of an address for the opening of Drury-lane theatre. In common with all the other addresses composed for the occasion it described the theatre as rising from its ashes like the Phœnix. "But Whitbread," said Sheridan, in a party consisting of Byron, Rogers, Moore, and himself, "made more of the bird than either of his rivals: he entered into particulars about its wings, back, head, tail; in short, he gave us a poulterer's description of a Phœnix."

A few years before his death he was induced, partly from motives of friendship and partly from a taste for the drama, to undertake to recognise the chaos of the Drury-lane property, and to rebuild the theatre, which had been two seasons in ruins. The frauds, the baseness, and the chicanery which he had to encounter and overcome in this task, resembled the labour of Hercules in cleansing the Augean stable; yet he surmounted every difficulty. The gratitude of the proprietors and the applause of the public were unbounded; but the dividends fell short of Mr Whitbread's hopes, and he stood committed to many personal friends, who had staked all their property in the concern. These cir-

cumstances lacerated his feelings, and, though apparently insignificant to a mind occupied with objects which embraced the welfare of his country and the destiny of the human race, they were that feather which turned the scale,—were that last drop which made the cup run over; they produced an intellectual plethora, fits of mental distraction, and, finally, death!

This event took place on Thursday, July the 6th, 1815, at his house in Dover-street, Piccadilly. On the same evening a coroner's jury sat on the body, and, after hearing the evidence of some of his intimate friends, found a verdict of insanity. He had spoken with his usual perspicuity in the house of commons on Tuesday evening, and had transacted business and entertained his friends on the previous day without any perceptible change of manner.

To the transcendent qualities of Mr Whitbread as a public character and patriot, it may be added that he maintained the consistency of his principles in all the relations of private life. He has often been represented as severe in exacting, from all connected with him, the performance of their duties; but this was with him a principle. It was his maxim, that every man in his sphere ought to do his duty with zeal and honesty: from its practice he never released himself, and he could not brook indifference in others. He used to say, that if all men performed their relative duties, half the evils which afflict society would not exist, and therefore he deemed it an unpardonable crime for a man to neglect his duty or abuse his trust. Hence also it was, that in cases of malversation which came within his sphere of action, no consideration of trouble, opposition, or inconvenience, ever deterred him from seeking to correct them; and this he did with such energy as generally secured success.

There is one relation in which Mr Whitbread was known to the public, and that was as a man of business. He inherited from his father one of the most considerable breweries in London; and notwithstanding his attention to his public duties as a member of parliament and a magistrate, he never neglected this legitimate and to him honourable source of wealth. As a man of principle in all things, he constantly resisted the baneful practice of purchasing public-houses for the purpose of forcing upon the town an inferior and deleterious commodity, but depended on the fair demand of the public and the free agency of his customers.

The character of this great man was expressed in very appropriate and elegant terms by the editor of the 'Morning Chronicle' on the day following that of Mr Whitbread's death. "The death of a patriot," says he, "so steady, intrepid, and zealous, in the cause of his country and of human freedom, will be long, deeply, and universally deplored. The loss of Mr Whitbread in the British parliament is a loss to the civilized world; for, like the exalted model of his conduct as a senator, Mr Fox, he was the constant, able, and disinterested advocate of justice, freedom, and humanity, wherever and by whomsoever assailed. No man who had a claim on the virtuous for protection ever applied to him in vain. He was the earnest and indefatigable friend of the oppressed, and in the prosecution of justice was dismayed by no combination of power, clamour, or calumny,—wearied out by no difficulties, and exhausted by no fatigue. In all his exertions, the only

creature whose interests he did not consult were his own; for, of all public characters, we should point Mr Whitbread out as the individual who had the least consideration for himself, and who was the least actuated by personal motives. His heart and mind were wholly devoted to the amelioration of the state of society, to the maintenance of the rights which our forefathers acquired, and to the communication of those blessings to others which we ourselves enjoy. His views were all public. He could not be diverted from the right path by any species of influence, for he was inflexible alike to flattery and to corruption. He invariably objected to that system by which the burdens of Great Britain have been so dreadfully accumulated, because he believed that the object of the league of sovereigns was more to restrain the rising spirit of a just liberty, than to withstand the insatiate ambition of a single individual; and his justification in this sentiment was the proof that they never adhered in success to the professions with which they set out in adversity. He was the warm, liberal, and enthusiastic encourager of universal education, from the pure feeling of benevolence that actuated all his life. He was convinced that to enlighten the national mind, and to make a people familiar with the Holy Scriptures, was to make them strong, moral, and happy. He was no bigot to forms of worship, and therefore was friendly to those institutions, the object of which is to instruct the young mind in the precepts of Christianity, according to the tenets which the mature judgment or predilection of the parent might wish to imprint on the child. In his friendships no man went greater lengths, or was more ready to sacrifice time, ease, and comfort, than himself. This was conspicuously shown in the arduous undertaking of the re-establishment of Drury-lane theatre, which will ever remain a monument of his disinterested labour and perseverance, as well as of the high confidence which was reposed in his power and integrity by the public; for to his exertions, to his character, and to his invincible constancy alone, are the public indebted for the restoration of that edifice; and it is a memorable trait in his character, that, having the whole patronage in his hand, not one person, male or female, employed in the establishment, owed their appointment to any personal dependence on himself or connection with his family, but in every instance he selected the fittest objects that presented themselves for the situation that they gained. We fear that, to the daily and hourly fatigues, nay, we may say, the persecution that he endured in this great work, through the petulance, the cabals, and the torment of contrary interests, we must attribute the decline of his health, and the sudden termination of a life so dear to the public. The incessant annoyance preyed on his mind, and strengthened the attacks of a plethoric habit of body, which threatened apoplexy. For some weeks past he had been afflicted with constant headach, and his physicians had advised him to abstain from all exertion, even that of speaking in parliament. No man was more temperate in his mode of living. He was happy in his domestic society,—surrounded by an amiable and accomplished family,—and in the possession of all that fortitude which the consciousness of the honest discharge of every duty, public and private, could bestow. No man will be more sensibly missed by the people as one of their representatives, for no man was more vigilant, more undaunted, more faithful in watching over their interests, nor more ardent in asserting their

rights. He had the good old English character of openness and sincerity. He called things by their right names, and his detestation of every thing in the nature of a job made him the terror of delinquents. His death will be a universal source of sorrow to the country, and now that courtiers are released from his castigation, even they will do justice to his talents and integrity."

In the house of commons, on the 11th, on the occasion of moving for a new writ for Bedford, the marquess of Tavistock, Mr Wilberforce, and the chancellor of the exchequer, took occasion to express the following sentiments:—the marquess of Tavistock said, "I am well aware that a great majority of this house thought his opinions erroneous; but I am sure that there is not one of his political opponents who will not lay his hand on his heart, and say that he always found in him a manly antagonist. Accustomed to defend his opinions with earnestness and warmth, the energies of his admirable and comprehensive mind would never permit the least approach to tameness or indifference. But no particle of animosity ever found a place in his breast; and, to use his own words on another melancholy occasion, 'he never carried his political enmity beyond the threshold of his own house.' To those, Sir, who were more immediately acquainted with his exalted character,—who knew the directness of his mind, his zeal for truth, his unshaken love of his country,—the ardour and boldness of his disposition, incapable of dismay,—his unaffected humanity, and his other various and excellent qualities, his loss is irreparable. His eloquent appeals in this house in favour of the unfortunate,—appeals exhibiting the frankness and honesty of the true English character,—will adorn the pages of the historian, although, at the present moment, they afford a subject of melancholy retrospect to those who have formerly dwelt with delight on the benevolence of heart which always beat, and on the vigour of an intellect which was always employed for the benefit of his fellow-creatures."

Mr Wilberforce wished to add his testimony to the excellent qualities of the lamented individual whose death had rendered the present motion necessary; and, in doing so, he could with truth declare that he was only one of many thousands, rich as well as poor, by whom his character had been most highly estimated. Well had it been termed by the noble marquess, "a truly English character." Even its defects, trifling as they were, and what character was altogether without defects? were those which belonged to the English character. Never had there existed a more complete Englishman. All who knew him must recollect the indefatigable earnestness and perseverance with which, during his life, he directed his talents and the whole of his time to the public interest; and although he, Mr W., differed from him on many occasions, yet he always did full justice to his public spirit and love of his country. For himself, he could never forget the important assistance which he derived from his zeal and ability in the great cause which he had so long advocated in that house. On every occasion, indeed, in which the condition of human beings was concerned—and the lower their state the stronger their recommendation to his favour—no one was more anxious to apply his great powers to increase the happiness of mankind.

The chancellor of the exchequer said, "that it must be some consolation to the noble marquess and the whole house, to feel that whatever

difference of opinion might exist on political questions, there was no one who did not do justice to the virtues and talents of the object of their regret, or who, for a moment, supposed that he was actuated by any other motive than a conviction of public duty."

Perhaps the several parties in the house of commons never united more cordially in expressions of sorrow for the loss of a member. But it should be recollected that Mr Whitbread was one of the last surviving, in life or in political consistency, of that great school of senatorial eloquence which will for ever impart lustre to the age of George the Third. Never was there before seen in the house of commons, or in any assembly of ancient or modern times, a cotemporary race so justly renowned as Fox, Burke, Grey, Sheridan, Whitbread, Pitt, Erskine, Wilberforce, Windham, and Grattan.

Sir Samuel Hood.

BORN A. D. 1762.—DIED A. D. 1815.

SIR SAMUEL HOOD was born in November, 1762. His grandfather was the Rev. Arthur Hood of Dawlish, in Somersetshire, uncle of Lords Hood and Bridport. His father was Samuel Hood, Esq. of Kingsland, in the parish of Netherby, Dorsetshire. His elder brother, Arthur, was unfortunately drowned in his majesty's sloop, Pomona, which foundered in a hurricane on the Leeward Island station in 1775, and his second brother, Alexander, captain of the Mars, was killed on board that ship, in an action with l'Hercule on the 21st April, 1798.

About the age of fourteen he commenced his nautical career, in the usual course, as midshipman, under the protection of Lord Hood, who at that period commanded the Courageux. He seems to have shared in an equal degree the protection of both his noble relatives; for after his first initiation, he removed to the Robust, then commanded by Captain Hood—Lord Bridport—where he remained until the year 1779. While in this ship he was in the engagement which concluded with the capture of two French frigates, the Pallas and the Licorne, and in that of the 27th of July, the same year, in the memorable engagement betwixt Admiral Keppel and Compte d'Orvilliers. In the course of the following year he was removed into the sloop Lively; and in 1780 he was in that vessel at the capture of la Duchesse de Chartres, a French privateer, which surrendered after a short action in the British channel.

At the latter end of the year 1780, Lord Hood, having hoisted a rear-admiral's flag on board of the Barfleur, was accompanied to the West Indies in that ship by his young protegé, who served under him as acting lieutenant and lieutenant from the month of October, 1780, until the 31st of January, 1782. During his service in the Barfleur, Lieutenant Hood exerted himself in a manner highly honourable in the engagement with De Grasse, off Martinique; in that off the Chesapeak on the 5th of September following; and in the actions between the two fleets on the 25th and 26th of January, 1782.

On the 31st of January, 1782, five days after the second action off St Kitts, he was promoted to the rank of commander, and appointed to the Reynard sloop by Lord Viscount Hood. Captain Hood's command

of the Reynard was rather nominal than real. At the period of his nomination that vessel was lying as a convalescent ship in the harbour of Antigua. Our young hero, therefore—he had then scarcely passed his twentieth year—disliking the state of inactivity to which his command would have condemned him, chose to remain a volunteer on board the Barfleur. He was, in consequence, in this ship in those glorious actions of the 9th and 12th of April, 1782, in which his noble relation so pre-eminently distinguished himself. On the 19th of the same month he was also a sharer in the glory derived from the capture of the French squadron, consisting of le Jason, le Coton, l'Aimable, and la Ceres. This was the last engagement in which Captain Hood had a share during the war. When the preliminaries of peace were signed, he embraced the opportunity of visiting France, where he continued until the year 1785.

On his return to England he was appointed to the command of the Weasel sloop of war, in which he sailed to Halifax. He was there employed in surveying the coasts and harbours on that station, and for the vigilance and activity with which he executed his arduous task was honoured with a post-captain's commission, and appointed to the command of the Thisbe frigate. He remained at Halifax until the close of the year 1789, when the Thisbe was ordered to England to be paid off. In the month of May, 1790, he was appointed to the command of the Juno frigate, in which he proceeded to Jamaica. Whilst on this station he had, at the beginning of February the following year, the happiness of saving the lives of three shipwrecked sailors. His ship was then lying in St Anne's harbour; and, in the height of a gale of wind, which increased to an absolute hurricane, a wreck was descried from the mast-head, with three men upon it, over whom the waves broke with such unremitting violence that it was supposed scarcely possible to rescue them from their dreadful situation. The Juno's cutter and launch had been previously despatched to the assistance of a vessel in the offing, so that Captain Hood had nothing but his own barge with which to attempt the preservation of his fellow-creatures. From the extreme apparent danger of those men, the crew evinced the greatest reluctance to descend into the barge, until Captain Hood undauntedly leaped in, exclaiming, "I never gave an order to a sailor in my life which I was not ready to undertake and execute myself!" The barge then pushed off, and, through the most determined perseverance, he had the happiness of succeeding in his gallant and meritorious effort. So strongly was the government of Jamaica impressed with the sense of the humane and generous conduct of Captain Hood, that they voted a hundred guineas for the purchase of a sword as a token of their approbation, which, soon after his return to England in 1791, was presented to him, accompanied by a very elegant letter. He had also, previous to his sailing, received a letter of thanks from the humane society of Jamaica.

At the commencement of the war in 1793, Captain Hood was ordered to the Mediterranean in his former ship the Juno, and was there very actively employed.

In the month of December, 1793, Lord Hood found it necessary to evacuate Toulon; in consequence, he proceeded with his fleet to Hieres bay, there to wait the arrival of a convoy of transports and victuallers from Gibraltar. Before this, however, Captain Hood had been des-

patched to Malta, and, on his return, being wholly unacquainted with the events that had occurred during his absence, he stood into the harbour of Toulon. He had already reached the inner road when his vessel struck upon a shoal, from which she had not got quite clear, when she was boarded by a boat's crew from the shore, who, favouring the delusion under which the commander laboured, endeavoured to decoy him to another part of the harbour where his frigate might more easily be secured. A midshipman, however, perceiving their national cockades, immediately gave the alarm; and the danger of their position becoming evident, Hood and his crew forced the French below, and taking advantage of a favourable breeze, with much difficulty got the frigate afloat. She was scarcely under sail, when a brig-of-war and several batteries opened a fire upon her; in spite of which, however, she succeeded in escaping from the harbour.

In February, 1794, we find Captain Hood actively and arduously employed in the attack of Corsica, where he again particularly distinguished himself, and had the honour of receiving the thanks of the commander-in-chief for his important services, which were repeated after the blockade and capture of Calvi, at which time he commanded l'Aigle frigate. In this vessel he continued until the year 1796, and during the whole of 1795 had the command of a small squadron in the Archipelago for the purpose of protecting the trade, and blockading a squadron of the enemy's frigates of equal force at Smyrna.

In the month of April, 1796, Captain Hood was appointed to the command of the Zealous, of 74 guns, in which ship he was, during that year, most actively employed under Sir John Jervis, off Toulon, and, in 1797, off Cadiz. In the summer of the year 1797 he was with Lord Nelson at Teneriffe when his lordship had the misfortune to lose his arm, and by his spirited and judicious conduct in effecting the return of the British troops and seamen from their disastrous attack, he had the satisfaction of endearing himself to that hero. In 1798 Captain Hood was employed in blockading the port of Rochfort, where, while he was waiting to be relieved by Captain Keats, he most successfully counteracted the design of the enemy to escape. Immediately after Captain Hood, in the Zealous, with Sir Thomas Troubridge in the Culloden, and nine other ships, was despatched to reinforce the squadron of Lord Nelson.

On the memorable 1st of August, 1798, having the look-out, he first discovered the French fleet in the bay of Aboukir. For his heroism on that important and glorious day, he was honoured with the thanks of parliament, and also presented with a sword by the city of London.

After the victory of Aboukir, Lord Nelson proceeded to Naples, and left Captain Hood the command of the squadron on the coast of Egypt. While on this station, he not only kept the port of Alexandria closely blockaded, but took and destroyed upwards of thirty of the neutral transports which had carried the enemy's troops to Egypt, and as an honorary reward for these services, was presented by the Grand Signior with a snuff-box set with diamonds. In February, 1799, he joined Lord Nelson at Palermo, and assisted in reducing his Sicilian majesty's subjects to obedience, and driving the French out of Naples. He was afterwards employed on shore in taking charge of Castel-Nuovo. He kept the city perfectly quiet during the siege of St Elmo and of Capua,

until the period of their reduction. The king acknowledged these services by presenting him with a snuff-box enriched with diamonds, and at the same time conferring on him the rank of commander of the order of St Ferdinand and of Merit, which rank was confirmed by his British majesty.

The Zealous was paid off in the month of May, 1800, and Sir Samuel Hood was appointed to the Courageux, of 74 guns, in which he was for some time actively employed in the channel fleet. This ship afterwards formed part of a detached squadron at Ferrol and Vigo, until January, 1801, at which period he was removed into the Venerable, also of 74 guns. In April he escorted a fleet of Indiamen beyond the Cape de Verdes. On his return he joined Sir James Saumarez off Cadiz, and after making several captures on that station, was in the action off Algesiras, which did not terminate with that success which both the plan and execution deserved. However, Sir James Saumarez, hearing that the French admiral, Linois, had been reinforced with a Spanish squadron of five sail of the line, determined, notwithstanding the crippled state of his own ships, to pursue and attack the enemy. A glorious victory, in which Sir Samuel Hood had the honour of bearing a distinguished part, was the consequence. In this victory the Venerable had 30 killed, and 100 wounded. On his arrival at Gibraltar, Sir Samuel Hood, in common with the other captains of the fleet, received the thanks of the admiral. He had afterward the satisfaction of receiving the particular thanks of the admiralty in addition to the general vote of thanks from parliament for his great and extraordinary exertions.

He returned to England in the month of November, 1801; and, on the signature of the preliminaries of peace, his ship the Venerable was paid off. His services were, however, too valuable and important for him to be permitted a long enjoyment of repose. In the month of October, 1802, he was appointed a joint-commissioner for the government of the island of Trinidad; and, on the death of Rear-admiral Totty, commander-in-chief on the Barbadoes and Leeward Island station.

At the commencement of the late war, Sir Samuel Hood, in conjunction with General Grinfield, commander-in-chief of the army, captured the islands of St Lucia and Tobago, made prisoners upwards of 1200 of the enemy's troops, and totally destroyed their trade in that quarter of the globe. They also, within the period of three months, took the valuable colonies of Demerara, Issequibo, and Berbice. Eight months after, Sir Samuel compelled the settlement of Surinam to surrender, and subsequently reduced the island of Martinico to the greatest distress. In addition to these distinguished captures, Sir Samuel Hood took and destroyed a great number of the enemy's privateers and ships of war, which afforded the most ample security and protection to our trade. For these numerous and important services, his majesty was most graciously pleased to bestow upon him, as a distinguishing mark of his royal favour, the insignia of the order of the Bath.

On the arrival of Rear-admiral Cochrane in the West Indies in 1805, Sir Samuel Hood returned to England, and was soon after made a colonel of the marines. Early in 1806 he was appointed to the Centaur, and placed under the orders of Earl St Vincent, who gave him the command of seven sail of the line and some smaller vessels, and de-

puted him to watch the motions of the enemy off Rochfort. On the morning of the 25th of September he had, after four months' perseverance in this service, the good fortune to fall in with a squadron of the enemy, consisting of five large frigates and two corvettes full of troops. In the action that ensued, Sir Samuel was severely wounded, and was afterwards under the necessity of suffering his right arm to be amputated. He succeeded, however, in taking four of the frigates, all very fine ships, one of which bore the French commodore's pendant. For his conduct on this occasion, and in consideration of his former services, and of the recent loss of his arm, his majesty was graciously pleased to grant him a pension of £500 per annum.

At the general election, 1806, Sir Samuel Hood's professional services having gained him a just portion of well-earned popularity, he had the honour to be returned one of the representatives in parliament for the city of Westminster. Throughout the fifteen days' poll he maintained a decided superiority of numbers, and at the last found the honour, which his colleague termed a popular peerage, conferred on him by the votes of 5478 of his fellow-citizens.

In 1807, during which year he was elected for Bridport, he commanded the naval part of the armament against Madeira; and, early in 1808, received the thanks of parliament for his services. He was next employed in his old ship, the Centaur, with Captain Martin, in the Implacable, to assist the Swedes against the Russians, from whom he succeeded in taking a seventy-four-gun ship; and, but for the slow sailing of his allies, would have made more important captures. In 1808 he commanded the squadron in which the British troops embarked at Corunna, where he displayed so much zeal and ability, that, early in the next year he was honoured with the thanks of parliament, made rear-admiral of the White, and created a baronet, with remainder to his nephew. In 1810 he became rear-admiral of the Red, and, in the following year, proceeded to take the chief command in the East Indies. In 1812 he was made a knight-commander, and shortly before his death, which took place on the 24th of December, 1815, a knight grand-cross of the Bath.

Richard Brinsley Sheridan.

BORN A. D. 1751.—DIED A. D. 1816.

RICHARD BRINSLEY SHERIDAN was born in Dublin, in the month of September, 1751. His father and grandfather were both men of literary reputation. His mother also was an authoress, and amongst other productions of her pen, wrote a comedy called 'The Discovery,' which Garrick pronounced to be a chef d'œuvre in its line.

At the age of seven, Richard was, with his elder brother Charles, placed under the tuition of Mr Samuel Whyte, a well-known and highly respectable teacher. "It may be consoling," says Mr Moore, "to parents who are in the first crisis of impatience at the sort of hopeless stupidity which some children exhibit, to know that the dawn of Sheridan's intellect was as dull and unpromising as its meridian day was bright; and that in the year 1759, he who in less than thirty years'

afterwards, held senates enchained by his eloquence and audiences fascinated by his wit, was, by common consent both of parents and preceptor, pronounced to be 'a most impenetrable dunce.'" In the year 1762 Richard was sent to Harrow, where he little distinguished himself, although he seems to have persuaded Parr, who was that time one of the ushers, that he really knew a good deal, and Parr affirms that both he and the head-master, Dr Sumner, discovered talents in the boy which neither of them could bring into action while he remained a schoolboy. His father, unfortunately, could not afford to send him to the university, and he appears to have trifled away several years after leaving Harrow in sheer idleness, if we except a few desultory efforts at composition both in prose and verse, of which Mr Moore has preserved a few specimens in his interesting biography.

While only on the verge of manhood, Sheridan conceived a passion for Miss Linley, the far-famed 'Maid of Bath,' who "appears to have spread her gentle conquests to an extent almost unparalleled in the annals of beauty." He had numerous rivals, and amongst others his elder brother, Charles, and his earliest and most intimate friend Halhed, then studying at Oxford; but he soon triumphed over them all, and appears to have been privately married to Miss Linley in France, in the month of March, 1772, though the young couple were re-married in England, in April, 1773.

Sheridan now entered his name on the books of the Middle Temple, but he was altogether unfit for a profession demanding such close and strenuous attention as that of law. He made a little by writing for the newspapers, a labour in which his wife cheerfully and ably assisted him; but the main dependence of the young couple was the interest of £3000 which a Mr Long, who was one of Miss Linley's rejected suitors, had generously settled upon her. During this period, the happiest in their lives, the young couple lived in retirement at East Burnham.

On the 17th of January, 1775, Sheridan's powers as a dramatic writer were proved by the bringing out of his first comedy, 'The Rivals,' at Covent-garden. Its success was decisive; and was followed up by the opera of 'The Duenna,' which took a run unparalleled in the annals of the drama, having been acted no less than seventy-five times in one season. Soon after this, Sheridan became proprietor of Garrick's moiety of the patent of Drury Lane. Mr Moore is unable to explain how or where the young dramatist got the money necessary to effect this purchase; he managed, however, to procure it, and place himself in the situation of patentee and manager of that expensive establishment. In 1777 he placed his fame as a dramatic writer on its highest pinnacle, by the production of 'The School for Scandal.' "It would be something of the latest," says the Edinburgh reviewer of Mr Moore's biography, "to engage now in a critique on the 'Rivals' or the 'School for Scandal;' and it would be useless. The public and general judgment is right; both in the very high rank it has assigned to these pieces, and in the exceptions with which it has qualified its praise. They are all over-sparkling with wit, and alive with character; and nothing, so much better in its substance than the real conversation of polite society, ever came so near it in manner. But there is too much merely ornamental dialogue, and, with some very fine theatrical situations, too

much intermission in the action and business of the play; and, above all, there is too little real warmth of feeling, and too few indications of noble or serious passion thoroughly to satisfy the wants of English readers and spectators—even in comedy. Their wit is the best of them;—and we do not mean to deny that it is both genuine and abundant. But it is fashioned too much after one pattern; and resolved too often into studied comparisons, and ludicrous and ingenious similes. There is a degree of monotony in this; and its very condensation gives it something of a quaint, elaborate, and ostentatious air. The good things are all detached, and finished, and independent, each in itself; and, accordingly, they do not inform the style with a diffusive splendour, such as the sun sheds on a fine landscape, but sparkle in their separate spheres, more in the manner of nightly illuminations in a luxurious city. It is but a forked and jagged lightning, compared to the broad flashes of Shakspeare, that kindle the whole horizon with their wide and continuous blaze! It is not fair, perhaps, to name that mighty name, in estimating the merits of any other writer. But, since it is done, it may serve still farther to illustrate what we mean, if we add, that, where Sheridan resembles him at all in his wit and humour, it is rather in the ostentatious and determined pleasantries of such personages as Mercutio or Benedict, than in the rich and redundant inventions of Falstaff, the light-hearted gayety of Rosalind, the jollity of Sir Toby, or the inexhaustible humours and fancies of his clowns, fairies, fools, constables, serving-men, and justices. What a variety! what force, what facility,—and how little depending upon point, epigram, or terseness of expression!"

The 'School for Scandal' was speedily followed by another successful comedy, entitled 'The Critic.' But politics, not literature, was the great business of Sheridan's life, and to this sphere of action we must now turn our attention.

"His first appearance before the public as a political character," says Mr Moore, "was in conjunction with Mr Fox at the beginning of the year 1780, when the famous resolutions on the state of the representation, signed by Fox as chairman of the Westminster committee, together with a report on the same subject from the sub-committee, signed by Sheridan, were laid before the public." Previous to this, however, Sheridan had written numerous political articles and pamphlets on the whig side; and had got into habits of intimacy with the leaders of that party. By means of Mr, subsequently Lord John Townshend, he became acquainted with Fox. "I made the first dinner party," says his lordship, "at which they met; having told Fox that all the notions he might have conceived of Sheridan's talent and genius, from the comedy of 'The Rivals,' &c. would fall infinitely short of the admiration of his astonishing powers, which, I was sure, he would entertain at the first interview. The first interview between them (there were very few present, only Tickell and myself, and one or two more) I shall never forget. Fox told me, after breaking up from dinner, that he had always thought Hare, after my uncle, Charles Townshend, the wittiest man he had ever met with, but that Sheridan surpassed them both infinitely." Sheridan's admiration of Fox was equally great; and the congeniality of their minds soon produced a close friendship. With Windham he had been previously intimate; and his acquaintance with

Burke speedily followed. The latter, however, appears to have always regarded Sheridan with a degree of aversion and mistrust. After the dissolution of parliament that took place in 1780, Sheridan was elected conjointly with Mr Monckton for the borough of Stafford, and took his seat in the new parliament which met in October.

"The period at which Mr Sheridan entered upon his political career," says Mr Moore, "was in every respect remarkable. A persevering and vindictive war against America, with the folly and guilt of which the obstinacy of the court and the acquiescence of the people are equally chargeable, was fast approaching that crisis, which every unbiassed spectator of the contest had long foreseen,—and at which, however humiliating to the haughty pretensions of England, every friend to the liberties of the human race rejoiced. It was, perhaps, as difficult for this country to have been long and virulently opposed to such principles as the Americans asserted in this contest, without being herself corrupted by the cause which she maintained, as it was for the French to have fought, in the same conflict, by the side of the oppressed, without catching a portion of that enthusiasm for liberty, which such an alliance was calculated to inspire. Accordingly, while the voice of philosophy was heard along the neighbouring shores, speaking aloud those oracular warnings which preceded the death of the Great Pan of Despotism, the courtiers and lawyers of England were, with an emulous spirit of servility, advising and sanctioning such strides of power, as would not have been unworthy of the most dark and slavish times. When we review, indeed, the history of the late reign, and consider how invariably the arms and councils of Great Britain in her Eastern wars, her conflict with America, and her efforts against revolutionary France, were directed to the establishment and perpetuation of despotic principles, it seems little less than a miracle that her own liberty should have escaped with life from the contagion. Never, indeed, can she be sufficiently grateful to the few patriot spirits of this period, to whose courage and eloquence she owes the high station of freedom left to her;—never can her sons pay a homage too warm to the memory of such men as a Chatham, a Fox, and a Sheridan; who, however much they may have sometimes sacrificed to false views of expediency, and, by compromise with friends and coalition with foes, too often weakened their hold upon public confidence; however the attraction of the court may have sometimes made them librate in their orbit, were yet the saving lights of liberty in those times, and alone preserved the ark of the constitution from foundering in the foul and troubled waters that encompassed it."

It is well known that Sheridan's first appearances on this great theatre were of doubtful promise. His opening speech was in support of his own election, and was more warm than judicious.

"It was on this night, as Woodfall used to relate, that Mr Sheridan, after he had spoken, came up to him in the gallery, and asked, with much anxiety, what he thought of his first attempt. The answer of Woodfall, as he had the courage afterwards to own, was, 'I am sorry to say I do not think that this is your line—you had much better have stuck to your former pursuits.' On hearing which, Sheridan rested his head upon his hand for a few minutes, and then vehemently exclaimed, 'It is in me, however, and, by G——, it shall come out.' It appears,

indeed, that upon many persons besides Mr Woodfall, the impression produced by this first essay of his oratory was far from answerable to the expectations that had been formed. The chief defect remarked in him was a thick and indistinct mode of delivery, which, though he afterwards greatly corrected it, was never entirely removed."

The first occasion on which Mr Sheridan made any thing like a display of oratory, was afforded by a motion which he made on the 5th of March, 1781, 'for the better regulation of the police of Westminster.' In 1782, on the accession of the Rockingham administration, Sheridan was appointed one of the under-secretaries, and obtained the appointment of secretary-of-war in Ireland for his brother, Charles. He disapproved of the coalition between Fox and North, but continued to act with his friends, and rose gradually in estimation as a debater. About this period, Pitt having taunted Sheridan with his addiction to theatrical pursuits, received a memorable retort from the indignant dramatist. "No man," said Pitt, "admires more than I do the abilities of that right honourable gentleman; the elegant sallies of his thought, the gay effusions of his fancy, his dramatic turns, and his epigrammatic point; and if they were reserved for the proper stage, they would, no doubt, receive the plaudits of the audience; and it would be the fortune of the right honourable gentleman, '*sui plausu gaudere theatri.*' But parliament was not the proper scene for the exhibition of those elegancies." Sheridan, in reply, said, "On the particular sort of personality which the right honourable gentleman has thought proper to make use of, I need not make any comment. The propriety, the taste, the gentlemanly point of it must have been obvious to the house. But let me assure the right honourable gentleman, that I do now, and will, at any time he chooses to repeat this sort of allusion, meet it with the most sincere good humour. Nay, I will say more—flattered and encouraged by the right honourable gentleman's panegyric on my talents, if ever I again engage in the composition he alludes to, I may be tempted to an act of presumption—to attempt an improvement on one of Ben Johnson's best characters,—the character of 'the angry boy' in the Alchymist."

The impeachment of Hastings was the occasion of Sheridan's most splendid parliamentary display. Mr Moore represents the projected inquest as languishing and about to die away, when Sheridan brought forward on the 7th of February, 1787, in the house of commons, "the charge relative to the Begum Princesses of Oude, and delivered that celebrated speech, whose effect upon its hearers has no parallel in the annals of ancient or modern eloquence. When we recollect the men by whom the house of commons was at that day adorned, and the conflict of high passions and interests in which they had been so lately engaged;—when we see them all, of all parties, brought (as Mr Pitt expressed it) 'under the wand of the enchanter,' and only vying with each other in their description of the fascination by which they were bound;—when we call to mind too, that he, whom the first statesmen of the age thus lauded, had but lately descended among them from a more aërial region of intellect, bringing trophies falsely supposed to be incompatible with political prowess;—it is impossible to imagine a moment of more entire and intoxicating triumph. The only alloy that could mingle with such complete success must be the fear that it was

too perfect ever to come again;—that his fame had then reached the meridian point, and from that consummate moment must date its decline. Of this remarkable speech there exists no report;—for it would be absurd to dignify with that appellation the meagre and lifeless sketch, the

> Tenuem sine viribus umbram
> In faciem Æneæ,'

which is given in the annual registers and parliamentary debates. Its fame, therefore, remains like an empty shrine—a cenotaph still crowned and honoured, though the inmate is wanting. Mr Sheridan was frequently urged to furnish a report himself, and from his habit of preparing and writing out his speeches, there is little doubt that he could have accomplished such a task without much difficulty. But, whether from indolence or design, he contented himself with leaving to imagination, which, in most cases, he knew, transcends reality, the task of justifying his eulogists, and perpetuating the tradition of their praise. Nor, in doing thus, did he act perhaps unwisely for his fame. We may now indulge in dreams of the eloquence that could produce such effects, as we do of the music of the ancients and the miraculous powers attributed to it, with as little risk of having our fancies chilled by the perusal of the one, as there is of our faith being disenchanted by hearing a single strain of the other. After saying thus much, it may seem a sort of wilful profanation, to turn to the spiritless abstract of this speech, which is to be found in all the professed reports of parliamentary oratory, and which stands, like one of those half-clothed mummies in the Sicilian vaults, with, here and there, a fragment of rhetorical drapery, to give an appearance of life to its marrowless frame. There is, however, one passage so strongly marked with the characteristics of Mr Sheridan's talent, that it may be looked upon as a pretty faithful representation of what he spoke, and claim a place among the authentic specimens of his oratory. Adverting to some of those admirers of Mr Hastings, who were not so implicit in their partiality as to give unqualified applause to his crimes, but found an excuse for their atrocity in the greatness of his mind, he thus proceeds:—'To estimate the solidity of such a defence, it would be sufficient merely to consider in what consisted this prepossessing distinction, this captivating characteristic of greatness of mind. Is it not solely to be traced in great actions directed to great ends? In them, and them alone, we are to search for true estimable magnanimity. To them only can we justly affix the splendid title and honours of real greatness. There was indeed another species of greatness, which displayed itself in boldly conceiving a bad measure, and undauntedly pursuing it to its accomplishment. But had Mr Hastings the merit of exhibiting either of these descriptions of greatness,—even of the latter? He saw nothing great—nothing magnanimous—nothing open—nothing direct in his measures, or in his mind. On the contrary, he had too often pursued the worst objects by the worst means. His course was an eternal deviation from rectitude. He either tyrannized or deceived; and was by turns a Dionysius and a Scapin. As well might the writhing obliquity of the serpent be compared to the swift directness of the arrow, as the duplicity of Mr Hastings's ambition to the simple steadiness of genuine magnanimity. In his mind all was shuffling, ambiguous, dark, insidious, and little: nothing

simple, nothing unmixed: all affected plainness, and actual dissimulation;—a heterogeneous mass of contradictory qualities; with nothing great but his crimes; and even those contrasted by the littleness of his motives, which at once denoted both his baseness and his meanness, and marked him for a traitor and a trickster. Nay, in his style and writing there was the same mixture of vicious contrarieties;—the most grovelling ideas were conveyed in the most inflated language, giving mock consequence to low cavils, and uttering quibbles in heroics; so that his compositions disgusted the mind's taste, as much as his actions excited the soul's abhorrence. Indeed this mixture of character seemed by some unaccountable, but inherent quality, to be appropriated, though in inferior degrees, to every thing that concerned his employers. He remembered to have heard an honourable and learned gentleman (Mr Dundas) remark, that there was something in the first frame and constitution of the Company, which extended the sordid principles of their origin over all their successive operations; connecting with their civil policy, and even with their boldest achievements, the meanness of a pedlar and the profligacy of pirates. Alike in the political and in the military line could be observed auctioneering ambassadors and trading generals;—and thus we saw a revolution brought about by affidavits; an army employed in executing an arrest; a town besieged on a note of hand; a prince dethroned for the balance of an account. Thus it was they exhibited a government, which united the mock majesty of a bloody sceptre, and the little traffic of a merchant's counting-house, wielding a truncheon with one hand, and picking the pocket with the other.' The effect of this speech, added to the line taken by the minister, turned the balance against Hastings, and decided the impeachment."

Of this speech Mr Burke declared it to be "the most astonishing effort of eloquence, argument, and wit united, of which there was any record or tradition." Mr Fox said, "All that he had ever heard, all that he had ever read, when compared with it, dwindled into nothing, and vanished like vapour before the sun;"—and Mr Pitt acknowledged "that it surpassed all the eloquence of ancient and modern times, and possessed every thing that genius or art could furnish, to agitate and control the human mind." Mr Bisset, in his 'History of the Reign of George III.,' states that "the late Mr Logan, well-known for his literary efforts, and author of a most masterly defence of Mr Hastings, went that day to the house of commons, prepossessed for the accused and against the accuser. At the expiration of the first hour he said to a friend, 'All this is declamatory assertion without proof;'—when the second was finished, 'This is a most wonderful oration!'—at the close of the third, 'Mr Hastings has acted very unjustifiably!'—the fourth, 'Mr Hastings is a most atrocious criminal!'—and at last, 'Of all monsters of iniquity, the most enormous is Warren Hastings!' "

The Edinburgh reviewer of Mr Moore's life of Sheridan doubts whether this famous speech, if it had been preserved, would have produced any thing like the same effect at the present day, and grounds this doubt on the weakness and affectation of various passages in Sheridan's second grand oration in the same impeachment, of which a faithful report has been preserved. Mr Moore has given various extracts from this second speech, from which we shall select one or two specimens.

In his exordium, the orator thus conciliates the court by paying his tribute to the purity of English justice in these words: "However, when I have said this, I trust your lordships will not believe that, because something is necessary to retrieve the British character, we call for an example to be made, without due and solid proof of the guilt of the person whom we pursue:—no, my lords, we know well that it is the glory of this constitution, that not the general fame or character of any man,—not the weight or power of any prosecutor,—no plea of moral or political expediency,—not even the secret consciousness of guilt, which may live in the bosom of the judge, can justify any British court in passing any sentence, to touch a hair of the head, or an atom, in any respect, of the property, of the fame, of the liberty of the poorest or meanest subject that breathes the air of this just and free land. We know, my lords, that there can be no legal guilt without legal proof, and that the rule which defines the evidence is as much the law of the land as that which creates the crime. It is upon that ground we mean to stand."

The impeached did not scruple when necessary to have recourse to equivocation and disavowal; adverting to a striking instance of this, the orator said: "Major Scott comes to your bar—describes the shortness of time—represents Mr Hastings as it were contracting for a character—putting his memory into commission—making departments for his conscience. A number of friends meet together, and he, knowing (no doubt) that the accusation of the commons had been drawn up by a committee, thought it necessary, as a point of punctilio, to answer it by a committee also. One furnishes the raw material of fact, the second spins the argument, and the third twines up the conclusion, while Mr Hastings, with a master's eye, is cheering and looking over this loom. He says to one, 'You have got my good faith in your hands—you, my veracity to manage. Mr Shore, I hope you will make me a good financier—Mr Middleton, you have my humanity in commission.'—When it is done, he brings it to the house of commons, and says, 'I was equal to the task. I knew the difficulties, but I scorn them: here is the truth, and if the truth will convict me, I am content myself to be the channel of it.' His friends hold up their heads, and say, 'What noble magnanimity! This must be the effect of conscious and real innocence.' Well, it is so received, it is so argued upon—but it fails of its effect. Then says Mr Hastings,—'That my defence! no, mere journeyman-work,—good enough for the commons, but not fit for your lordships' consideration.' He then calls upon his counsel to save him:—'I fear none of my accusers' witnesses—I know some of them well—I know the weakness of their memory, and the strength of their attachment—I fear no testimony but my own—save me from the peril of my own panegyric—preserve me from that, and I shall be safe.' Then is this plea brought to your lordships' bar, and Major Scott gravely asserts,—that Mr Hastings did, at the bar of the house of commons, vouch for facts of which he was ignorant, and for arguments which he had never read. After such an attempt, we certainly are left in doubt to decide to which set of his friends Mr Hastings is the least obliged,—those who assisted him in making his defence, or those who advised him to deny it."

The acceptance or rather exaction of a private present of £100,000

is thus commented upon: "My lords, such was the distressed situation of the nabob about a twelvemonth before Mr Hastings met him at Chunar. It was a twelvemonth, I say, after this miserable scene—a mighty period in the progress of British rapacity—it was (if the counsel will) after some natural calamities had aided the superior vigour of British violence and rapacity—it was after the country had felt other calamities besides the English—it was after the angry dispensations of Providence had, with a progressive severity of chastisement, visited the land with a famine one year, and with a Colonel Hannay the next—it was after he, this Hannay, had returned to retrace the steps of his former ravages—it was after he and his voracious crew had come to plunder ruins which himself had made, and to glean from desolation the little that famine had spared, or rapine overlooked:—then it was that this miserable, bankrupt prince, marching through his country, besieged by the clamours of his starving subjects, who cried to him for protection through their cages—meeting the curses of some of his subjects, and the prayers of others—with famine at his heels, and reproach following him,—then it was that this prince is represented as exercising this act of prodigal bounty to the very man whom he here reproaches—to the very man whose policy had extinguished his power, and whose creatures had desolated his country. To talk of a free-will gift! it is audacious and ridiculous to name the supposition. It was not a free-will gift. What was it then? was it a bribe? or was it extortion? I shall prove it was both,—it was an act of gross bribery and of rank extortion." Again he thus adverts to this present: "The first thing he does is to leave Calcutta in order to go to the relief of the distressed nabob. The second thing is to take £100,000 from that distressed nabob on account of the distressed Company. And the third thing is to ask of the distressed Company this very same sum on account of the distresses of Mr Hastings. There never were three distresses that seemed so little reconcileable with one another."

He thus anticipates the plea of state-necessity: "State-necessity! no, my lords; that imperial tyrant, state-necessity, is yet a generous despot,—bold is his demeanor, rapid his decisions, and terrible his grasp. But what he does, my lords, he dares avow, and, avowing, scorns any other justification, than the great motives that placed the iron sceptre in his hand. But a quibbling, pilfering, prevaricating state-necessity, that tries to skulk behind the skirts of justice;—a state-necessity that tries to steal a pitiful justification from whispered accusations and fabricated rumours.—No, my lords, that is no state-necessity;—tear off the mask, and you see coarse, vulgar avarice,—you see peculation lurking under the gaudy disguise, and adding the guilt of libelling the public honour to its own private fraud. My lords, I say this, because I am sure the managers would make every allowance that state-necessity could claim upon any great emergency. If any great man, in bearing the arms of this country;—if any admiral, bearing the vengeance and the glory of Britain to distant coasts, should be compelled to some rash acts of violence, in order, perhaps, to give food to those who are shedding their blood for Britain;—if any great general, defending some fortress, barren itself, perhaps, but a pledge of the pride, and, with the pride, of the power of Britain; if such a man were to * * * while he himself was * * at the top, like an eagle besieged in

its imperial nest;—would the commons of England come to accuse or to arraign such acts of state-necessity? No."

Mr Moore considers the orator's description of the desolation of Oude by the misgovernment of Colonel Hannay as, perhaps, the most masterly portion of the whole speech. "If we could suppose a person to have come suddenly into the country, unacquainted with any circumstances that had passed since the days of Sujah ul Dowlah, he would naturally ask, what cruel hand has wrought this wide desolation,—what barbarian foe has invaded the country, has desolated its fields, depopulated its villages? He would ask, what disputed succession, civil rage, or frenzy of the inhabitants, had induced them to act in hostility to the words of God, and the beauteous works of man? He would ask, what religious zeal or frenzy had added to the mad despair and horrors of war?—The ruin is unlike any thing that appears recorded in any age; it looks like neither the barbarities of men, nor the judgments of vindictive heaven. There is a waste of desolation, as if caused by fell destroyers, never meaning to return, and making but a short period of their rapacity. It looks as if some fabled monster had made its passage through the country, whose pestiferous breath had blasted more than its voracious appetite could devour. If there had been any men in the country, who had not their hearts and souls so subdued by fear as to refuse to speak the truth at all upon such a subject, they would have told him there had been no war since the time of Sujah ul Dowlah—tyrant, indeed, as he was, but then deeply regretted by his subjects—that no hostile blow of any enemy had been struck in that land—that there had been no disputed succession—no civil war—no religious frenzy. But that these were the tokens of British friendship, the marks left by the embraces of British allies—more dreadful than the blows of the bitterest enemy. They would tell him that these allies had converted a prince into a slave, to make him the principal in the extortion upon his subjects;—that their rapacity increased in proportion as the means of supplying their avarice diminished; that they made the sovereign pay as if they had a right to an increased price, because the labour of extortion and plunder increased. To such causes, they would tell him, these calamities were owing. Need I refer your lordships to the strong testimony of Major Naylor when he rescued Colonel Hannay from their hands—where you see that this people, born to submission and bent to most abject subjection—that even they, in whose meek hearts injury had never yet begot resentment, nor even despair bred courage—that their hatred, their abhorrence of Colonel Hannay was such that they clung round him by thousands and thousands;—that when Major Naylor rescued him, they refused life from the hand that could rescue Hannay;—that they nourished this desperate consolation, that by their death they should at least thin the number of wretches who suffered by his devastation and extortion. He says that, when he crossed the river, he found the poor wretches quivering upon the parched banks of the polluted river, encouraging their blood to flow, and consoling themselves with the thought, that it would not sink into the earth, but rise to the common God of humanity, and cry aloud for vengeance on their destroyers!—This warm description—which is no declamation of mine, but found in actual fact, and in fair, clear proof before your lordships—speaks powerfully what the cause of these oppressions were,

and the perfect justness of those feelings that were occasioned by them. And yet, my lords, I am asked to prove why these people arose in such concert:—'there must have been machinations, forsooth, and the Begums' machinations, to produce all this!'—Why did they rise!—Because they were people in human shape; because patience under the detested tyranny of man is rebellion to the sovereignty of God; because allegiance to that power that gives us the forms of men commands us to maintain the rights of men. And never yet was this truth dismissed from the human heart—never in any time, in any age—never in any clime, where rude man ever had any social feeling, or where corrupt refinement had subdued all feelings,—never was this one unextinguishable truth destroyed from the heart of man, placed, as it is, in the core and centre of it by his Maker, that man was not made the property of man; that human power is a trust for human benefit; and that when it is abused, revenge becomes justice, if not the bounden duty of the injured. These, my lords, were the causes why these people rose."

The following are the concluding sentences of the peroration, "in which," says Mr Moore, "skilfully and without appearance of design, it is contrived that the same sort of appeal to the purity of British justice, with which the oration opened, should, like the repetition of a solemn strain of music, recur at its close,—leaving in the minds of the judges a composed and concentrated feeling of the great public duty they had to perform, in deciding upon the arraignment of guilt brought before them. The court of directors, it appeared, had ordered an inquiry into the conduct of the Begums, with a view to the restitution of their property, if it should appear that the charges against them were unfounded; but to this proceeding Mr Hastings objected, on the ground that the Begums themselves had not called for such interference in their favour, and that it was inconsistent with the 'majesty of justice' to condescend to volunteer her services. The pompous and jesuitical style in which this singular doctrine is expressed, in a letter addressed by the governor-general to Mr Macpherson, is thus ingeniously turned to account by the orator, in winding up his masterly statement to a close: 'And now, before I come to the last magnificent paragraph, let me call the attention of those who, possibly, think themselves capable of judging of the dignity and character of justice in this country;—let me call the attention of those who, arrogantly perhaps, presume that they understand what the features, what the duties of justice are here and in India;—let them learn a lesson from this great statesman, this enlarged, this liberal philosopher: "I hope I shall not depart from the simplicity of official language in saying that the majesty of justice ought to be approached with solicitation, not descend to provoke or invite it, much less to debase itself by the suggestion of wrongs and the promise of redress, with the denunciation of punishment before trial, and even before accusation." This is the exhortation which Mr Hastings makes to his counsel; this is the character which he gives of British justice. But I will ask your lordships, do you approve this representation? Do you feel that this is the true image of justice? Is this the character of British justice? Are these her features? Is this her countenance? Is this her gait or her mien? No, I think even now I hear you calling upon me to turn from this vile libel, this base caricature, this Indian pagod,

with the national fate, when, pressing as the exigency may be, the hard task of squeezing the money from the pockets of an impoverished people, from the toil, the drudgery of the shivering poor, must make the most practised collector's heart ache while he tears it from them—can it be, that people of high rank, and professing high principles, that they or their families should seek to thrive on the spoils of misery, and fatten on the meals wrested from industrious poverty? Can it be, that this should be the case with the very persons, who state the unprecedented peril of the country as the sole cause of their being found in the ministerial ranks? The constitution is in danger, religion is in danger, the very existence of the nation itself is endangered; all personal and party considerations ought to vanish; the war must be supported by every possible exertion, and by every possible sacrifice; the people must not murmur at their burdens, it is for their salvation, their all is at stake. The time is come, when all honest and disinterested men should rally round the throne as round a standard;—for what? ye honest and disinterested men, to receive, for your own private emolument, a portion of those very taxes wrung from the people, on the pretence of saving them from the poverty and distress which you say the enemy would inflict, but which you take care no enemy shall be able to aggravate. Oh! shame! shame! is this a time for selfish intrigues, and the little dirty traffic for lucre and emolument? Does it suit the honour of a gentleman to ask at such a moment? Does it become the honesty of a minister to grant? Is it intended to confirm the pernicious doctrine, so industriously propagated by many, that all public men are impostors, and that every politician has his price? Or even where there is no principle in the bosom, why does not prudence hint to the mercenary and the vain to abstain a while at least, and wait the fitting of the times? Improvident impatience! Nay, even from those who seem to have no direct object of office or profit, what is the language which their actions speak? The throne is in danger!—'we will support the throne; but let us share the smiles of royalty;'—the order of nobility is in danger!—'I will fight for nobility,' says the viscount, 'but my zeal would be much greater if I were made an earl.' 'Rouse all the marquess within me,' exclaims the earl, 'and the peerage never turned forth a more undaunted champion in its cause than I shall prove.' 'Stain my green riband blue,' cries out the illustrious knight, 'and the fountain of honour will have a fast and faithful servant.' What are the people to think of our sincerity?—What credit are they to give to our professions?—Is this system to be persevered in? Is there nothing that whispers to that right honourable gentleman that the crisis is too big, that the times are too gigantic, to be ruled by the little hackneyed and every-day means of ordinary corruption?"

His second great appearance in this session was in the month of May, when called upon to reply in the Begum charge. "It was usual, on these occasions," says Mr Moore, "for the manager who spoke to be ted by one of his brother managers, whose task it was to carry the hat contained his papers, and to read out whatever minutes might ferred to in the course of the argument. Mr Michael Angelo r was the person who undertook this office for Sheridan; but, on orning of the speech, upon his asking for the bag that he was to he was told by Sheridan that there was none—neither bag nor

papers. They must manage, he said, as well as they could without them;—and when the papers were called for, his friend must only put the best countenance he could upon it. As for himself, 'he would abuse Ned Law—ridicule Plumer's long orations—make the court laugh—please the women, and, in short, with Taylor's aid, would get triumphantly through his task.' His opening of the case was listened to with the profoundest attention; but when he came to contrast the evidence of the commons with that adduced by Hastings, it was not long before the chancellor interrupted him, with a request that the printed minutes to which he referred should be read. Sheridan answered that his friend Mr Taylor would read them; and Mr Taylor affected to send for the bag, while the orator begged leave, in the mean time, to proceed. Again, however, his statements rendered a reference to the minutes necessary, and again he was interrupted by the chancellor, while an outcry after Mr Sheridan's bag was raised in all directions. At first the blame was laid on the solicitor's clerk—then a messenger was despatched to Mr Sheridan's house. In the mean time the orator was proceeding brilliantly and successfully in his argument, and, on some further interruption and expostulation from the chancellor, raised his voice and said, in a dignified tone, 'On the part of the commons, and as a manager of this impeachment, I shall conduct my case as I think proper. I mean to be correct; and your lordships, having the printed minutes before you, will afterwards see whether I am right or wrong.' During the bustle produced by the inquiries after the bag, Mr Fox, alarmed at the inconvenience which, he feared, the want of it might occasion to Sheridan, ran up from the managers' room, and demanded eagerly the cause of this mistake from Mr Taylor; who, hiding his mouth with his hand, whispered him, (in a tone of which they alone who have heard this gentleman relate the anecdote can feel the full humour,) 'The man has no bag!' The whole of this characteristic contrivance was evidently intended by Sheridan to raise that sort of surprise at the readiness of his resources, which it was the favourite triumph of his vanity to create. I have it on the authority of Mr William Smythe, that, previously to the delivery of this speech, he passed two or three days alone at Wanstead, so occupied from morning till night in writing and reading of papers, as to complain in the evenings that he 'had motes before his eyes.' This mixture of real labour with apparent carelessness was, indeed, one of the most curious features of his life and character."

When Fox and his adherents seceded from parliament, Sheridan did not altogether absent himself from the house. He even spoke with so much loyalty on the mutiny question that rumours of his approaching separation from Fox were circulated, but he adhered unflinchingly to his party even in the face of overtures from the king and his ministers.

In 1799 he once more resumed his literary habits, and brought out the splendid and popular play of 'Pizarro,' being a recast of Kotzebue's play of the same name, of which his friend Lewis had furnished him with a translation.

When the Fox and Grenville parties coalesced and came into power, Sheridan obtained the treasurership of the navy, but no seat in the cabinet. He considered himself, and justly, to have been ungratefully treated on this occasion, but his pecuniary necessities compelled him to

accept of an inferior office. On the death of Fox, Sheridan stood for Westminster and was triumphantly elected; but in 1807 he was unseated, and obliged to seek his return from Ilchester, which borough he represented, in conjunction with Mr A. Taylor, in the two following parliaments.

On the 24th of February, 1809, Drury Lane theatre was consumed by fire. The blaze illuminated the house of commons, and some of the members proposed an adjournment in compliment to Sheridan; he opposed the motion, however, observing that private calamity ought not to be allowed to interrupt public and national business, but soon after quitted the house and proceeded towards the scene of devastation. Finding all efforts hopeless he retired to the Piazza coffee-house, where he ordered some refreshment, and on a friend remarking that he bore his misfortune with the calmness of a philosopher, he replied, "A man may surely be allowed to take a glass of wine by his own fireside!" In the month of July, in the same year, he attended the installation of Grenville as chancellor of Oxford. It was intended to confer an honorary degree upon him, but two masters objected to the nomination, and could not be won over. On his appearance, however, in the theatre, there was an unanimous cry of "Sheridan among the doctors!" —in compliance with which, says Moore, "he was passed to the seat occupied by the honorary graduates, and sat, in unrobed distinction among them, during the whole of the ceremonial."

On the passing of the Regency bill, in 1811, Sheridan attended a council, at which he was the only person not of the blood-royal. The arrangements finally adopted by the regent were certainly countenanced if not expressly advised by Sheridan, and both Lords Grey and Grenville did not hesitate to express their suspicion of his integrity.

In 1812 he made his last speech in parliament, upon his own motion relative to overtures of peace from France. On the dissolution of parliament in the month of September, in that year, he became a candidate for the representation of Stafford, but failed. From this period his life was spent under a heavy cloud; his pecuniary affairs were wretched in the extreme; and his habits of dissipation became confirmed. More than once he was arrested for debt, and only relieved from the spunging-house by the interference of a few friends that still stood by him in his adversity. In the month of June, 1816, his constitution was completely broken up by disease in the stomach. He died on Sunday the 7th of July, and was buried on the 13th in Westminster abbey. The dukes of Bedford and Argyle, the earls of Lauderdale and Mulgrave, the lord-bishop of London, and Lord Holland, acted as pall-bearers, and a vast array of rank and talent graced the funeral. "Where were they all," inquires his eloquent biographer,— "these royal and noble persons, who now crowded to 'partake the gale' of Sheridan's glory; where were they all, while any life remained in him? Where were they all, but a few weeks before, when their interposition might have saved his heart from breaking,—or when the zeal, now wasted on the grave, might have soothed and comforted the death-bed? This is a subject on which it is difficult to speak with patience. If the man was unworthy of the commonest offices of humanity while he lived, why all this parade of regret and homage over his tomb?

"There appeared some verses at the time, which, however intemperate in their satire and careless in their style, came, evidently, warm from the heart of the writer, and contained sentiments to which, even in his cooler moments, he needs not hesitate to subscribe:

'Oh, it sickens the heart to see bosoms so hollow,
And friendships so false in the great and high-born;—
To think what a long line of titles may follow
The relics of him who died, friendless and lorn!

'How proud they can press to the funeral array
Of him whom they shunn'd in his sickness and sorrow—
How bailiffs may seize his last blanket to-day,
Whose pall shall be held up by nobles to-morrow!'

The anonymous writer thus characterizes the talents of Sheridan:

'Was this then the fate of that high-gifted man,
The pride of the palace, the bower, and the hall—
The orator, dramatist, minstrel,—who ran
Through each mode of the lyre, and was master of all?

'Whose mind was an essence, compounded, with art,
From the finest and best of all other men's powers;
Who ruled, like a wizard, the world of the heart,
And could call up its sunshine, or draw down its showers;—

'Whose humour, as gay as the fire-fly's light,
Play'd round every subject, and shone as it play'd;—
Whose wit, in the combat as gentle as bright,
Ne'er carried a heart-stain away on its blade.

Whose eloquence, brightening whatever it tried,
Whether reason or fancy, the gay or the grave,
Was as rapid, as deep, and as brilliant a tide,
As ever bore Freedom aloft on its wave!'"

Doubtless there was too much occasion afforded for these reproaches; but we think Mr Moore has been somewhat indiscriminate in his charges against Sheridan's quondam friends. In the 66th No. of the 'Quarterly Review,' an exculpatory defence is offered of the conduct of at least one illustrious personage to Sheridan; and the Edinburgh reviewer of Sheridan's life confirms the statement in its main points; Mr Moore too ought to have remembered that Sheridan's behaviour had as early as 1811 disgusted not a few of his earliest and staunchest friends, while his conduct in subsequent years was in no respect such as to regain for him their confidence.

Sheridan has been pronounced, by more than one party able to form an estimate of his singular character, a mere political adventurer. Mr Moore claims for him a higher title. "If," says he, "to watch over the rights of the subject, and guard them against the encroachments of power, be, even in safe and ordinary times, a task full of usefulness and honour, how much more glorious to have stood sentinel over the same sacred trust, through a period so trying as that with which Sheridan had to struggle—when liberty itself had become suspected and unpopular—when authority had succeeded in identifying patriotism with treason, and when the few remaining and deserted friends of freedom were reduced to take their stand on a narrowing isthmus, between anarchy on one side and the angry incursions of power on the other. How

manfully he maintained his ground in a position so critical, the annals of England and of the champions of her constitution will long testify. The truly national spirit, too, with which, when that struggle was past, and the dangers to liberty from without seemed greater than any from within, he forgot all past differences in the one common cause of Englishmen, and, while others 'gave but the left hand to the country,' proffered her both of his, stamped a seal of sincerity on his public conduct, which, in the eyes of all England, authenticated it as genuine patriotism. To his own party, it is true, his conduct presented a very different phasis; and if implicit partisanship were the sole merit of a public man, his movements, at this and other junctures, were far too independent and unharnessed to lay claim to it. But, however useful may be the bond of party, there are occasions that supersede it; and, in all such deviations from the fidelity which it enjoins, the two questions to be asked are—were they, as regarded the public, right? were they, as regarded the individual himself, unpurchased? To the former question, in the instance of Sheridan, the whole country responded in the affirmative; and to the latter, his account with the treasury, from first to last, is a sufficient answer. Even, however, on the score of fidelity to party, when we recollect that he more than once submitted to some of the worst martyrdoms which it imposes—that of sharing in the responsibility of opinions from which he dissented, and suffering by the ill consequences of measures against which he had protested;—when we call to mind, too, that during the administration of Mr Addington, though agreeing wholly with the ministry and differing with the whigs, he even then refused to profit by a position so favourable to his interests, and submitted, like certain religionists, from a point of honour, to suffer for a faith in which he did not believe—it seems impossible not to concede that even to the obligations of party he was as faithful as could be expected from a spirit that so far outgrew its limits, and, in paying the tax of fidelity while he asserted the freedom of dissent, showed that he could sacrifice every thing to it, except his opinion. Through all these occasional variations, too, he remained a genuine whig to the last; and, as I have heard one of his own party happily express it, was 'like pure gold, that changes colour in the fire, but comes out unaltered.' The transaction in 1812, relative to the household, was, as I have already said, the least defensible part of his public life. But it should be recollected how broken he was, both in mind and body, at that period;—his resources from the theatre at an end,—the shelter of parliament about to be taken from over his head also,—and old age and sickness coming on, as every hope and comfort vanished. In that wreck of all around him, the friendship of Carlton-house was the last asylum left to his pride and his hope; and that even character itself should, in a too zealous moment, have been one of the sacrifices offered up at the shrine that protected him, is a subject more of deep regret than of wonder. The poet Cowley, in speaking of the unproductiveness of those pursuits connected with wit and fancy, says beautifully:

> 'Where such fairies once have danced, no grass will ever grow;'

but, unfortunately, thorns will grow there;—and he who walks unsteadily among such thorns as now beset the once enchanted path of Sheri-

dan, ought not, after all, to be very severely criticised." This is a generous as well as ingenious apology for the errors of the man; but it will not satisfy every one. His literary merits, however, are much less questionable. He stands at the head of the genteel comedy of England; "and while truth of character and manners,—chastised brilliancy of wit,—humour devoid of the least stain of coarseness,—exquisite knowledge of stage-effect,—and consummate ease and elegance of idiomatic language are appreciated, there can be no doubt that the name of Sheridan will maintain its place."[1]

In early life Sheridan was generally accounted handsome; he was rather above the middle size, and well-proportioned. His eyes were black, brilliant, and particularly expressive: Sir Joshua Reynolds, who painted his portrait, is said to have affirmed, that their pupils were larger than those of any human being he had ever met with. They retained their beauty to the last; but the lower part of his face exhibited, in his latter years, the usual effects of intemperance. His arms were strong, and his hands small and delicate. On a cast of one of them, the following couplet is stated to have been written:

> "Good at a fight, but better at a play;
> Godlike in giving; but the devil to pay!"

Port was his favourite wine; it quickened, he said, the circulation and the fancy together; and he affirmed he seldom spoke to his own satisfaction until after he had taken a couple of bottles of this wine. Watkins relates, that, one evening, a person in the Exchequer coffee-house observed a gentleman who had a number of papers before him, after taking tea, empty a decanter of brandy into a large glass, and swallow the contents at a draught. He then gathered up his papers and hurried away. The spectator soon afterwards went into the gallery of the house of commons, where, to his amazement, he heard the brandy-drinker,—who was Sheridan,—deliver a long and remarkably brilliant oration. He also needed the excitement of wine when engaged in composition. "If an idea be reluctant," he would sometimes say, "a glass of port ripens it, and it bursts forth; if it come freely, a glass of port is a glorious reward for it." He usually wrote at night, with several candles burning around him.

He was careless, almost beyond credence, with regard to his private affairs. He would frequently set out on a journey without possessing the means to complete it, and remain midway and 'money-bound,' to use his own phrase, at an inn, until he could procure a remittance. When he was not in immediate want of cash, he would throw aside notes containing money, without even breaking their seals. Unopened letters, inclosing checques, were repeatedly found on his table by the treasurer of the theatre, by whom they had been long before remitted to Sheridan, at his own urgent entreaty. To account for this, it is supposed that, prior to his receiving them, he had obtained a supply from some other source. Among instances of his inattention to letters, the following is mentioned. Going one day to the banking-house, where he was accustomed to be paid his salary, as receiver of Cornwall, and where they sometimes accommodated him with small sums before

[1] Quarterly Review, vol. xxxiii. p. 592.

the regular time of payment, he asked, with all due humility, whether they could oblige him with the loan of twenty pounds. "Certainly, Sir," said the clerk, "would you like any more—fifty, or a hundred?" Sheridan, all smiles and gratitude, answered that a hundred pounds would be of the greatest convenience to him. "Perhaps, you would like to take two hundred, or three?" said the clerk. At every increase of the sum, the surprise of the borrower increased. "Have not you then received our letter?" said the clerk;—on which it turned out that, in consequence of the falling in of some fine, a sum of twelve hundred pounds had been lately placed to the credit of the receiver-general, and that, from not having opened the letter written to apprise him, he had been left in ignorance of his good luck.

Having some important favour, relative to the theatre, to solicit from the king, he begged the prince of Wales to procure him an interview. The prince promised to do so; and appointed Sheridan to be at Carlton-house, prepared to start for Windsor at a certain hour the following day. Sheridan meanwhile went, with two or three friends, to the residence of Michael Kelly, who was absent from town,—ransacked the cellar,—passed the night in carousal,—and, when the time fixed for his waiting on the prince arrived, he was in bed and asleep. Several messengers were despatched to him from Carlton-house, who, however, could not prevail on him to get up.

Sheridan enjoyed a most brilliant reputation for colloquial wit. He jocularly observed, on one occasion, to a creditor who peremptorily required payment of the interest due on a long-standing debt, "My dear Sir, you know it is not my interest to pay the principal; nor is it my principle to pay the interest." The prince of Wales, one cold day, went into Brooke's, and called for a glass of hot brandy and water, which he emptied at a draught, and then ordered another. After drinking the second, and great part of a third glass, he puffed out his cheeks, and exclaimed, "Now I am comfortable!—Waiter, bring me a rump steak!" Sheridan, who was present, immediately wrote the following lines, and presented them to his royal highness:

> The prince came in, and said 'twas cold,
> Then put to his head the rummer;
> 'Till swallow after swallow came,
> When he pronounced it summer.

He once took advantage of the singular love of his friend Richardson for argument, to evade payment of a heavy coach-fare. Sheridan had occupied a hackney-chariot for several hours, but had not a penny in his pocket to pay the coachman. While in this dilemma Richardson passed, and he immediately offered to take him up, as they appeared to be going in the same direction. The offer was accepted, and Sheridan adroitly started a subject on which he knew his companion would prove very vehement and obstinate. The argument was maintained with great warmth on both sides, until at length Sheridan affected to lose his temper, and pulling the check-string, commanded the coachman to let him out instantly, protesting that he would not ride another yard with a man who held such opinions, and supported them in such a manner. So saying, he descended and walked off, leaving Richardson to enjoy his fancied triumph, and to pay the whole fare. Richardson,

in a paroxysm of delight at Sheridan's apparent defeat, put his head out of the window, and vociferated his arguments until he was out of sight.

John Philpot Curran

BORN A. D. 1750.—DIED A. D. 1817.

THIS eminent lawyer was born of humble parents at Newmarket, an obscure little village in the county of Cork, on the 24th of June, 1750. He thus relates the circumstances which led to his obtaining a decent education. "When a boy, I was one day playing at marbles in the village ball-alley, with a light heart and still lighter pocket. The gibe and the jest went gaily round, when suddenly there appeared amongst us a stranger of a very remarkable and cheerful aspect; his intrusion was not the least restraint upon our merry little assemblage; on the contrary, he seemed pleased, and even delighted; he was a benevolent creature, and the days of infancy—after all, the happiest we shall ever see—perhaps rose upon his memory. God bless him! I see his fine form at the distance of half a century, just as he stood before me in the little ball-alley in the days of my childhood. His name was Boyse, he was the rector of Newmarket. To me he took a particular fancy. I was winning, and was full of waggery, thinking every thing that was eccentric, and by no means a miser of my eccentricities; every one was welcome to a share of them, and I had plenty to spare, after having freighted the company. Some sweetmeats easily bribed me home with him. I learned from poor Boyse my alphabet and my grammar, and the rudiments of the classics. He taught me all he could, and then sent me to the school at Middleton. In short, he made a man of me."

Curran having acquired at this academy a very rapid knowledge of both ancient and modern literature, went on the 16th of June, 1767, as a sizar, to Trinity college, Dublin, which he entered under the tutelage of Dr Dobbin. Here he gained no distinction save that of pre-eminent dissoluteness.

In 1773 he went to London and became a student of the Middle Temple; his kind friend, Dr Boyse, allowing him a small annual sum on which to maintain himself. In 1774 he got married, and in 1775 he returned to Dublin, and was called to the Irish bar. The first fee of any consequence which he received was through Lord Kilwarden's recommendation. "I then lived," said he, "upon Hoy-hill; my wife and children were the chief furniture of my apartments, and as to my rent it stood pretty much the same chance of its liquidation with the national debt. Mrs Curran, however, was a barrister's lady, and what she wanted in wealth, she was well determined should be supplied by dignity. The landlady, on the other hand, had no other idea of any gradation except that of pounds, shillings, and pence. I walked out one morning to avoid the perpetual altercations on the subject; with my mind you may imagine in no very enviable temperament, I fell into the gloom to which, from my infancy, I had been occasionally subject. I had a family for whom I had no dinner, and a landlady for whom I had no rent. I had gone abroad in despondence,—I returned home

almost in desperation. When I opened the door of my study—where Lavater alone could have found a library—the first object which presented itself was an immense bill of a brief, twenty golden guineas wrapped up beside it, and the name of old Bob Lyons marked upon the back of it, and that dinner was the date of my prosperity." Such was his own account of his professional advancement.

From this period he began rapidly to rise in professional estimation. There was no cause in the metropolis of any interest in which he was not concerned, nor was there a county in the provinces which, at some time or other, he did not visit as a special retainer. It was an object almost with every one to pre-occupy so successful or so dangerous an advocate; for if he failed in inducing a jury to sympathize with his client, he at all events left a picture of his adversary behind him which survived and embittered the advantages of victory. Nor was his eloquence his only weapon: at cross-examination—the most difficult and by far the most hazardous part of a barrister's profession—he was quite inimitable. There was no plan which he did not detect,—no web which he did not disentangle; and the unfortunate wretch who commenced with all the confidence of pre-concerted perjury, never failed to retreat before him in all the confusion of exposure. Indeed, it was almost impossible for the guilty to offer a successful resistance. He argued,—he cajoled,—he ridiculed,—he mimicked,—he played off the various artillery of his talents upon the witness,—he would affect earnestness upon trifles and levity upon subjects of the most serious import, until at length he succeeded in creating a security that was fatal, or a sullenness that produced all the consequences of prevarication. No matter how unfair the topic, he never failed to avail himself of it; acting upon the principle, that in law, as well as in war, every stratagem was admissible. If he was hard pressed there was no peculiarity of person, no singularity of name, no eccentricity of profession, at which he would not grasp,—trying to confound the self-possession of the witness in the—no matter how excited—ridicule of the audience. To a witness of the name of Halfpenny he once began, "Halfpenny, I see you're a rap, and for that reason you shall be nailed to the counter!" "Halfpenny is sterling," exclaimed the opposite counsel. "No! no!" said he, "he's exactly like his own conscience, only copper-washed." Lundy Foot, the celebrated tobacconist, applied to Curran for a motto, when he first established his carriage. "Give me one, my dear Curran," said he, "of a serious cast, because I am afraid the people will laugh at a tobacconist setting up a carriage, and for the scholarship's sake, let it be in Latin." "I have just hit on it," said Curran,—"it is only two words, Lundy, and it will at once explain your profession, your elevation, and your contempt for their ridicule, and it has the advantage of being in two languages, Latin or English, just as the reader chooses,—put up '*Quid rides*' upon your carriage." Inquiring his master's age from a house-jockey's servant, he found it almost impossible to extract an answer. "Come, come, friend, has he not lost his teeth?"—"Do you think," retorted the fellow, "that I know his age as he does his horse's, by the mark of mouth?" The laugh was against Curran, but he instantly recovered. "You were very right not to try, friend; for you know your master's a great bite." Examining a country squire who disputed a [illegible] bill,—"Did he not give you the coals, friend?" "He did,

Sir, but ——" "But what? on your oath wasn't your payment slack?" It was thus that in some way or other he contrived to throw the witnesses off their guard, and he took care they seldom should recover it. "My lard, my lard," vociferated a peasant witness, writhing under this mental excruciation,—"My lard, my lard,—I can't answer yon little gentleman, he's putting me in such a doldum." "A doldum! Mr Curran, what does he mean by a doldum?" exclaimed Lord Avonmore. "O! my lord, it's a very common complaint with persons of this description,—it's merely a confusion of the head arising from a corruption of the heart."

He was addressing a jury on one of the state-trials in 1803, with his usual animation. The judge, whose political bias was supposed not to be favourable to the prisoner, shook his head in doubt or denial of one of the advocate's arguments. "I see, gentlemen," said Curran, "I see the motion of his lordship's head; common observers might imagine that implied a difference of opinion; but they would be mistaken,—it is merely accidental,—believe me, gentlemen, if you remain here many days, you will yourselves perceive that when his lordship shakes his head there's nothing in it!"

In 1782 the duke of Portland gave Curran a silk-gown. In 1783 Mr Longfield—afterwards Lord Longueville—offered him a seat for one of his boroughs, which he declined, because he could not vote on the same side with his offering patron. Longfield, nevertheless, returned him for Kibeggin. On the first important division he voted against the minister, but immediately purchased another seat which he insisted on Longfield filling up at his own discretion. In 1785 he fought a duel with Fitzgibbon, the attorney-general. The following words, used by Curran in a debate during which Mr Fitzgibbon had fallen asleep, were the cause of the quarrel which led to the meeting. "I hope," observed the former, "I may say a few words on this great subject without disturbing the sleep of any right honourable member; and yet, perhaps, I ought rather to envy than blame the tranquillity of the right honourable gentleman. I do not feel myself so happily tempered as to be lulled to repose by the storms that shake the land. If they invite rest to any, that rest ought not to be lavished on the guilty spirit." Curran, relating the circumstances of this duel many years after, said, "I never saw any one whose determination seemed more malignant than Fitzgibbon's; after I had fired, he took aim at me for at least half-a-minute, and, on its proving ineffectual, I could not help exclaiming to him, "It was not your fault, Mr Attorney; you were deliberate enough." The attorney-general declared his honour satisfied, and here the dispute appeared to terminate; but not here, however, terminated Fitzgibbon's animosity. His zeal, his politics, his exertions on the subject of the regency, and his unquestionable abilities, raised him to the seals on the resignation of Lord Lifford, during whose judicial life Curran was rising rapidly to the fame and emoluments of the chancery practice. From the moment of his elevation, Lord Clare, on every occasion, exhibited his hatred of the politician by his neglect of the advocate. At length the agents observed this marked hostility; the ear of the judge, as it is called, was lost,—the client participated in the unpopularity of his counsel, and Curran's practice was soon confined exclusively to Nisi Prius. "I made," said Mr Curran, in a letter addressed to Mr Grat-

tan, twenty years after,—"I made no compromise with power,—I had the merit of provoking and despising the personal malice of every man in Ireland, who was the known enemy of the country. Without the walls of the court of justice, my character was pursued with the most persevering slander, and within those walls, though I was too strong to be beaten down by any judicial malignity, it was not so with my clients; and my consequent losses in professional income have never been estimated at less, as you have often heard, than £30,000." The incidents attendant upon this disagreement were at times ludicrous in the extreme. One day, when it was known that Curran was to make an elaborate argument in Chancery, Lord Clare brought a large Newfoundland dog upon the bench with him; and, during the progress of the argument, he lent his ear much more to the dog than to the barrister. This was observed at length by the entire profession. In time the chancellor lost all regard for decency; he turned himself quite aside in the most material part of the case, and began, in full court, to fondle the animal. Curran stopped at once, "Go on, go on, Mr Curran," said Lord Clare, who certainly had much of the coxcomb in his manner. "O! I beg a thousand pardons, my lord; I really took it for granted that your Lordship was employed in consultation."

Curran sat in parliament until the measure of the Union was voted. He supported the principles of Fox, and steadily refused the repeated offers which were made to him on the part of the friends of ministry. To the Union he gave a most decided opposition. In 1796 he loudly deprecated this 'sinister event,' which could only be prevented, he said, by Catholic emancipation. In the fervour of his zeal, recurring to the felicitous conjectures of a powerful fancy, he expressed himself as follows:—"An union would be the emigration of every man of consequence in Ireland; it would be the participation of British taxes without trade; it would be the extinction of the Irish name as a people! We should become a wretched country, perhaps leased out to a company of Jews, as was formerly in contemplation, and governed by a few tax-gatherers and excisemen, unless possibly you may add fifteen or twenty couple of Irish members, who might be found every session sleeping in their collars under the managers of the British minister!" During the time he sat in the Irish parliament, Curran distinguished himself on a variety of occasions, particularly in 1783, on the right of originating money-bills in all cases by the commons. In 1785 he spoke with great effect on the commercial resolutions introduced by Mr Secretary Orde; and, in 1786, on the bill to limit the amount of pensions. On the last of these occasions he observed with his usual tartness, "that in Ireland the royal authority must be necessarily delegated,—first to a viceroy, and next to a secretary, who could have no interest in the good of the people,—no interest in future fame,—no object to attract him but the advancement of his dependents." Then turning towards the latter, "I wish to assure the right honourable gentleman," adds he, "that I do not speak with any view of disturbing his personal feelings. I do not admire, nor would imitate the cruelty of the Sicilian tyrant, who amused himself with putting insects to the torture!" During the course of the same speech he presumed to allude "to the modern practice of doubling pensions to certain persons in that house who were unhappily pensioners already. Was the secretary of state afraid of

their becoming converts? Was it necessary to double-bolt them with allowances? Was there really so much danger that little Fricksay should repent, and go into a nunnery, that the kind keeper must come down to save her from becoming honest?"

Towards the end of the session in 1790, having made some severe comments on the dependents of the viceroy, one of them publicly threatened to assault him, on which he sent Major Hobart, desiring his dismissal, and that gentleman refusing his request, a duel took place between them. His professional career was chiefly distinguished by his defence of the leaders of the rebellion in 1798, which he conducted so warmly and so strenuously, that, but for the friendship of Lord Kilwarden, his loyalty would have been more than suspected, particularly as letters were found in his house from Robert Emmett, who had formed an attachment for one of Curran's daughters. His most celebrated speeches were in defence of Patrick Finney, Oliver Bond, the brothers Sheares, Theobald Wolfe Tone, and Major Rowan. He also delivered some splendid speeches in defence of the liberty of the press, particularly on the trial of Finnerty in 1797, for a libel on Lord Camden. The following is a specimen of his forensic eloquence. It is part of a speech delivered by him at the bar of the house of commons, on behalf of the widow and children of Lord Edward Fitzgerald, who had been attainted of treason. After opening the case, and simply stating the injustice of the bill, he proceeded as follows:—"I have been asked in the committee a previous and important question, namely, as to the guilt of Lord Edward, without the full proof of which no punishment can be just? But I am not confounded by a question which I cannot indeed answer, as in the confession that here necessarily arises, is to be found the most conclusive proof of the injustice of the present bill. For what can be more flagrantly unjust than to inquire into a fact, of the truth or falsehood of which no human being can have knowledge, save the informer who comes forward to assert it? I possess no defensive evidence! I have no case! It is impossible I should. I have often of late gone to the dungeon of the captive, but never have I yet gone to the grave of the dead to receive instructions for his defence, nor in truth have I ever before been at the trial of a dead man! I offer, therefore, no evidence upon this inquiry,—against the perilous example of which I do now not only protest on behalf of the public, but against the cruelty and injustice of which I do protest, in the name of the dead father, whose memory is sought to be dishonoured, and of his infant-orphans whose bread is sought to be taken away!

"As to the evidence of one person, I now really do believe him for the first time; yes, although he has asserted it upon oath, I actually do believe him by his own confession, to be an informer, and a bribed informer,—a man whom even respectable witnesses had sworn in a court of justice upon their oaths, not to be credible upon his oath,—a man upon whose single testimony no jury ever did, nor ever ought, to pronounce a verdict of guilty,—a kind of man to whom the law resorts with abhorrence and from necessity, in order to set the criminal against the crime, but who is made use of by the law for the same reason that the most noxious poisons are resorted to in medicines. If such the man, look for a moment at his story; he confines himself to a mere conversation only, and that too with a dead man; he ventures not to introduce

any third person, either living or dead: he ventures to state no act whatever done: he wishes indeed to aspersie the conduct of Lady Edward Fitzgerald; but he well knows that, even were she in this country, she could not be adduced as a witness to disprove him. See, therefore, if there be any one assertion to which credit can be given, except this, that he had sworn and forsworn that he is a traitor: that he has received five hundred guineas to become an informer: and that, according to his general reputation, he is utterly unworthy of credit!

"As to the papers produced, it is sufficient to say, that no one of them, nor even all of them, were ever asserted to contain any positive proof against Lord Edward, and that the utmost that could be deduced from them was nothing more than doubt or conjecture, which, had Lord Edward been living, might have been easily explained,—to explain which was now impossible; and upon which to found a sentence of guilt would be contrary to every rule of justice or humanity.

"I shall therefore pass to the second question:—Is this bill of attainder warranted by the principles of forfeiture in the laws of treason, or the usage of parliament in bills of attainder? The laws of the Persians and Macedonians extended the punishment of a traitor to the extinction of all his kindred. Thus the law subjected the life and property of every man to the most complicated despotism, because the loyalty of every individual of his kindred was as much a matter of wild caprice as the will of the most arbitrary despot could be. This barbarous principle was never adopted in any period of our law. In the earliest times of the Saxons, the law of treason acted directly on the person of the criminal; it took away from him whatever he actually had to forfeit, his life and property. But as to his children, the law disclaimed to affect them directly; they suffered, but they suffered by a necessary consequence of their father's punishment, which the law could not prevent, and never directly intended. It took away the inheritance, because the criminal, at the time of taking it away, had absolute dominion over it, and might himself have conveyed it away from his family. Here is a decisive proof, that even the early law of treason never intended to extend the punishment of the traitor to his children as such; but even the direct punishment of the traitor himself was to take effect only upon a condition suggested by the unalterable rules of natural justice, namely, a judgment founded on conviction, against which he might have made his defence, or upon an outlawry where he refused to abide his trial. In that case he was punished, because during his life the fact was triable,—because during his life the punishment could act directly upon his person; because during his life the estate was his to convey, and therefore his to forfeit. But if he died without an attainder, a fair trial was impossible, because a fair defence was impossi-
not punishment upon his person was impossible, because he
it; and a confiscation of his estate was equally impossi-
was then no longer his, being vested in his heir, to whom
a title as good as that by which it had ever belonged to
me, namely, the known law of the land.
thumous forfeiture of lands, that indeed appears to have
by inquest after death. But so early as the 8th of
legality of such presentments was disallowed by the
is no lawyer at this day who will venture to deny,

that since the 25th and 34th of Edward III., no estate of inheritance can regularly be forfeited, save by the attainder of the life of the party; therefore the law of the country is, that unless the descent was interrupted by an actual attainder in the life-time of the criminal, it became vested in the heir. The moment it did descend, the heir became seized by a title the most favoured in law. This heir, perhaps, might have been considered as a purchaser for the most valuable consideration,—his mother's marriage, of which he was the issue. Why then was posthumous attainder excluded from the protective law of treason? Why has it never been since enacted by a prospective law? Clearly for this reason, that in its own nature it is inhuman, impolitic, and unjust! But it is said, 'this may be done by a bill of attainder; the parliament is omnipotent, and therefore may do it, and that it is a proceeding familiar to our constitution.' As to the first of these assertions, it cannot be denied that parliament possesses the power; but an argument from the existence of a power to the exercise of it, in any particular instance, is ridiculous and absurd. From such an argument it would follow, that it must do whatever it is able to do; and that it is to be stripped of the best of all powers,—the power of abstaining from what is wrong.

"That such a bill ought not to pass, various reasons may be adduced: in the first place, every argument against the justice and the policy of a prospective, is tenfold strong against a retrospective law. For every *ex-post-facto* law is in itself an exercise of despotic power; when it altered the law of property it was peculiarly dangerous, when it punished the innocent for the guilty it was peculiarly unjust; when it affected to do that which the criminal himself could not do, as the law then stood, it acted peculiarly against the spirit of the constitution; which was to contract and restrain penal law by the strictest construction, and not to add to it by vindictive innovation. But I am warranted to go much further, on the authority of the British legislature itself; and to assert that the principle of forfeiture, even in the prospective law, is altogether repugnant to the spirit of the English constitution. Let it be recollected that the statutes of Anne and George the Second have declared, that after the death of the late Pretender and his sons, no such forfeiture should or ought to exist. In favour of that high authority, every philosophical and theoretic writer, Baron Montesquieu, the Marquess Beccari, and many others, might be cited. Against it no one writer of credit or character that has been seen by me. Of the late Mr York I do not mean to speak with any disrespect; he was certainly a man of learning and genius, but it must be observed that he wrote for a party, and for a purpose: he wrote however against the repeal of the law of forfeiture more than for its principle, for of that principle he expressly declines entering into a direct defence. As to the extension of the principle, further than it is already law, the slightest insinuation cannot be found in his treatise. As to bills of attainder, the most tolerable of them is that which attainted the man who fled from justice, which gave him a day to appear, had he chosen to do so, and operated as a legislative outlawry. There have also been many acts of attainder when the party was willing, but not permitted to appear and take his trial. It is to be observed, however, that neither of these kinds of attainder does any violence to the common law by the declaring of a new crime, or a

new punishment, but only by creating a new jurisdiction, and a new order of proceeding. Of the second species that has been mentioned in the violent reigns of the Plantagenets and the Tudors, many of these have since been reversed by the wisdom of cooler and more just times. Of such unhappy moments of human frailty, Lord Coke says,—*Aufert oblivio, si non silentium tegat.* But I here beg leave to differ from the learned judge; I say, let the record on which they are written be indelible and immortal,—let the memory that preserves them have a thousand tongues; and when justice, late and slow, but wise and sure, shall have condemned their principle, let them be interred in a monument of negative instruction to posterity for ever!

"A third kind of bill of attainder might be found, which for the first time declares the law, and attaints the criminal upon it,—such was the attainder of Lord Strafford. A fourth, which did not change the law as to the crime, but as to the evidence upon which it was to be proved,—such was the attainder of Sir John Fenwick. Of these two last species of attainders, no lawyer has ever spoken with respect; they were the cruel effects of rancour, injustice, and party-spirit; nor can any thing be said in their excuse, but that they were made for the direct punishment of the actual criminals, and that too while they were yet living. The only other attainder that remains possible to be added to this catalogue, is that of a bill like the present, which affects to try after the party's death, when trial is impossible; to punish guilt when punishment is impossible; to inflict punishment where crime is not even pretended. To change the law of settled property,—to confiscate the widow's pittance,—to plunder the orphan's cradle,—and to violate the religion of the dead man's grave! For this, too, there was a precedent; but, for the honour of humanity, let it be remembered, that one hundred and forty years had elapsed, during which that precedent had not been deemed worthy of imitation in Great Britain; I mean the attainder of the regicides! For on the restoration, four of them were included in that bill of attainder which was passed after their death. But that this example never was respected, appears from this, that it never had been followed in England, although that country has since been agitated by one revolution, and vexed by two rebellions!

"Here let me remark on the impolicy of severe penal laws; they have ever been found better calculated to exasperate than to restrain; and when the infliction goes beyond the crime, the horror of the guilt is lost in the horror of the punishment; the sufferer becomes the object of commiseration, and the injustice of the state produces public odium. It has been well observed, that in England the highwayman never murdered, because there the offender never was condemned to the torture. But in France, where the offender was broken on the wheel, the traveller seldom or never escaped. The multiplication of penal laws lessens the value of life; and when you lessen the value of life, you lessen the fear of death. Look to the history of England upon this subject with respect to treason; notwithstanding all its formidable array of death, of Saxon forfeiture, and of feudal corruption of blood,—in what country do you read of more treasons, and of more rebellions? And why? because these terrors do not restrain the traitor. Beyond all other delinquents, he is likely to be a person of that ardent, enthusiastic, and

intrepid spirit, that is roused into more decisive and desperate daring by the prospect of peril.

"If I am called upon to give more reasons why this precedent has not been repeated for more than a century and a half, I will say that a bill of attainder is the result of an unnatural union of the legislative and judicial functions; in which the judicial has no law to restrain it; in which the legislative has no rule to guide it, unless passion and prejudice, which reject all rule and law, can be called rules and laws, as it completely puts the lives and properties of men at the mercy of an arbitrary and despotic authority. Such were the acts of posthumous attainder in Ireland in the reign of the arbitrary Elizabeth, who used these acts as a mere cloak for robbing an Irish subject for the benefit of an English minion. Such also was the act of the 9th William III. for the purpose of transferring the property of the country from persons professing one religion, into the hands of those professing another,—a purpose manifested and avowed by a remarkable clause in that act, which saves the inheritance to the heir of the traitor, provided that heir be a protestant.

"There are yet other reasons why the precedent of the regicides was not followed in Great Britain. A state must be driven to the last gasp when it is forced to seek protection in the abandonment of the law, which is nothing else than a melancholy avowal both of its weakness and its fear. Accordingly, this was not done either in the rebellion of 1735 or 1745. In Ireland, indeed, the penal laws had been multiplied and aggravated to an extent beyond any example of former times; but what was the event? the race between penalty and crime had been continued until the penalty could go no further, and then the fugitive turned upon the breathless pursuer. But I do not wish to annoy you by the stench of those unburied and unrotted examples of the havoc, as well as impotence of penal law pushed to its utmost extravagance.

"One topic more, and I have done. Every act of this kind ought to have a practical morality flowing from its principles; and if loyalty and justice require that those infants should be deprived of bread,—must it not be a violation of that same principle to give them food or shelter? Must not every loyal and just man wish to see them, in the words of the famous golden bull, 'always poor and necessitous, and for ever accompanied by the infamy of their father; languishing in continual indigence, and finding their punishment in living, and their relief in dying.' If the widowed mother should carry the orphan-heir of her unfortunate husband to the gate of any man who might feel himself touched with the sad vicissitudes of human affairs, who might feel a compassionate reverence for the noble blood that flowed in his veins,—nobler than the royalty that first ennobled it, which, like a stream, ran so long a course as to conceal its fountain: if, remembering the many heroic qualities of his unfortunate father, his heart melted over the calamities of the child; if his breast swelled, if his eyes overflowed, if his too precipitate hand was stretched out by pity, or by gratitude, to the poor excommunicated sufferers, how could he justify the rebel tear, or the traitorous humanity?

"To conclude, I once more earnestly and solemnly conjure you to reflect, that the fact,—I mean the fact of guilt or innocence, which is and can be the sole foundation of this bill, is not now, after the death

of the party, capable of being tried consistently with the liberty of a free people, or the unalterable rules of eternal justice. And in respect to the forfeiture, and the ignominy which it enacts, that only can be punishment which lights upon guilt, while that is vengeance alone which bursts upon innocence!"

When the attorney-general became lord-chancellor of Ireland, he found an opportunity by means of his judicial authority, ungenerously to crush the rising powers of his late antagonist. Mr Curran, who was at this time a leader, and one of the senior practitioners at the chancery-bar, soon felt all the force of his rival's vengeance. The chancellor is said to have yielded an unwilling ear to every motion made by him in his court,—he frequently stopped this counsel in the midst of his speech,—he hesitated, doubted his knowledge of the law, and at length found means not only to cripple all his professional efforts, but actually to leave him without a client! Notwithstanding this, he indeed appeared as usual in the three other courts; but he had been already stripped of his most profitable practice, and as his expenses had nearly kept pace with his gains, he was almost left a beggar. Meanwhile he resided partly in Dublin, and partly at a little country-house in its vicinity, surrounded by about thirty or forty acres of land. He was now getting old, and all hopes of promotion were banished from his imagination. In this situation a sudden gleam of comfort burst upon and illuminated his fallen fortunes; for in 1806, Mr Fox, whose principles he had ever advocated in the Irish senate, came once more into power. His friend Ponsonby, too, whose colleague he had been both in the house of commons and at the bar, by one rapid and unexpected bound was elevated to the highest office in the courts of justice of Ireland, having obtained the seals as lord-chancellor, without, however, being ennobled. For a time, however, the claims of our eloquent king's counsel seemed to be forgotten, and when at length he was provided for, it was in a manner that he neither expected nor wished. In consequence of some previous negotiation, an employment, then become nearly a sinecure, was obtained for him by the retreat of the Right Hon. Sir Michael Smith, knight, then master of the rolls, with a salary of about £2000 per annum. He, at the same time, was nominated to a seat at the council board. In his new capacity of judge, with an unusual and unexpected degree of diligence, he made one decision that has been reported,—that of Merry *versus* Power, by which he established the right of an Irish Catholic to grant certain legacies without having them annulled, under pretext of being bequests for 'Popish and superstitious uses.'

In 1814 Mr Curran resigned his office in favour of the Right Hon. Sir William M'Mahon, Bart., and retired, like his predecessor, on a pension. In the same year he visited Paris a third time, staying a few months previously in London, where he became acquainted with Horne Tooke, Sheridan, and Lord Erskine, and was introduced to the Prince Regent. Whilst dining one day at his royal highness's table, in company with Lord Erskine, the latter, in allusion to the bar, observed, that by being a member of it, "he had not only added to his wealth, but to his dignity, as it had been the means of raising him to the peerage." "I," replied Curran, making an obeisance to the regent, "am a better practical instance of its advantages. It has, in my person, raised the son of a peasant to the table of his prince."

A few years rolled rapidly away, part of which was spent in Ireland, and part in England. At length his health began to fail,—he became feeble and emaciated; and, after two antecedent attacks, was overwhelmed by a third seizure, which finally put an end to his existence, in the vicinity of Queen's Elm, Chelsea, whither he had retired to avoid the smoke and noise of the metropolis, on Tuesday, the 13th of October, 1817.

"Mr Curran's place at the Irish bar," says his biographer, Mr Phillips, "has not even been approached since his departure. There is no man, not merely next him, but near him. I have heard the best efforts of the ablest amongst them; and, though they were brilliant in their way, it was as the brilliancy of the morning star before the sunbeam. One perhaps is witty, sarcastic, argumentative,—another, fluent, polished, plausible,—a third, blunt, vehement, and energetic,—but, there is not one like him, at once strong, persuasive, witty, eloquent, acute, and argumentative, giving to every argument the charm of imagery, and to every image the magnificent simplicity of his manner,—not one, who, when he had touched all the chords of pity, could so wrinkle up the cheek with laughter, that the yet undried tear was impeded in its progress,—not one, who, when he had swept away the heart of his hearer, left at the same time such an impression upon his memory, that the judgment on reflection rather applauded the tribute which, at the moment of delivery, had been extorted from the feelings! Who, at any bar, was ever like him at cross-examination? This was considered the peculiar forte of one of the present barons of the English exchequer; but that natural shrewdness did not in him, as it did in Curran, act merely as a pioneer for the brilliant and overpowering force that was to follow. 'The most intricate web,' says the learned editor of his speeches, 'that fraud, malice, or corruption ever wove against the life, character, or fortune of an individual, he could unravel. Let truth and falsehood be ever so ingeniously dovetailed into each other, he separated them with facility. He surveyed his ground like a skilful general, marked every avenue of approach, knew when to yield or attack, instantly seized the first inconsistency, and pursued his advantage till he completely involved perjury in the confusion of its contradictions.' The effect at times was electric and universal. The judge and the mob, the jury and the bar, were equally excited, and Lord Clonmell himself, his bitter enemy, rising on the judgment-seat to restrain the popular enthusiasm, confessed himself overcome by the eloquence which had produced it. To his fellow-labourers at the bar he was all amenity, but most particularly to the young and inexperienced. There was no young man of his time, of any promise, to whom he did not hold out the hand, not only of encouragement, but of hospitality; and, so far was he from indulging an ungenerous sally at their expense, that it would have been a dangerous experiment in another to have attempted it in his presence. No person, who had not been educated to a profession, can estimate the value, or the almost peculiarity, of this trait of character. But his was a mind originally too grand to found its distinction on the depreciation of his inferiors; and, were it even necessary, his spirit was too lofty to stoop to the expedient. He affected no importance from the miserable accident of seniority or station, and laughed to scorn the pretensionless stupidity that sought, like the cynic,

an enforced reverence to its rays and its dotage. During the thirty-two years of his professional life, there is not on record of him an unkindness to a junior, asperity to a senior, an undue submission to overweening power, or a single instance of interested servility."

"There were times," says his biographer, "when he was subject to extreme despondency; but the origin of this was visible enough, without having recourse to any mysterious inquiries. It was the case with him as it is with every person whose spirits are apt to be occasionally excited—the depression is at intervals in exact proportion. Like a bow overstrained, the mind relaxes in consequence of the exertion. He was naturally extremely sensitive,—domestic misfortunes rendered his home unhappy,—he flew for a kind of refuge into public life; and the political ruin of his country, leaving him without an object of private enjoyment or of patriotic hope, flung him upon his own heart-devouring reflections. He was at those times a striking instance of his own remark upon the disadvantages attendant upon too refined a sensibility. 'Depend upon it, my dear friend,' said he, 'it is a serious misfortune in life to have a mind more sensitive or more cultivated than common—it naturally elevates its possessor into a region which he must be doomed to find nearly uninhabited.' It was a deplorable thing to see him in the decline of life, when visited by this constitutional melancholy. I have not unfrequently accompanied him in his walks upon such occasions, almost at the hour of midnight. He had gardens attached to the priory, of which he was particularly fond: and into these gardens, when so affected, no matter at what hour, he used to ramble. It was then almost impossible to divert his mind from themes of sadness. The gloom of his own thoughts discoloured every thing, and from calamity to calamity he would wander on, seeing in the future nothing for hope, and in the past nothing but disappointment,—you could not recognise in him the same creature, who but an hour before, 'had set the table in a roar,'—his gibes, his merriment, his flashes of wit, were all extinguished. He had a favourite little daughter, who was a sort of musical prodigy. She had died at the age of twelve, and he had her buried in the midst of a small grove just adjoining this garden. A little rustic memorial was laid over her, and often and often have I seen him, the tears 'chasing each other' down his cheeks, point to his daughter's monument, and 'wish to be with her at rest.' Such at times was the man, before whose very look not merely gravity but sadness has often vanished,—who has given birth to more enjoyment, and uttered more wit, than perhaps any of his cotemporaries in any country,—who had in him materials for social happiness, such as we cannot hope again to see combined in any one; and whose death has cast, I fear, a permanent eclipse upon the festivities of his circle. Perhaps, after one of those scenes of misery, when he had walked himself tired, and wept himself tearless, he would again return into the house, where the picture of some friend, or the contingency of some accident, recalling an early or festive association, would hurry him into the very extreme of cheerfulness! His spirits rose,—his wit returned,—the jest, and the tale, and the anecdote, pushed each other aside in an almost endless variety,—and day dawned upon him, the happiest, the pleasantest, and the most fascinating of companions."

George Ponsonby.

BORN A. D. 1755.—DIED A. D. 1817.

Mr Ponsonby was the younger son of the Right Honourable John Ponsonby, speaker of the Irish house of commons, and brother of the earl of Desborough, by Lady Elizabeth Cavendish. Called at an early age to the bar, and possessing, for his rank, but a slender fortune, he was appointed counsel to the commissioners of the revenue, with the emoluments of which he was satisfied,—spending a considerable portion of his time in rural retirement; but the change of ministry which divested him of his place, roused him into activity, and laid the foundation of his political life.

In the same year he became a leading member in the Irish house of commons, and at the bar. His professional practice opened the road to riches, while necessary exertion subdued a constitutional indolence which might otherwise have settled into habit. Always acting in concert with the party of his noble relative, the duke of Devonshire, he was, on the change of administration in 1806, appointed lord-chancellor of Ireland, which office he resigned in 1807; and, on Lord Grey's removal to the upper house, he succeeded him as nominal leader of the opposition in the commons.

His time having been for the greater part previously spent in Ireland, and his mind occupied with Irish interests, this period may be considered as the commencement of his political career as a British senator. Like the great Lord Chatham, he died in the service of his country,—being seized with a fit a few minutes after he had spoken in debate. He died on the eighth day afterwards.

Mr Ponsonby was one of those very estimable characters who fill a private station in the most amiable and exemplary manner, and a public one with propriety and integrity. His talents were more useful than splendid; more suited to the arrangement of affairs, the detail of business, and the tranquil investigation of truth, than capable of obtaining a command over the understanding of others, of dazzling by their brilliancy, or controlling by their powers. He was, in truth, an honest, sincere, steady man; and his eloquence was naturally adapted to the level tenor of his mind. He never aspired to the lofty splendour of a Sheridan; and was incapable of the quick conception and rapid elocution of a Fox. The ardent spirit of his own party so far ran beyond him in their attacks, that they almost forgot they fought under his colours; to whom, therefore, he was rather a *point d'appui* after the battle, than a leader in the field. As the leader of a great political party, no man was ever more free from party-spirit; he was, in feeling and principle, the very man contemplated by those who consider a systematic opposition a necessary safeguard to the constitutional rights and liberties of England. The ingenuousness of his mind, the kindness of his heart, and the placability of his manners, conciliated his opponents, and assuaged all those feelings which defeat excites; and, if his triumphs were not more numerous, it was because the candour and generosity of his mind disdained to take advantage of his adversaries whenever he

thought them right. Where that was the case, all party-feeling vanished before his political integrity; and, on many critical occasions, he gave his adversaries the support of his learning and talents. Nobly disdaining all selfish views, he was here no longer the leader of a party; he showed himself the resolute, fixed, and unalterable friend of constitutional freedom.[1]

Sir John Thomas Duckworth.

BORN A. D. 1748.—DIED A. D. 1817.

THIS gallant admiral was the son of a clergyman. We find him holding a navy-lieutenant's commission in 1770. In July, 1779, he became commander of a sloop-of-war, and in the following year obtained post-rank. He was present in Lord Howe's action with the Brest fleet. In 1798 he was detached, by Earl St Vincent, with a small squadron against Minorca, in the reduction of which he succeeded jointly with Sir Charles Stewart, who commanded the land-forces. In 1799 he was promoted to the rank of rear-admiral.

In March, 1801, in conjunction with General Trigge, he captured the islands of St Bartholomew and St Martin, for which service he was made a knight of the Bath. In 1804 he was appointed vice-admiral of the Blue.

On the 6th of February, 1806, he fell in with a French squadron off St Domingo, three of which he captured, and drove two others on shore. For this exploit he was honoured with the thanks of both houses of parliament.

In 1807 he performed the hazardous service of forcing the Dardanelles. In his despatches to the admiralty on this occasion, the admiral writes, under date the 21st of February, and from on board the Royal George off Constantinople, "Your lordship will have been informed of my resolution of passing the Dardanelles the first fair wind. A fine wind from the southward permitted me to carry it into effect on the morning of the 19th. Information had been given me by his majesty's minister, Mr Arbuthnot, and Sir Thomas Louis, that the Turkish squadron, consisting of a 64 gun-ship, four frigates, and several corvettes, had been for some time at anchor within the Inner castle; and conceiving it possible they might have remained there, I had given orders to Rear-admiral Sir Sidney Smith, to bring up with the Thunderer, Standard, and Active, and destroy them, should our passage be opposed. At a quarter before nine o'clock, the whole of the squadron had passed the Outer castles, without having returned a shot to their fire,—which occasioned but little injury. This forbearance was produced by the desire of his majesty's minister, expressed, to preserve every appearance of amity, that he might negotiate with the strongest proof of the pacific disposition of our sovereign towards the Porte; a second battery on the European side fired also with as little effect. At half-past nine o'clock, the Canopus, which, on account of Sir Thomas Louis's knowledge of the channel, joined to the steady gallantry, which

[1] Monthly Magazine.

I had before experienced, had been appointed to lead—entered the narrow passage of Sestos and Abydos, and sustained a very heavy cannonade from both castles, within point-blank shot of each. They opened their fire on our ships as they continued to pass in succession, although I was happy in observing that the very spirited return it met with had so considerably diminished its force, that the effect on the sternmost ships could not have been so severe. Immediately to the north-east of the castles, and between them and Point Pesquies, on which a formidable battery had been newly erected, the small squadron which I have already alluded to were at anchor. The van division of our squadron gave them their broadsides as they passed, and Sir Sydney Smith with his division closed into the midst, and the effect of the fire was such, that in half an hour the Turks had all cut their cables to run on shore. The object of the rear-admiral was then to destroy them, which was most rapidly effected; as in less than four hours the whole of them had exploded, except a small corvette and a gun-boat, which it was thought proper to preserve. I enclose to your lordship a statement of their number; and when I add also an account of the loss his majesty's ships have sustained, I cannot help expressing my satisfaction that we have suffered so slightly; as, had any of their stone shot—some of which exceeded 800 weight—made such a breach between wind and water as they have done in our sides, the ship must have sunk; or had they struck a lower mast in the centre, it must evidently have been cut in two. In the rigging too, no accident occurred that was not perfectly arranged in the course of next day. The sprit-sail yard of the Royal George, the gaft of the Canopus, and the main-top-sail-yard of the Standard, are the only spars that were injured. . . . . The Sixty-four having run on shore on Pesquies Point, I ordered the Repulse to work up and destroy her, which Captain Legge, in conjunction with the boats of the Pompée, executed with great promptitude and judgment. The battery on the Point, of more than thirty guns, which, had it been completely finished, was in a position to have annoyed the squadron most severely in passing, was taken possession of by the marines and boats' crew of the rear-division, the Turks having retired at their approach, and the guns were immediately spiked. . . . . At a quarter past five P. M., the squadron was enabled to make sail; and on the evening of the next day, the 20th, came to an anchor at ten o'clock, near the Prince's Islands, about eight miles from Constantinople, when I despatched Captain Capel, in the Endymion, to anchor near the town, if the wind, which was light, would permit the ship to stem the current, to convey the ambassador's despatches to the Sublime Porte in the morning by a flag of truce; but he found it impracticable to get within four miles, and consequently anchored at half-past eleven P. M."

In another despatch, dated from without the Dardanelles, 6th March, Admiral Duckworth explains the circumstances under which he did not deem it prudent to attack Constantinople. Referring to the position of the fleet on the 21st of February, the admiral proceeds to say:—"Had it been then in our power, we should have taken our station off the town immediately; but as that could not be done from the rapidity of the current, I was rather pleased than otherwise with the position we had been forced to take; for in the conferences between Mr Arbuthnot and

the Capitan Pacha—of the particulars of which your lordship is in possession—it was promised by Mr A. that even when the squadron had arrived before Constantinople, the door to pacification should remain open, and that he would be willing to negotiate on terms of equality and justice. In consideration of this promise, and as it would convince the Porte of his majesty's earnest desire to preserve peace, as well as possess her ministers with a confidence of the sincerity of our professions, it was the opinion of Mr A., in which I concurred, that it was fortunate we had anchored at a little distance from the capital, as a nearer approach might have given cause for suspicion and alarm, and have cut off the prospect of an amicable adjustment of the differences which had arisen. At noon of the 21st, Ysak Bey, a minister of the Porte, came off, from whose expressions Mr Arbuthnot thought it impossible not to believe, that in the head of the government—for in the present instance every circumstance proved, that between him and the armed populace a great distinction is to be made—there really existed a sincere desire for peace; and the negotiation was carried on, as will appear by the documents transmitted to your lordship, till the 27th: but from the moment of our anchorage till we weighed on the morning of the 1st of March, such was the unfortunate state of the weather, that it was not at any time in our power to have occupied a situation which would have enabled the squadron to commence offensive operations against Constantinople. On Sunday the 22d alone for a few hours, the breeze was sufficient to have stemmed the current where we were placed: but such was the rapidity on shore where the Endymion was at anchor, that Captain Capel thought it very doubtful whether the squadron could have obtained an anchorage, though it had been held in preparative readiness by signal, from day-break: but the peculiarly unsettled state of the weather, and the minister's desire that I should give a few hours for an answer to his letter through Ysak Bey, prevented me from trying. Before 5 o'clock, P. M., it was nearly calm, and in the evening the wind was entirely from the eastward, and continued light airs or calm till the evening of the 28th, when it blew fresh from the N. E., and rendered it impossible to change our position. Two days after our arrival near Constantinople, the ambassador found himself indisposed, and has been ever since confined with a fit of illness, so severe as to prevent him from attending to business. Under these circumstances he had delivered in on the 22d to the Turkish ministers, a projet, as the basis on which peace might be preserved, and at his desire the subsequent part of the negotiation was carried on in my name, with his advice and assistance; and while I lament most deeply that it has not ended in the re-establishment of peace, I derive consolation from the reflection, that no effort has been wanting on the part of Mr Arbuthnot and myself to obtain such a result, which was soon seen, from the state of the preparations at Constantinople, could be effected by negotiation only, as the strength of the current from the Bosphorus, with the circuitous eddies of the port, rendered it impracticable to place ships for an attack without a commanding breeze, which, during the ten days I was off the town, it was not my good fortune to meet with.

"I now come to the point of explaining to your lordship the motives which fixed me to decide in repassing the channel of the Dardanelles, and relinquishing every idea of attacking the capital; and I feel confi-

dent it will require no argument to convince your lordship of the utter impracticability of our force having made any impression, as at this time the whole line of the coast presented a chain of batteries, that twelve Turkish line of battle ships, two of them three-deckers, with nine frigates, were with their sails bent, and apparently in readiness, filled with troops: add to this, near two hundred thousand were said to be in Constantinople to march against the Russians; besides, there were an innumerable quantity of small craft with boats; and fire-vessels had been prepared to act against us. With the batteries alone we might have coped, or with the ships could we have got them out of their stronghold; but your lordship will be aware, that after combating the opposition which the resources of an empire had been many weeks employed in preparing, we should have been in no state to have defended ourselves against them as described, and then repass the Dardanelles. I know it was my duty, in obedience to your lordship's orders, to attempt every thing—governed by the opinion of the ambassador—that appeared within the compass of possibility; but when the unavoidable sacrifice of the squadron committed to my charge—which must have arisen, had I waited for a wind to have enabled me to cannonade the town, unattended by the remotest chance of obtaining any advantage for his majesty's service—must have been the consequence of pursuing that object, it at once became my positive duty, however wounded in pride and ambition, to relinquish it, and if I had not been already satisfied on the subject, the increased opposition in the Dardanelles would have convinced me I had done right, when I resolved on the measure as indispensably necessary. I therefore weighed with the squadron on the morning of the 1st, and as it had been reported that the Turkish fleet designed to make an effort against us, to give them an opportunity, if such was really their intention, I continued to stand on and off during the day, but they showed no disposition to move. I, therefore, as every hour was of importance, bore up at dusk with the squadron; we arrived off Point Pesquies towards the evening of the 2d instant; but the day-light would not admit of our attempting to pass the castles, and the squadron came to anchor for the night; we weighed in the morning, and when I add that every ship was in safety outside of the passage about noon, it was not without the most lively sense of the good fortune that has attended us. The Turks had been occupied unceasingly, in adding to the number of their forts; some had been already completed, and others were in a forward state. The fire of the two inner castles had on our going up been severe; but I am sorry to say the effects they have had on our ships returning has proved them to be doubly formidable: in short, had they been allowed another week to complete their defences throughout the channel, it would have been a very doubtful point whether a return lay open to us at all. The manner in which they employed the interval of our absence has proved their assiduity."

These despatches sufficiently evince at once the skill and gallantry of Admiral Duckworth. He continued in service up to the period of his death in 1817, but without enjoying any fresh opportunity of distinguishing himself. In person, according to a writer in the 'Gentleman's Magazine,' he was "rather short, but stout-made and muscular. He seemed never to be happy but when actively employed; was for ever on the quarter-deck,—fond of his profession,—and when on duty, cau-

tion and courage were so well-combined in him as to inspire confidence in his men, and insure success to his exertions."

Warren Hastings.

BORN A. D. 1733.—DIED A. D. 1818.

MR HASTINGS was born in the year 1733, and descended from a family of great respectability which for many centuries had possessed considerable estates in the counties of Worcester and Gloucester.[1] His father was a clergyman, and held the living of Church-hill in Gloucestershire, a village near Daylesford. On his decease, young Hastings was removed by his uncle, Mr Howard Hastings, to Westminster school. where he was educated, and went into college, the head of his election, in the year 1746. His acquaintance with the first Lord Mansfield commenced while he was at Westminster school, and at a time when the former was solicitor-general. Lord Mansfield through life professed the strongest friendship for him, and the highest opinion of his talents and public services.

On the decease of his uncle Howard, whose fortune was inconsiderable compared to the general idea of its amount, young Warren Hastings was to determine on his future situation. Dr Nichols, the headmaster of Westminster school, had ever treated him with the greatest kindness, and on so unexpected a turn in his fortune, offered to be himself at the whole expense of completing his education at Oxford. Mr Creswick, an India director, and executor of his uncle, offered him a writer's appointment to Bengal. Mr Hastings chose the latter, embarked for Bengal in the winter of 1749, and arrived in Calcutta in the summer of 1750. The English at that time were mere merchants, and Calcutta an inconsiderable commercial town. They had factories also in different parts of Bengal for the purpose of providing an annual investment for the East India company, which was principally purchased by bullion sent from England. To one of these factories Mr Hastings was appointed, and from thence detached into the interior parts of Bengal, where, in seclusion from the society of his countrymen, he acquired a knowledge of the Hindostanee and Persian languages which few then possessed.

At the capture of Calcutta by the Nabob Surajah Doulah in 1756, orders were issued for the seizure of every Englishman in Bengal, and Hastings was brought a prisoner to Moorshedabad; but being well-known to many men of rank at the Nabob's court, he was treated with indulgence, and allowed to reside at the Dutch factory of Calcapore. When the fleet and army under Watson and Clive arrived in the river, Mr Hastings joined Colonel Clive, and served as a volunteer at the recapture of Calcutta, and in the night-attack on the Nabob's camp. He then resumed his civil appointments, and, after the deposition of Surajah Doulah, became the British minister at the court of his successor. In 1761 he was made a member of the government, and in 1765 quitted Bengal, and came to England. His pecuniary remit-

[1] See Nash's 'Survey of Worcestershire.'

tances failing him, he soon after made an unsuccessful attempt to return to Bengal; but when the affairs of the East India company were brought before parliament, he made such a creditable appearance before the committee that he was appointed second member of the Indian administration at Madras, and sailed in 1768 for India.

He continued at Madras until January, 1772, when he proceeded to Bengal, being appointed by the Company to the government of that presidency with unlimited powers. The affairs of the Company were at this juncture in a state of great confusion. Under Lord Clive's management from 1765 to 1771 the revenues of Bengal had fallen below the public expenditure, and yet the Company were increasing their dividends. It may appear inconceivable how the Company could be precipitated, in the short period which elapsed since the year 1765, from the height of prosperity to a state of embarrassment bordering upon ruin, but a transient review of the principal causes will explain the paradox. "Soon after the treaty concluded by Clive at Eliabad, pernicious monopolies were established by the Company's servants in all the newly acquired provinces; and as if the exclusive purchase and sale of every article of general consumption in India was not sufficient to satisfy their avarice, the presidency of Calcutta devised another scheme of legal plunder, which was to declare void at once all the leases held under the government on very low terms by the zemindars and polygars, who constitute the great landed interest of the country. The pretext for this was, that many of these leases had been collusively obtained; and it was said, that impartiality required they should be now relet, without distinction, to the highest bidder. By these means the natives were impoverished; immense fortunes were made by their oppressors; but the aggregate receipts of the Company's treasury alarmingly decreased. As the opulence of Bengal, however great, depended solely upon the labour and industry of the people,—upon commerce, manufactures, and agriculture,—it is evident that these could not long flourish under the baneful influence of rapacity. The governing rule of trade pursued by the Company's servants was to reduce to the lowest extreme of depression the price in the purchase, and to enhance it in the same extravagant degree in the sale. This discouraged the artisan and manufacturer from going to work, and others from buying any thing but what was of absolute necessity. The situation of the farmers and husbandmen was still more hopeless: they planted in doubt, and reaped in uncertainty. A large proportion of the land was of course left untilled; and this cooperating with a drought in the year 1769, occasioned a general scarcity of provisions,—particularly of rice, the great staple of Indian sustenance. It was also said that some of the monopolists had exerted their power and their foresight in collecting the scanty supplies into stores; so that the poor Gentoos had no alternative left them but to part with the small remains of their property, or to perish with hunger. It is certain that a dreadful famine, and the plague—its usual concomitant—carried off in the year 1770, very nearly a fourth part of the entire population of Bengal, or about three millions of unfortunate victims. To these calamities were added the distressing effects of the war with Hyder Ali, wantonly entered into and shamefully conducted to gratify the interested views of individuals. In such circumstances it cannot be deemed wonderful—especially when the great increase of the civil and

military establishments in India, and the annual contribution to the public expenditure at home are taken into the account—that the disbursements of the Company should far exceed the amount of their revenues, and bring them in a few years to the verge of bankruptcy."[2] In the reports of the select committee of the house of commons, many other scenes of shocking cruelty were unfolded to public view. The detail would be endless; but a general idea of their nature may be formed from the words of the chairman, who declared, "that through the whole investigation, he could not find a single sound spot whereon to lay his finger, it being all equally one mass of the most unheard-of villanies, and the most notorious corruption."

The result of the parliamentary investigations was, that Lord North brought in a bill for remodelling the government of India, and placing it under the control of parties to be nominated by parliament. Many of the Company's servants were highly censured in the discussions connected with this measure, but Hastings himself was panegyrised by the minister, and was nominated governor-general of Bengal for five years, with the unanimous consent of both houses. The chief provisions of the new bill were: "that the court of directors should in future be chosen for the term of four years, instead of being elected annually, six members vacating their seats each year;—that the qualifications for voting should be raised from five hundred to one thousand pounds capital stock, and the time of previous possession be extended from six months to twelve;—that the jurisdiction of the mayor's court at Calcutta be confined to mercantile causes, and a new supreme court of judicature be established in India, consisting of a chief justice and three puisne judges appointed by the king;—and lastly, that a superiority over the other presidencies be given to the presidency of Bengal, the blanks for the names of the members, including the governor and council, being filled up at the time by parliament, and the removal of those officers, as well as a negative on the future nomination of the Company, being vested in the crown."

Warren Hastings was the first governor-general under the new arrangement, and General Clavering, Colonel Monson, Mr Barwell, and Mr Francis, were appointed members of council. The first efforts of the new government were directed to the improvement of the Company's revenues, in the collection of which many injudicious alterations were introduced. In the meantime the restless emperor, Shah Allum, manifested a childish anxiety to regain possession of Delhi, and made a most impolitic arrangement for that purpose with the Mahrattas, who reduced Delhi for him, but immediately turned their arms against the Rohillas, a brave and free people, who sought alliance with the English, but were basely betrayed, or rather sold to the Vizir by Hastings. These transactions occurred before the arrival of the new council. They reached Calcutta in October, 1774, and Clavering, Monson, and Francis, instantly united in condemning the Rohilla war; they called for production of the correspondence with the Vizir, but the governor-general declined to produce it, alleging that it contained private and confidential matter unfit for the public eye. In March, 1776, the Rajah Nuncomar delivered to the council a paper, accusing the governor of having

[2] Miller's History.

received large sums by way of bribe on certain specific occasions. Hastings declined meeting the charges, and stood upon his official dignity, but instituted legal proceedings against the unfortunate rajah in the criminal court of Calcutta, where he succeeded in obtaining a verdict of guilty from a jury of Englishmen, aided by the judge, Sir Elijah Impey, who refused all appeal or respite, and on the 5th of August the rajah was put to death! Colonel Monson's decease in November, 1776, gave a preponderance to Hastings in the council; he had previously tendered his resignation to the Court of directors, by whom it had been accepted; but on the death of Monson he disavowed his agent, and retained his authority! In 1781 Hastings endeavoured to seize the treasures of Cheyte Sing, rajah of Benares. With this view he provoked him to reluctant hostilities; but, after all, failed in his object, for the army refused to give up its prize money to the governor-general. He next turned his attention to the Nabob of Oude, from whose mother and grandmother, the Begums, he managed to extort £500,000. In 1784 he extorted a sum of fifteen lacs of rupees from Fyzoolla Khan, a Rohilla chief; at last, after a number of subordinate intrigues, he resigned his office in February 1785, having added, by his administration, about twelve and a half millions to the Company's debt.[3]

On the day Mr Hastings arrived in London, Mr Burke notified to the house of commons, that early in the next session he would move for an inquiry into the conduct of the late governor-general of India. On the 4th of April, 1786, Mr Burke, in his place, exhibited to the house nine articles of charge against Warren Hastings, Esq. They were in substance as follows:—

I. With gross injustice, cruelty, and treachery against the faith of nations, in hiring British soldiers for the purpose of extirpating the innocent and helpless people who inhabited the Rohillas.

II. With using the authority delegated to him through the East India company, for treating Shah Allum, emperor of Indostan, or otherwise the Great Mogul, with cruelty, in bereaving him of considerable territory, and withholding forcibly that tribute of 26 lacks of rupees which the Company had engaged to pay him as an annual tribute or compensation for their holding in his name the Dewannee of the rich and valuable provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa.

III. With various instances of extortion, and other deeds of mal-administration against the rajah of Benares. This article consisted of three different parts, in each of which Mr Hastings was charged with a series of the most wanton oppressions and cruelties.

IV. With being the author of the numerous and insupportable hardships to which the royal family of Oude had been reduced, in consequence of their connection with the supreme council.

V. With having, by no less than six revolutions, brought the fertile and beautiful provinces of Furruckabad to a state of the most deplorable ruin.

VI. With impoverishing and depopulating the whole country of Oude, and rendering that country, once a garden, an uninhabited desert.

VII. With a wanton, an unjust, and a pernicious exercise of his

[3] Mill.

powers, and the great situation of trust which he occupied in India, in overturning the ancient establishments of the country, and extending an undue influence by conniving at extravagant contracts, and appointing inordinate salaries.

VIII. With receiving money against the orders of the Company, the act of parliament, and his own sacred engagements, and applying that money to purposes totally improper and unauthorized.

IX. With having resigned by proxy for the obvious purpose of retaining his situation, and denying the deed in person, in direct opposition to all those powers under which he acted.

These were substantially the several charges Mr Burke first exhibited, and which were ordered to be printed for the perusal of members. It was also ordered that these charges should be taken into consideration by a committee of the whole house.

The articles exhibited against Hastings were in the course of a few weeks increased to twenty-two in number. Meanwhile, by consent of the house, the ex-governor of India was allowed to appear at the bar, and read his defence, on the 1st of May. He began by affirming that the grounds of the crimination were ill-founded, aspersive, and malicious; that the various publications of the times contained the most unwarrantable observations on his conduct, and that the press daily teemed with the most gross libels upon every part of his administration in India. He said that the most extraordinary of all was the pamphlet lately published, in which the charges of delinquency were not only copiously displayed, but the name of the accuser himself (Mr Burke) printed in the title-page, by which it would appear that it had not only his sanction and authority, but that the accuser had officiously condescended to become the publisher; that these charges had been the result of much deliberation; and that, during a period of five years, his enemies had exerted their abilities in order to specify the different grounds of accusation. He said he only resolved on Monday last, with the permission of the house, to enter upon his defence; and that he had prepared himself to meet his accusers, in as few days almost as the years in which his enemies had been engaged in bringing forward the matters which tended to criminate and asperse him. He complained that he was obliged to reply to charges containing nothing specific,—they might be called historical narratives, with voluminous commentaries. He had been in India from a school-boy; and during a period of thirty-six years' servitude, had always the happiness to maintain a good and respectable character. By the evil machinations of a few individuals, he now appeared in an unfortunate situation; but he chose to come forward on the occasion, and meet his fate, rather than be subjected to the continual threats of a parliamentary prosecution. He had acted according to the emergencies of the times; he had been frequently reduced to such extremities as to defy the sanction of any precedent. No man had been placed in more perilous situations, and in those disasters he was entirely left to the resources of his own mind. He said that he had resigned his government in India amidst the regret of his fellow-subjects; that he had repeatedly received the thanks of his employers, the Court of directors of the East India company; and as he had the satisfaction of discharging the trust reposed in him with such unanimous approbation, he believed that no other power on earth had

a right to call his conduct in question. Mr Hastings went on with his defence for about two hours; when, appearing to be much fatigued, he was relieved by Mr Markham, and afterwards successively by the two clerks.

The subject of Hastings' impeachment was resumed early in the next session. The charge respecting the Rohilla war had made a deep impression upon the house; and although Hastings had been acquitted of the charge, it was upon grounds on which it was impossible to rest his future defence. Pitt had negatived this charge upon the ground that Hastings had, subsequent to that event, received the highest certificate of legislative approbation, by being nominated by act of parliament, governor-general of India. On the 7th of February, 1787, Sheridan opened the third charge respecting the Begum princesses of Oude, with an eloquence and energy never surpassed, and which proved completely decisive. On a division the numbers were: in favour of the motion, one hundred and seventy-five; against it, sixty-eight. On the 2d of March Pelham opened the charge relative to the nabob of Furruckabad, which was affirmed by one hundred and twelve against fifty voices. On the 15th of March the charge upon the subject of contracts was brought forward by Sir James Erskine; and on this article the division was, ayes sixty, noes twenty-six. Upon the 22d of March the charge relative to Fyzoolla Khan was introduced by Windham; and was carried by a division of ninety-six against thirty-seven voices. On the 2d of April, Sheridan opened to the house the charge upon the subject of presents; and on this occasion observed, "that the late governor-general had, in every part of his conduct, exhibited proofs of a wild, eccentric, and irregular mind. In pride, in passion, in all things he was changeable, except in corruption. His revenge was a tempest,—a tornado involving all within its influence in one common destruction; but his corruption was regular and systematic,—a monsoon blowing uniformly from one point of the compass, and wafting the wealth of India to the same port in one certain direction." Upon a division, the numbers appeared, ayes one hundred and sixty-five, noes sixty-four. On the 19th of April the charge respecting the revenues was opened by Francis, who had formerly occupied, with so much honour to himself, the office of member in the supreme council of India, and who had recently taken his seat as a member of the house of commons. This charge was confirmed, notwithstanding the unexpected dissent of the minister, by seventy-one to fifty-five voices. On the 9th of May the report made by Burke from the committee, to whom it had been referred to prepare the articles of impeachment, was confirmed by the house, ayes one hundred and seventy-five, noes eighty-nine. On the following day it was voted that Hastings be impeached: and Burke accordingly, in the name of the house of commons, and of all the commons of Great Britain, repaired to the bar of the house of lords, and impeached Hastings of high crimes and misdemeanors; at the same time acquainting their lordships, that the commons would with all convenient speed exhibit articles against him, and make good the same. On the 14th another charge respecting misdemeanors in Oude was added to the former, and voted without a division; and on the 21st Hastings, being conducted to the bar of the house of lords by the sergeant-at-arms, was taken into the custody of the black rod; but on the

motion of the lord-chancellor was admitted to bail,—himself in twenty thousand pounds, and two sureties, Sullivan and Summer, in ten thousand pounds each; and he was ordered to deliver in an answer to the articles of impeachment in one month from that time, or upon the 2d day of the next session of parliament.[4]

In the early part of the session of 1788, Hastings had delivered in his answer to the impeachment of the commons, who immediately appointed a committee of managers to make good the same, and the trial commenced on the 15th of February in Westminster-hall, which was fitted up for the purpose with great magnificence. It lasted the unprecedented period of seven years from the opening of proceedings in the hall. Mr Hastings repeatedly complained of the delay, and the 'life of impeachment' he was by it compelled to live; but it appears, on the whole, to have won the public sympathy for him, and to have produced a feeling of acquiescence in the ultimate verdict of acquittal pronounced by the lords which otherwise might not have been so generally manifested. The greatest number of peers who voted the defendant guilty in any one respect, did not exceed six: the votes of innocence, on some of the charges, were twenty-six; on others, twenty-three; on one, nineteen. The chancellor intimated the decision of the court to Hastings on the 23d of April, 1795. He received it in silence, bowed, and retired from the bar. This remarkable trial cost the nation upwards of £100,000; and the law-expenses of Mr Hastings amounted to £71,000.

A meeting of the court of proprietors of the East India company was held soon after the acquittal of Mr Hastings, at which it was resolved that he should be indemnified for the expenses incurred by him in making his defence; and that an annuity of £5000 should be granted to him. Some legal difficulties were started as to this application of the profits of the Company, and the chairman, Sir Stephen Lushington, meanwhile applied to Mr Hastings for information to enable him to meet certain allegations respecting the fortune which the ex-governor had acquired during his residence in India. To this application Mr Hastings replied in the following terms: "I owe to my solicitors and to various individuals £97,000. I never was worth, at any time of my life, the sum of £100,000; and in this calculation I include every kind and description of property whatsoever." Referring to certain remittances which had been made to him from India, amounting in all to £17,000, he says: "I am indebted for these remittances to the generosity of individuals, granted for the express purpose of relieving my wants. They were received in the years 1790 and 1791, most seasonably, at times in which but for them I should have been reduced to great distress. I do not mention this as an excuse for my accepting them, since I am not conscious of any positive law or moral obligation that forbade it. I mention it only to show that while I was an object of envy to some, and of jealousy to others, under the imputation of possessing inordinate wealth,—and when, in addition to the charge of extravagance, I was publicly accused of the most corrupt disposal of it, —I was actually on the verge of penury and in fear of wanting the means of acquiring the common necessaries of life, but in the degrading resource of private credit, to which I have since been actually compelled

[4] Miller.

to submit. I make it my request, Sir, that you will have the goodness to lay this letter before the honourable court of directors, and to them I make it my request that it may be submitted to the court of proprietors. I take this occasion to return them my most grateful thanks for the distinguished honour they have conferred upon me by their late resolutions. I thank them for those testimonies of their approbation of my services, and for the bounty with which they have so liberally rewarded them: that I have completely received as far as they could bestow it, in their public declaration, that they thought me deserving of it; nor have I a wish respecting it, so far as it regards them, unsatisfied. But with respect to the resolution which they had been generously pleased to pass to indemnify me for the legal expenses of my trial, I own, I cannot contemplate its result with the same tranquil resignation. I require the accomplishment of it, not on the score of interest, but of honour, that I may acquit myself of my engagements to those to whose confidence and friendship I owe that I am not absolutely destitute. With such a stake I feel no repugnance to make my humble supplication to my employers, that I may obtain from their generosity that relief, which I once thought I had a right to expect from the justice and from the laws of my country.

"I have the honour to be, &c. WARREN HASTINGS."

"To SIR STEPHEN LUSHINGTON, Bart., Chairman of the Court of Directors."

We have said that doubts were started as to the right of the Company to dispose of their own money without the consent of the board of commissioners. "The great lawyers held different opinions; but the attorney and solicitor-general were decidedly against such a right being vested in the Company. On this decision a new motion was brought forward in concert with his majesty's ministers, who agreed—without any reference to the trial—in consideration of Mr Hastings's public services, to grant him a pension of four thousand pounds a-year for twenty-eight years and a half; of this pension they immediately gave him forty-two thousand pounds, and lent him in addition fifty thousand pounds. The whole sum voted was one hundred and fourteen thousand pounds, of which they immediately paid him ninety-two thousand; the remainder he was to receive at the rate of five thousand pounds a-year to the close of the charter; the other two thousand pounds were to be stopped to repay the loan of fifty thousand pounds, and his estate was charged with a mortgage for the sum of fourteen thousand pounds which would be due to the Company when the charter expired."[5] Mr Hastings survived this grant thirty-three years. He died in 1818. A few years before his death he was appointed a privy-councillor.

Mr Hastings was a man of letters. Many scholars and men of talent have translated the celebrated ode of Horace 'Otium divos rogat,' &c. The translation of Mr Hastings is superior to them all. He wrote the following lines in Mickle's excellent version of the Lusiad of Camoëns, to be inserted at the end of the speech of Pacheco:

'Yet shrink not, gallant Lusian, nor repine
That man's eternal destiny is thine;

[5] From statement by Major Scott.

Whene'er success the adventurous chief befriends,
Fell malice on his parting steps attends;
On Britain's candidates for fame await,
As now on thee, the harsh decrees of fate;
Thus are ambition's fondest hopes o'erreach'd.
One dies imprison'd, and one lives impeach'd.'

In 1799, Mr Hastings published and circulated amongst his friends a volume entitled 'Debates of the House of Lords on the Evidence delivered in the Trial of Warren Hastings, Esq.; Proceedings of the East India Company in Consequence of his Acquittal; and Testimonials of the British and Native Inhabitants of India relative to his Character and Conduct whilst he was Governor-general of Fort-William in Bengal.' 4to. Debrett. From his preface we shall make some extracts: "The impeachment," he observes, "had, from a variety of well-known causes, excited at first a curiosity and interest in the minds of the public to an uncommon degree; but as year after year dragged on the lengthened proceedings, without opening any apparent prospect of their termination, this very circumstance—which had a principal share in producing the first impression, and which might have been expected to augment it in proportion as the cause was greater—deprived it of much of its effect. The wonder ceased at what had been long and without variation in use; and at length faded into indifference to all but the last result, which had still the power of novelty to attract it. By him who was the immediate subject of this great spectacle, these changes wrought by it in the minds of his countrymen were contemplated with much regret and solicitude. Bound to the stake during a period of nine long years, and assailed as he had been by all the power of the nation let loose at once upon him, all his hopes of future retribution grew naturally out of the sensations of that part of his substance (if the expression may be allowed) which had suffered most from the attacks of his accusers, and to which they were wholly directed,—his present fame, and the estimation of his character in the judgment of futurity. Had he been permitted to mix in that quiet retirement which his time of life demanded, with the general mass of society, the utmost extension of existence which he could have expected, beyond the duration of his bodily frame, was what a page of history might bestow upon him, for having, in a troubled administration of thirteen years, yielded some accession of wealth and respect to the general stock of his country. But when every measure of his government was arraigned as criminal in the name of that country, and crimes uncharged were pressed into the cause against him,—and when the two great parties which divided this kingdom, disagreeing in all things besides, agreed in his condemnation,—he saw himself placed, as it were, on a scaffold of such elevation as to become a conspicuous object, not to one alone, but to remote ages and distant nations; and his name doomed to be recorded in large and lasting remembrance, in the characters of praise or infamy, according as the final issue of the trial, if he lived to reach it, should stamp it with either. Unequal as the contest seemed, he knew his own innocence, and thus conscious looked forward with confidence to that issue; fearful only lest the course of nature—in which there were many chances against him—might intercept it; and, while uncon-

cerned for any incidental consequences of the trial, hopeful only that his reputation might ultimately rise, and its duration increase, in proportion to the attempts which had been made to depress and destroy it. If in entertaining this expectation he was misled by a false estimate of his own importance, many circumstances conspired to create and to justify the delusion: the enthusiastic anxiety of his numerous friends,—the respect which, even in the most unfavourable times of his prosecution, he experienced from strangers amongst whom he occasionally mixed, but to whom he always sought to be unknown,—the marked interest of his legal advocates in his cause, greatly exceeding the impulse of mere professional zeal, and adding a redoubled force to their accustomed eloquence, though all strangers to him before they were engaged in his defence,—the animated replies which were made by many of the witnesses, both those who were called to the prosecution and to the defence, to questions put to them respecting his general character,—and the loaded testimonials of the native inhabitants of the provinces which he was charged with having oppressed, plundered, and desolated, not only disavowing the complaint made in their behalf, but professing the contrary sentiments of applause and thankfulness. To these may be added, though of prior event, the addresses of the British inhabitants of Calcutta, and of the officers of the army,—the first delivered to him on the day of his departure from them; the latter sent after him to England,—which were such testimonies of general approbation as had never been bestowed on any of his predecessors in the office which he had held, though many were most deserving of them. His own heart told him that his intentions had been good; and success had invariably attended them. If from so many concurrent reasons he had arrogated to himself some pretensions to celebrity, it was not either unnatural or unreasonable to expect a much larger portion of it in the event of his acquittal from so severe and complicated a charge, preferred by so great and respectable a body, and tried by so august a tribunal, with a world (as might be said) for its assessors. Had that tribunal pronounced his condemnation, instead of his acquittal, his name would have been sounded with infamy to every nation in Europe, and recorded with that dreadful adjunct to the latest posterity: he must have abandoned his own country, or remained in it an outcast from society, nor found in any other a peaceful resting-place for the soles of his feet, except that only—if there he might have been permitted to end the short term of his remaining days—which was the scene of his alleged iniquities, and which had already pronounced a very different judgment upon them. Surely, then, the converse ought to be his lot, since he has passed through such an ordeal, and stood the test of it. Not so! the event of his trial seemed at the same instant to have closed the public attention upon it, though for a short interval revived by the generous efforts of his ever-indulgent masters, the East India company, to alleviate his pecuniary losses, and, by an act of extraordinary bounty, to stamp their approbation on his past services. The merits of his trial are now known but to a few, and by a very small portion of these distinctly remembered. To the rest of the world, if it recurs at all, the length of its duration, and its legal issue, are probably all that remain of it. Thus far the plea of Davus, and his master's short and decisive

reply may be aptly applied to the case of Mr Hastings, in his appeal to the justice of his country:

'Non hominem occidi—non pasces in cruce corvos.'

Well will it be for him, if no worse destiny awaits him. The virtues of candour and benevolence are gentle and unobtrusive; and, although the portion of the far greater part of mankind, rarely operate to the benefit of those who are the public objects of them. The severity of censure is an active principle, and when under the guidance of malice or prejudice, though but the breath of an individual give it utterance, it will sometimes overpower or at least outlast the still voice of applauding thousands. Something like this he has already experienced; and, to guard against the future effects of such a cause, it was natural for him to wish to place, either in the hands of the public, or in such other as would insure a conveyance to posterity, some memorial which might serve at the same time for a protection to his future fame, and a justification of his acquittal; for exalted as that court is, by which it was pronounced, its justice may be, and has been, arraigned."

Edward, Lord Ellenborough.

BORN A. D. 1750.—DIED A. D. 1818.

THIS eminent judge was a native of the county of Cumberland, and was son of Dr Edmund Law, bishop of Carlisle. He was educated, until he arrived at the age of twelve years, by his uncle, the Rev. Humphrey Christian, who resided at Bottsam near Cambridge, and was sent to the Charter-house; thence he removed, in 1768, to St Peter's college, Cambridge, of which his father had been appointed master in 1756.

After he had taken his bachelor's degree with great credit, being third wrangler and senior medallist, he was admitted of Lincoln's inn. He was not, however, called at the usual standing, preferring to practise under the bar for some time.[1]

After he had been called to the bar, Mr Law went the northern circuit, most probably on account of the advantages which he expected to derive from the influence of his father. At this period, the principal causes were in the hands of Messrs Wallace and Lee. Among the junior counsel were the future Lords Auckland, Eldon, and Alvanley. The first of these soon abdicated the profession of the law for politics, the last was induced to remove to the chancery-bar,—Law and Scott remained to divide between them the rich harvest of that field which the advancement of their great predecessors soon left open to them.

Among Law's earliest and most valuable friends were Judge Buller

[1] Lawyers in this situation are not allowed to appear in the character of advocates; they indeed assist in drawing up written pleadings, and are called special pleaders; but the fees they receive are less than those given to the special pleaders who have been admitted to the bar. The advantages, however, attending this plan are, practice at an early period, and the opportunities it affords of forming useful connections with clients

and Chief-justice Willes. By means of Buller he soon obtained a silk gown. To take a silk gown is thought a bold step in a young lawyer, as he that wears it must lead in every cause. The distinction, therefore, sets him aside on all occasions when men of superior reputation are employed who are not king's counsel. He must either lead or do nothing; if, therefore, he is not thought fit to lead, he does nothing, and is accordingly crushed under his honours. Mr Law, however, had little reason to entertain apprehensions of this kind. A singularly able defence which he made in an insurance cause, when his practice was not yet very considerable, drew upon him universal attention, and at once ranked him among the first lawyers at the bar. His reputation was further extended by the active part he took in the defence of Governor Hastings. Erskine had previously declined the cause; his refusal was, however, considered unprofessional, and could have been ventured on only by a man of his established celebrity. One very serious inconvenience arising to Law was, that it hurt his business in Westminster-hall. A counsel whose presence could not be depended upon, and who might be called away at a minute's notice, to attend the house, was not likely to be retained by any one who could do better. He had likewise a new set of men to contend with,—Fox, Burke, Adams, and, worst of all, Sheridan, whose keen sarcastic wit could not be exercised on a more sensitive temper. But the losses, fatigues, and vexations Mr Law endured from this engagement, were, no doubt, amply compensated by what he gained in his reputation, for he conducted the defence with consummate ability.

The way, however, was not yet completely smooth before him. By a succession of unfortunate circumstances he made an enemy to himself in Lord Kenyon, who took every opportunity to thwart and harass him. This conduct on the part of Lord Kenyon once drew from Law a very happy quotation. Erskine, who was engaged on the opposite side, had made a very violent speech, containing some personalities of such a nature that Law felt compelled to notice them. When he got up to reply, he repeated the following lines from Virgil:

> Dicta ferox non me tua fervida terrent,
> Dii me terrent et Jupiter Hostis.

On circuit Law was now without a rival; in Westminster-hall his superiority was not so evident. Mr Erskine, as a leading counsel, possessed a more extensive though perhaps less solid reputation. "In speaking of these great men the expression may justly be used which Quintilian applies to Livy and Sallust, that they are 'Pares magis quam similes,'—equal to each other, rather than like each other. If Mr Erskine be a fine speaker, his rival is a more accomplished lawyer. If Mr Erskine captivates the imagination by the brilliancy of his ideas, and the elegance of his language, Lord Ellenborough subjects the understanding by the strength of his expressions, and by a weight of sentiment and matter, which always produces an effect proportionate to the capacities of his hearers. That egotism which perplexes the pleadings of the former, by studying to divide the attention between himself and the cause, was never perceived in the latter. He appeared to regard nothing but his cause, and either to be indifferent to admiration, or to seek it only by deserving it. If they be compared as lawyers,

the superiority must, without hesitation, be allowed to Lord Ellenborough. An important part of Mr Erskine's life was lost to his profession, and the splendour of his oratorical powers advanced him into public notice soon after he had devoted himself to it. The great practice which immediately followed the first manifestation of his talents, though it naturally increased his knowledge, took from him the opportunity of making those laborious investigations which are necessary to complete the character of a profound lawyer. Lord Ellenborough, on the contrary, has enjoyed every advantage of opportunity and training, and has, during the whole of his life, displayed an industry no less uncommon than the abilities by which it was directed."[2]

On the formation of the Addington ministry, Law was made attorney-general. This office is always understood to be a step to higher situations; and Mr Law, on the death of Lord Kenyon, was appointed, in April, 1802, chief-justice of the court of King's bench, and elevated to a peerage, by the title of Baron Ellenborough, which he took from a little village where his ancestors had for many generations resided in the humble rank of yeomen. In the house of lords he preserved the same lofty bearing; and, on the investigation into the conduct of the princess of Wales, charged those who had propagated reports prejudicial to the investigators, with having uttered what was "as false as hell!" He was a determined opponent of the Catholics. A true insight into his character may be gained from the few words used by Lord Grenville, when he assigned him a seat at the council-board: "I thought I perceived bad times approaching, and I selected him as a strong and resolute mind." As a judge, he upheld the existing laws and institutions; but the bias he evinced against prisoners on political trials has rendered his name unpopular; and he was much disliked by the bar, to whom he was, in general, arrogant and overbearing.

In 1817, on the trial of William Hone for infamous and profane libels, Lord Ellenborough charged the jury to bring in a verdict of guilty. The jury, however, acquitted the prisoner,—a disappointment which is said to have hastened his lordship's death. In November, 1818, he retired, in bad health and spirits, from the fatigues of office, and expired in the December following. He left a fortune of £240,000.

Lord Ellenborough is universally allowed to have been an excellent lawyer. During the sixteen years he presided in his court his judgments, which were always delivered in the most elegant language, evinced his profound knowledge of the law in all its branches; and on mercantile subjects his decisions are considered of the very highest authority.

Sir Samuel Romilly.

BORN A. D. 1757.—DIED A. D. 1818.

THIS virtuous patriot and enlightened lawyer was born on the 1st of March, 1757, in Westminster. His father was a jeweller in London, descended from a French protestant family whom the revocation of the

[2] Public Characters. London: 1804.

edict of Nantes had compelled to seek refuge in England. His mother also was of French extraction. He was remarkable at an early age for vivacity of temper, but was subject also to extreme nervous depression. Till the age of fourteen his education was little attended to; but about that period of life he had the good fortune to have his own exertions in the attainment of knowledge aided by the judicious advice and assistance of the Rev. John Roget, who subsequently married his only sister. He had early manifested a decided predilection for the bar, and in May, 1778, he was allowed to gratify this partiality by entering of Gray's inn. He pursued his professional studies with great ardour, until, in consequence of the fatigue which he sustained as a private in the Gray's inn association during the riots, he was obliged to relax in the intensity of his application, and soon after to recruit himself by a journey to the continent. During his stay in Paris, he became acquainted among other men of letters with D'Alembert and Diderot, who seem to have taken some pains to gain so ingenuous a youth over to their own speculative opinions. Fortunately, however, the attempt failed, and young Romilly left the French capital with his religious and moral principles rather confirmed than shaken by what he had heard and seen during his abode in that emporium of immorality and infidelity. Young Romilly was a close and intelligent spectator of political events, and spent much of his time listening to the debates in parliament. His remarks on the subjects which came before the house, and on the style and characters of the various speakers,—topics which he was fond of introducing into his epistolary correspondence,—show him not merely to have been an acute observer, but a well-grounded politician. The great maxims by which he steered his political course when himself an actor on the scene of which he had so often been a silent spectator, were not taken up suddenly, but were the result of profound and frequent meditation on the principles of government and social equity.

On the 2d of June, 1783, Mr Romilly was called to the bar. His feelings on this occasion are thus described in one of his letters: "The nearer I approach the term which I have often wished for, the more I dread it. Could I but realize the partial hopes of my friends, there would be no doubt of my success almost beyond my wishes. But in myself I have a much less indulgent censor, and in this perhaps alone I cannot suffer their judgment to have equal weight with my own. I have taught myself a very useful lesson of practical philosophy, which is, not to suffer my happiness to depend upon my success. Should my wishes be gratified, I promise myself to employ all the talents, and all the authority I may acquire, for the public good,—'Patriæ impendere vitam.' Should I fail, I console myself with thinking that the humblest situation of life has its duties, which one must receive a satisfaction in discharging, and that at least my conscience will bear me the pleasing testimony of having intended well." It was fortunate for the young barrister that he began his career with such sentiments, for he rose but slowly, and for five years was almost without business. His peculiarly nervous temperament was an almost fatal obstacle to his rapid success at the bar; and it was not until by habit he had gradually conquered his self-diffidence and dread of man, that he began to push his way among the crowd of rivals which beset his path. That difficulty mastered, he rose both rapidly and surely. In 1791 he had acquired con-

siderable practice as a junior counsel; and in 1797 he began to be known as a leader. The late marquess of Lansdowne was one of the first to discover the sterling talents of the rising barrister; and it was in that nobleman's house that Romilly became first acquainted with the lady whom he afterwards married, and whose existence became so closely identified with his own. In 1800 he was created king's counsel; and in 1806, when Fox came into office, he was made solicitor-general, knighted, and returned to parliament for Queenborough.

Soon after having taken his seat, Sir Samuel was appointed one of the managers of the impeachment of Lord Melville, and acquitted himself with extraordinary ability in the arduous task. He took his share in the discussion relative to the abolition of the slave-trade; and, on the accomplishment of that great object, turned his attention to the state of the penal code. His first efforts to mitigate the criminal jurisprudence of his country were directed at the repeal of the statute of 8° Eliz. c. 4. by which the punishment of death was inflicted for the offence of privately stealing from the person. He succeeded in his object this time; but was repeatedly baffled in the progress of his labours for the mitigation of the penal code. Several of the measures, however, which he advocated so strenuously, though unsuccessfully, have since his death been carried into effect by the British parliament. The local jurisprudence of England likewise engaged his most earnest thoughts; he attempted to correct a strange anomaly, productive of the most serious injustice in the law of debtor and creditor, by rendering freehold estates subject to the payment of simple contract debts; and he strenuously supported that improvement in our law which, by making property answerable for civil debts, took away from the merciless creditor the right of incarcerating his debtor.

On the dissolution of parliament in June, 1818, Sir Samuel Romilly was put in nomination as one of the candidates for Westminster, on the requisition of a large and respectable body of electors. The contest was one of the keenest on record, but it ended in his being placed at the head of the poll: the numbers being for Sir Samuel 5339, for Sir Francis Burdett 5238; and for Sir Murray Maxwell 4808. It was not, however, permitted by an inscrutable Providence that he should live to occupy the proud station in the senate of his country thus provided for him. The declining health of Lady Romilly had been, for several months, a source of great uneasiness and anxiety to her affectionate husband. His mental anguish increased day by day as the symptoms of his lady's disease assumed a more fatal aspect, and his friends at last began to entertain fears of mental derangement. Every thing that skill and solicitude could suggest was had recourse to, but in vain; Lady Romilly expired on the 29th of October, 1818, and in four days after her husband, in the violence of frenzy, terminated his own existence.

"In person," says his biographer, Mr Peter, "Sir Samuel Romilly was tall and justly proportioned, with a countenance regular and pleasing; but tinged with deep shades of thought, and susceptible of the greatest or tenderest emotions. His manners were distinguished by singular modesty, unaffected simplicity, and the kindest attention and regard to the wishes and feelings of others. His habits were temperate studious, and domestic. No man ever indulged less in those pursuits,

which the world calls pleasure. He rose regularly at six o'clock, and was occupied during the greater part of the day, and frequently to a late hour at night, either in study or laborious attendance on his professional and parliamentary duties. What little intervals of leisure could be snatched from his toils he anxiously devoted to domestic intercourse and enjoyments. Moderate in his own expenses, he was generous without ostentation to the wants of others; and the exquisite sensibility of his nature was never more strikingly displayed than in the fervent zeal with which his professional knowledge was always ready to be exerted for the destitute and oppressed,—for those who might seem, in their poverty, to have been left without a friend. Even to the last, when sinking under the weight of domestic affliction, when anticipating as its probable result a wretched life of mental malady and darkness, he was still intent on the welfare and happiness of those around him. The religion of Sir Samuel Romilly was, like his life, pure, fervent, and enlightened. Unclouded by superstition or intolerance, it shone forth in pious gratitude to God, and in charity to all mankind." "How noble and pure," says Mr Roscoe, "was the ambition of Sir Samuel Romilly, we may learn from the following beautiful passages, where he has explained the principles on which he proposed his reforms in the criminal law. 'It is not,' said he, on addressing the house of commons, 'from light motives,—it is from no fanciful notions of benevolence,—that I have ventured to suggest any alteration in the criminal law of England. It has originated in many years' reflection, and in the long-established belief that a mitigation of the severe penalties of our law will be one of the most effectual modes to preserve and advance the humanity and justice for which this country is so eminently distinguished.' And he thus concludes the same speech: 'Actuated by these motives, it is not to be imagined that I shall be easily discouraged by any of the various obstacles so commonly, and perhaps with propriety, opposed to every attempt to alter an established law: upon such a resistance I calculated, but am not to be deterred. I knew that my motives must occasionally be misunderstood by many, and might possibly be misrepresented by others. I was not blind to the road where prudence pointed to preferment; but I am not to be misled from comforts which no external honours can bestow. I have long thought that it was the duty of every man, unmoved either by bad report or by good report, to use all the means which he possessed for the purpose of advancing the well-being of his fellow-creatures: and I know not any mode by which I can so effectually advance that well-being, as by endeavouring to improve the criminal laws of my country. It has been insinuated, that indebted as I am to the law, commendation rather than censure ought to be expected from me; and it has been asserted, that under the pretext of proposing apparently immaterial alterations, my real object is to sap and undermine the whole criminal law of England. Such insinuations and assertions have not, I am well aware, been made by any of my honourable and learned friends by whom I am now surrounded, and who have witnessed my whole professional life; but they have been made, and I must, of course, suppose, have been really believed.' "

The Right Hon. George Rose.

BORN A. D. 1745.—DIED A. D. 1818.

Mr Rose was born near Montrose, in the shire of Angus, about the year 1745. His father was a clergyman, one of those 'nonjuring ministers' who would not swear allegiance to the house of Brunswick, on account of the pretended right and indefeasible succession in the Stuart line. The elder Mr Rose enjoyed the protection of the earl of Marchmont,—a nobleman avowedly attached to these principles; and to him was confided the education of the earl's son, Lord Polworth.

George, the subject of the present memoir, was taught the rudiments of grammar and arithmetic in his native country; after which he repaired to London, and was placed under the superintendence of an uncle, who kept an academy in the vicinity. At this period he appears to have been not only destitute of fortune, but even of friends; for he entered the civil service of the navy, while yet very young, in the humble capacity of captain's clerk.

The office of the keeper of the records at Whitehall was his first land-appointment: for this he was doubtless indebted to the earl of Marchmont, who now possessed great influence at court. The same patronage, at a later period, obtained for this favourite of fortune the lucrative office of clerk of parliament. When Shelburne became prime minister, in 1782, he had occasion for the official attendance of Mr Rose, and soon found him ready, laborious, and useful. And when Mr Pitt had chased away the coalition ministry, we find Mr Rose nominated to the important office of joint-secretary to the treasury.

Having become member for Christ-church, we find Mr Rose indefatigable in his attendance on, and taking an active part in, all the important debates in the house of commons. We know not in what manner he voted when Mr Pitt made his three motions for 'a reform in parliament;' but we have reason to suppose, that, being in the secret, he voted and spoke in behalf of the slave-trade, notwithstanding all the arguments for its abolition by his right honourable friend and coadjutor. The member for Christ-church took an active part in Pitt's famous bill 'for the Prevention of Smuggling.' This led to what was then called 'the Commutation Act,' which, in order to remove the temptation to illicit traffic, by rendering tea cheaper, laid an additional tax on windows!

In consequence of the part Rose took against Mr Fox, in the Westminster election, the authors of the 'Rolliad' attacked him with no common share of bitterness, and, as we charitably hope, of untruth, or at least of exaggeration. The following is an extract:

"ROSE, OR THE COMPLAINT.

"ARGUMENT.

"In this eclogue our author has imitated the second of his favourite Virgil, with more than his usual precision. The subject of Mr Rose's complaint is, that he is left to do the whole business of the treasury during the broiling heat of summer, while his

colleague, Mr Steele, enjoys the cool breezes from the sea, at Brighthelmstone, in company with the young premier, &c.

"None more than Rose, amid the courtly ring,
Lov'd Billy,—joy of Jenky, and the king;
But vain his hope to shine in Billy's eyes,
Vain all his votes, his speeches, and his lies;
Steele's happier claims the boy's regard engage,
Alike their studies, and alike their age.

"In one sad joy all Rose's comfort lay,
Pensive he sought the treasury day by day;
There, in his inmost chamber lock'd alone,
To boxes, red and green, he poured his moan
In rhymes uncouth; for Rose, to business bred,
A purser's clerk, in rhyme was little read;
Nor since his learning with his fortune grew,
Had such vain arts engaged his sober view;
For Stockdale's shelves contentedly compose
The humble poetry of lying prose.

"O barb'rous Billy! thus would he begin," &c.[1]

On the accession of Mr Addington to power, Rose withdrew with Pitt. During his retreat he appeared on the opposite bench for a few months; nay, he even supported the Hampshire petition, presented to the house of commons in 1807, complaining of 'ministerial influence!' Nearly at the same time, too, he differed with his quondam friend, Lord Grenville, about the constitutional propriety of Lord Ellenborough's possessing a seat in the cabinet; and, on all occasions, took an active part in the debates against Mr Fox's administration. But Mr Rose returned soon after to enjoy a fresh accession of power, and new and increasing honours. He had been formerly deputy-president of the board of trade: he now became president, and was also nominated treasurer of the navy, with a salary of £4000 per annum.

Mr Rose was considered either so able in point of finance, or his colleagues so deficient on that subject, that he appears to have been selected by them to answer the report of the Bullion committee, which evinced not only a wonderful degree of financial information, but was drawn up with no common share of precision and ability. Accordingly, on May 6th, 1811, after the late Mr Horner had made a very luminous and very able speech on this subject, in which he chiefly attributed the difference between the mint and market price of gold, as well as the unfavourable state of foreign exchanges, to the badness of our coin, and excess of the paper-circulation, arising out of the impolitic and extraordinary issues of the bank, Mr Rose next in order replied. In the course of a set speech, which he afterwards published, he dwelt on the advantages arising from bank-notes, which he asserted "to be equivalent to money for every common and legitimate transaction in life, except for foreign remittances; and even in respect to these," adds he, "the access to bank-discounts affords great facilities, by enabling the merchant to make provision for heavy payments for exports, and to await a sale for imports, for which, from various causes, there may be no immediate demand." As to the rapid advance in the price of our

[1] From the twenty-first edition of 'Political Eclogues,' published by Ridgway, 1799.

commodities, he attributed this not to an excess of bank-paper; for, had they not risen rapidly on the continent, and even in those countries where specie alone is in circulation? He considered the great and sudden rise of the price of corn here as the cause of the advance in other articles; and the rise of that great necessary of life, to advance of importation prices by the acts of the legislature. Yet, with the aid of two millions of quarters of foreign corn, the quartern-loaf did not exceed fifteen pence; whereas, without this assistance, it would have been at 2s. 6d. He denied the position, that our exports were only 23, and our imports 45 millions; he also inferred from tables, produced by him, extending to 1810, that the market-price of gold, and the exchange with Hamburgh, did not depend on the issue of bank-notes. The fallacy of the market-price of gold having been affected by the issue of bank-paper had been already incontrovertibly shown, by the experience of nearly the whole of the last century, as recorded in accounts on which we may safely rely. That the exchange should be affected by it were against all experience, as well as against the evidence annexed to the report. He considered the observations of his friend Mr Huskisson, "on the credit of our public funds," likely to be attended with very hurtful consequences with respect to both foreigners and natives. He states that "the public creditor, on receiving his dividend, is obliged to leave 2s. out of 20s., or £10 in the £100, for the income tax, in the hands of the bank; and is equally compelled to receive the remaining 18s. in bank-paper. A payment in such paper is a virtual deduction from his dividend of 3s. more, or of 15 per cent.; the public creditor, therefore, receives only 15s. in the pound of standard stationary money, and no more!" He then entered into an eulogium of the merits of Mr Pitt, against the charge of "a singular disacquaintance with the principles of public economy;" and concluded by objecting to the plan proposed by the committee; "which, without effecting the object the members had in view, did more than either the decrees or the victories of Bonaparte to execute his designs for our destruction."

Mr Rose was of the middle stature; vigorous, active, indefatigable. He was to the full as laborious as Mr Dundas, without, like him, being addicted to convivial pleasures. He possessed much literary talent, which was displayed to great advantage in 1777, when he superintended the publication of the 'Journals of the House of Lords,' in 31 folio volumes. In 1794 he became executor to the venerable earl of Marchmont, who bequeathed to him his large collection of books, manuscripts, and coins. The dissertation on Doomsday-book in Nash's 'History of Worcestershire' is from Mr Rose's pen, and he was the author of the following tracts: 'The Proposed System of Trade with Ireland explained,' 8vo. 1785; 'A Brief Examination into the Increase of the Revenue, Commerce, and Manufactures of Great Britain,' 8vo. 1796; 'Considerations on the Debt of the Civil List,' 8vo. 1802; 'Observations on the Historical Work of the late Right Hon. C. J. Fox,' 4to. 1809; 'Letters to Lord Melville respecting a Naval Arsenal at Northfleet,' 8vo. 1810; 'Observations respecting the Public Expenditure and the Influence of the Crown,' 8vo. 1810; 'Substance of his Speech in the House of Commons,' 8vo. 1811. His speech on Corn Laws in 1814, and on the Property Tax in 1815, were also printed; but this is

supposed to have been done without his authority. He expired on Tuesday, January 13th, 1818, in the 73d or 74th year of his age.

As a legislator, Mr Rose was entitled to great credit for the protection of saving-banks, and his bill to enable parochial and other societies to subscribe for the purpose of supporting their sick and disabled members out of the common stock, instead of becoming paupers. It is also but fair to add that he was a most useful partizan, and that he was never accused, like two of his former colleagues, either of being a public defaulter, or of perverting the public money for the success or gratification of his own private speculations.

Admiral Cornwallis.

BORN A. D. 1744.—DIED A. D. 1819.

THE HONOURABLE WILLIAM CORNWALLIS, fourth son of Charles, the first earl by Elizabeth, daughter of Lord Viscount Townshend, was born on the 25th of February, 1744. He was descended from a family who had been settled for many centuries in the county of Suffolk. Having resolved to embrace the naval profession, he was first rated as a midshipman on board the Newark, whence he was removed to the Kingston, in which vessel he shared the glory attendant on the reduction of Louisburg, and acquired those habits of subordination which afterwards enabled him to command others with ability and effect.

In 1759 we find him serving under the gallant Hawke in the Dunkirk; next year he repaired under Captain Digby to the Mediterranean, and being taken on board the flag-ship of Sir Charles Saunders, he was appointed a lieutenant. In the course of 1762 he was nominated to the Wasp sloop of war, with the rank of master and commander; and in 1765 he was made post-captain, in consequence of obtaining the command of the Prince Edward, at a period when he had scarcely attained the age of twenty-one.

It being necessary to reinforce Admiral Howe, who in every part of the American continent found foes instead of allies, while he was menaced by sea with a superior fleet, Admiral Byron was sent with a powerful force to his succour, among which was the Lion of 64 guns, commanded by Captain Cornwallis. But the admiral was retarded, both in Europe and during his passage across the Atlantic, by a variety of sinister events, and no sooner had he nearly reached the object of his destination, than he encountered a storm which dispersed the greater part of his fleet. What contributed to make his situation still more alarming and disagreeable at the critical moment, was the appearance of the Count D'Estaing, who, with a fleet of twelve sail of the line, prevented him joining Lord Howe, and forced him to take shelter in Halifax. Notwithstanding a junction was soon after effected with the rest of the squadron, and a further reinforcement arrived from England before the spring, yet D'Estaing, who by this time had collected an immense naval armament, obtained possession of the island of St Vincent without difficulty, and acquired Grenada also, after a spirited but ineffectual resistance on the part of the British troops. No sooner did the brave but remarkably unfortunate Byron receive intelligence of

these events, than he sailed in pursuit of the enemy, concerning whose real force he had been completely deceived. On his arrival in the neighbourhood of St George's bay, he found the French to amount to no less than ten sail of the line more than he had expected. The signal for action, however, was immediately hoisted, but the French, notwithstanding their superiority, avoided a close action, and contrived to bring nearly the whole of their force to bear upon three ships which ran the gauntlet along their line, in the course of which they received considerable damage, and were forced to leeward. One of these happened to be the Lion; this vessel received a number of shot in her hull, had her rigging cut, her masts wounded, and fifty-one men either killed or disabled. In this situation, finding it impossible to weather the enemy's line, and reassume his proper station in the fleet, Captain Cornwallis, taking advantage of the trade-wind, which blows constantly in that latitude, bore away for Jamaica; while D'Estaing withdrew in the course of the same evening to his former anchorage. Although the French did not obtain any advantage upon this occasion, yet neither the conduct nor the consequences of the action gave entire satisfaction on board the British fleet. Admiral Barrington, in particular, was greatly disgusted, and swore that he would not again serve under Byron. He accordingly returned home in the Ariadne.

The Lion was present at the relief of Gibraltar in 1781, under Admiral Darby, on which occasion Admiral Christian being disabled and obliged to return, Captain Cornwallis volunteered along with Sir James Wallace to attack the Spanish gun-boats. When paid off, her commander was appointed to the Canada, of 74 guns; and in this ship he again returned to the West Indies, where he was employed under Sir Samuel Hood. In the famous action with the French fleet under De Grasse, the Canada fought with a degree of spirit never excelled in the British navy. After engaging with and capturing the Hector, a ship of the same rate and number of guns, Captain Cornwallis, leaving his prize to be taken possession of by a frigate, bore down upon the Ville de Paris, and laying her alongside, commenced a combat which lasted two hours. De Grasse, who declared after the action, that "this little red-sided ship, the Canada, did him more harm than all the rest with which he had contended," determined, from a point of honour, not to strike to any thing short of a flag, and accordingly held out until about sunset, when Rear-admiral Sir Samuel Hood came up in the Barfleur, on which the count surrendered.

In 1782 Cornwallis returned to England, his ship forming part of the convoy to the homeward-bound fleet. He subsequently, for a short period, commanded a king's yacht, and in 1789 had the charge of a small squadron in the East Indies. On the 1st of February, 1793, he was made rear-admiral of the White, and blockaded Pondicherry while it was besieged on the land side by a force under Colonel Braithwaite. As soon as the usual period for the India station had expired, Commodore Cornwallis returned to his native land. After being promoted to the rank of vice of the Blue in 1794, we find him in 1795 serving in the channel fleet with his flag hoisted on board the Royal Sovereign of 100 guns. As he was known to be an officer of skill and enterprise, it was determined to detach him with a small squadron to harass the enemy, intercept their convoys, alarm their shores, and capture any

of their ships that might dare to venture out. He accordingly left the grand fleet with four 74 gun-ships, and four frigates, in addition to his own vessel, and in the course of the summer contributed not a little to the destruction of the remaining commerce of France. In the beginning of June the vice-admiral had stretched into the bay of Biscay, and chased three French line of battle ships and six frigates into Belleisle roads; these were fortunate enough to escape under protection of their batteries, but a large merchantman and eight brigs were captured. A few days after, Captain Stopford of the Phaeton frigate, made the signal for a fleet ahead, and soon after reported the enemy to consist of thirteen sail of the line, fourteen frigates, two brigs, and a cutter. The British admiral was determined to haul off, and executed the manœuvre in a very masterly manner. "He retreated with his ships," says the author of the Naval History, "in the form of a wedge, of which the Royal Sovereign—his own vessel—was the apex; and whenever the enemy approached sufficiently near, they were soon taught to keep at a safer distance.

This brilliant exploit reflected equal lustre on the intrepidity and skill of the admiral, and induced the board of admiralty to nominate him to the important post of commander-in-chief in the West Indies. He accordingly sailed in the Royal Sovereign for that station; but in consequence of a severe gale of wind, his flag-ship became so much disabled off Scilly, that he deemed it necessary to return to England. His conduct upon this occasion did not, however, fully satisfy those who presided over the naval affairs of this country, as they thought he ought to have proceeded in another ship. He was accordingly ordered to return on board the Astræa frigate, which was fitted out on purpose to receive him; but he declined compliance, and pleaded the bad state of his health in justification. Not satisfied with this excuse, the Board issued orders for trying him by a court-martial, which accordingly assembled at Portsmouth, April 8th, 1796, on which occasion the gallant veteran admiral, Earl Howe, presided. The charges, as delivered by the judge-advocate, consisted of three in number:—

1. "That Admiral Cornwallis, after having sailed from England for the West Indies, and proceeded a considerable way, did return, contrary to the orders and instructions by him received.

2. "That not having a sufficient regard to the importance of his situation as commander-in-chief, he had omitted to shift his flag on board of some other ship of his squadron, after the Royal Sovereign had been disabled, in order to proceed, as he ought to have done, to the place of his destination; but that instead of his doing so, he had given his instructions and the command of the convoy to another officer: And,

3. "That after his return he had disobeyed another order of the Board of admiralty, by not hoisting his flag on board the Astræa frigate, and proceeding to the West Indies, as he had been ordered by their lordships."

After hearing the evidence for the prosecution, the admiral, assisted by the Hon. Thomas Erskine, entered on his defence, and not only vindicated himself from the first two charges, but showed that he was incapable, from the ill state of his health, to comply with the orders of his superiors, and return in the Astræa. The whole of the evidence on

both sides having been examined in the course of the same day, the court broke up, and on assembling again next morning, pronounced sentence, in substance as follows:—"That the admiral was acquitted of the first two charges, and that the third not being proved, he was acquitted of that also." This event deprived his country of the services of an excellent officer during a period of nearly five years; for, thinking himself ill-used upon the occasion, he immediately struck his flag, and, notwithstanding he was included in the promotion that took place in 1799, and in consequence of which he obtained the rank of admiral of the Blue, yet he declined the acceptance of any command so long as a certain nobleman presided at the head of the admiralty board.

No sooner, however, had Earl St Vincent, who had so nobly led the fleets of his country, been appointed to superintend their exertions, than Cornwallis was selected to the high and important station of commander-in-chief of the channel fleet, and accordingly hoisted his flag on board the Ville de Paris, in February, 1801. Brest being the principal naval arsenal of France adjoining Great Britain, and in most respects superior to Toulon, which is chiefly calculated for operations in the Mediterranean, it has always been the policy of this country to watch the motions of the fleets there. To render the blockade more effectual, it is usual to divide the fleet in the following manner:—First, What is termed an in-shore squadron, consisting of frigates, occupies such a station as to be able to watch all the motions of the enemy, peep occasionally into the inner harbour, and give the appointed signal in case of alarm. The out-shore squadron consists of the main body of the fleet, ready, upon the least intimation of danger, to afford succour to the vessels on the look-out, and give the enemy battle, should they dare to venture from Brest water. It is also usual to station the detachments off Rochefort, Belleisle, and L'Orient, on purpose to keep those ports in check; but such precautions are adopted that they can be recalled at a short notice, so that the whole collected fleet may be enabled to encounter any great and sudden danger.

In 1806 Admiral Cornwallis retired from the service on account of bad health. For a number of years he represented the borough of Eye in Suffolk, and at one period was member for Portsmouth. Three years before his death, which took place in 1819, he was created a knight-commander of the Bath.

Cornwallis was a talented and courageous officer. It is related of him, that when in the Canada, his crew having declared, by a round robin, that they would not fire a gun until their wages—payment of which had by some accident been delayed—were discharged, he restored complete subordination by calmly addressing them in the following terms:—"My lads, the money cannot be paid until we return to port; and as to your threat, I have only to say, that I shall put you alongside the first enemy's ship I fall in with, and I'm sure the devil himself will not then keep you from fighting her."

Sir Home Riggs Popham.

BORN A. D. 1762.—DIED A. D. 1820.

THIS officer is said to have been the twenty-first child by the same mother, of a British consul at Tetuan in Morocco, whose family, by different wives, amounted to forty-four! He was born at Tetuan on the 12th of October, 1762. At the age of thirteen he was removed from Westminster school to the university of Cambridge; he then entered the navy under the protection of Commodore Thompson. At the defeat of Langara's squadron, on the 30th of June, 1778, he was present in the Hyæna frigate, in which he continued until 1782, when he was promoted to the rank of lieutenant, and went out in the Grampus as a maritime surveyor to the African station. He returned to England in 1787, but soon after proceeded to India with a view to acquire professional experience. Upon his arrival in Bengal, he was appointed by Lord Cornwallis one of the committee sent in 1788 to survey New Harbour in the river Hoogly, which service he executed to the satisfaction of government. He returned in the same year to Europe, and concluded this voyage without interruption. After a short interval, being unable to obtain employment in the navy, he was induced to proceed in the Etrusco on a second voyage to India, where, in the year 1791, he effected the important survey of a southern passage or outlet from Prince of Wales' island, and caused a chart to be engraved and published; for this service, so beneficial to the intercourse with China, he received a letter of thanks from the government, and a piece of plate with suitable inscriptions was at the same time presented to him in the name of the general in council. Several masters of ships in the East India trade also signified their wishes on this occasion to present him with a piece of plate in their own names and those of others sailing from Bombay, "being," as they expressed it, "highly sensible of the advantage they may derive from the southern channel leading from Prince of Wales, which you have now fully established." The war with France broke out while the Etrusco was on her homeward-bound voyage, which occasioned that ship to put into Crook-haven, from whence she proceeded to Cork to obtain a British convoy, and afterwards came to Spithead under protection of the Diadem. After passing the Irish and English channels under convoy of different British men-of-war, the ship and cargo were eventually seized by the Brilliant frigate, off Ostend, and afterwards condemned to the crown on the ground of having traded beyond the Cape of Good Hope, contrary to the laws respecting the trade to India. The king's proctor, after consulting his majesty's advocate-general on this point, reported by his advice, that the capture was made without any particular exertion of skill or enterprise, and in consequence submitted that the consequences were very peculiar, and the question whether any part of the property condemned should be given to the captors, was a matter entirely for the decision of his majesty's government, as no precedent sufficiently applicable to the case warranted a suggestion of any rule proper to be observed. Pursuant to a report of this tenor, and as Lieutenant Popham's

transactions in India were well-known to the high authorities there, and his valuable services in that quarter had obtained the public thanks of the Court of directors, with other marks of approbation, restitution was made to him of part of the condemned property, amounting to £25,000, out of which £6000 was paid to the captor for his expenses, who also received £12,993 out of proceeds of property condemned as French.

On the breaking out of the war with France, he returned to the regular service, and subsequently distinguished himself at the head of a party of seamen under the duke of York in Holland. Having turned his attention to a plan for resisting any invasion of this country, he proposed the organization of a corps of sea-fencibles,—a suggestion which, in 1798, was carried into execution.

On the 14th of May, 1798, he sailed for Ostend with a small squadron under his orders, having on board a military force, commanded by General Coote. He arrived off his destination on the 19th of the same month, and some of the troops were immediately landed; but after having blown up the sluice-gates of the town, being unable to reimbark, owing to the roughness of the sea, they were forced to capitulate. In 1799 Captain Popham was sent to Cronstadt to superintend the embarkation of some Russian troops destined to assist in the attack on Holland. While on this service he was visited by the Emperor Paul, who presented him with a gold snuff-box of considerable value, and the cross of Malta. In the winter of the same year he was, in conjunction with Captain Godfrey, intrusted with the command of a small flotilla of gun-boats on the canal of Alkmaar in Holland, which was made to afford considerable protection to the flanks of the British. For his conduct on this service he obtained the special thanks of the duke of York, and a pension of £500 per annum.

In December, 1800, he was intrusted with the command of a small squadron. In 1802 he was returned for the borough of Yarmouth, but was soon after threatened with a parliamentary inquiry. The Hon. Charles Kinnaird gave notice of his intention to move for a committee to inquire into certain charges adduced in the report of the navy board. An imprest was laid on his pay and half-pay, and the charges respecting the expenses of the Romney were to be laid before the commissioners of inquiry in naval abuses. A sudden change of administration released him from this danger, and brought him into employment. Through the patronage of Lord Melville, he was appointed to the superintendence of a scheme for destroying a fleet by means never before heard of. The experiment was ludicrously termed the Catamaran expedition; but two vessels were very effectually destroyed by it off Boulogne in 1804. An attack on a larger scale was afterwards attempted at Fort Conge, which disappointed public expectation.

In 1806 he commanded the naval part of the force sent against the Cape of Good Hope. Shortly after, with a body of troops under General Beresford, he proceeded to Rio de la Plata, and captured Buenos Ayres. The enemy, however, soon retook the city; and on his return to England, Sir Home Popham, whose friends had quitted office, was brought to a court-martial, by which he was severely reprimanded, "for having, without any direction or authority whatever, withdrawn the whole naval force under his command at the Cape, for the purpose of attacking the Spanish settlements."

He was, however, shortly afterwards appointed captain of the fleet sent out under Admiral Gambier against the Danes; and on the 8th of January, 1808, he received a valuable sword from the corporation of London, with the freedom of the city. In 1809 he served in the expedition against Flushing. During the peninsular war he was actively employed in the Venerable, on the north-west coast of Spain, and he subsequently conveyed Lord Moira in the Stirling to the East Indies. After having been made a colonel of marines, he was advanced on the 4th of June, 1814, to the rank of rear-admiral of the White, and hoisted his flag as commander-in-chief in the river Thames. In 1819 he commanded on the Jamaica station, and became rear-admiral of the Red. At the time of his death, which took place on the 11th of September, 1820, he was groom of the bed-chamber to the duke of Gloucester, and a fellow of the Royal society.

His scientific acquirements are stated to have been more than respectable. He produced an improved telegraph and code of signals, which, in 1815, was adopted on the coast from the Land's End to Bridport.

Sir David Dundas.

BORN A. D. 1737.—DIED A. D. 1820.

DAVID DUNDAS, a native of Edinburgh, and the son of a merchant, is said to have been originally destined for the medical profession, which, however, he thought fit to abandon. After having been two years a student at the Woolwich military academy, he entered on his military career under the auspices of his uncle, General David Watson, quarter-master-general under William, Duke of Cumberland. This officer was an able engineer; he made a survey of the Highlands of Scotland, and planned and inspected the military road through it. To this relation young Dundas was appointed an assistant, and had the further advantage of having for his coadjutor the celebrated mathematician, William Roy, from whom it may be supposed that Dundas derived much information.

In 1759, when Colonel Elliot, afterwards Lord Heathfield, obtained a letter of service to raise a regiment of dragoons, Lieutenant Dundas was promoted to a troop in it. When the British cabinet determined upon attacking the Spanish foreign settlements, among which the Havannah was the principal, General Elliot was appointed to the staff, and Captain Dundas embarked with him as his aid-de-camp. After the reduction of the island of Cuba in 1762, he returned with the general to England, and remained as aid-de-camp till he received the majority of the 15th dragoons, on the 28th of May, 1770. From that corps he was promoted to the lieutenant-colonelcy of the 2d regiment of horse on the Irish establishment, now the 5th dragoon guards. In February, 1781, he obtained the rank of colonel.

Shortly after the peace of 1783, the great Frederick of Prussia having ordered a grand review of the whole of his forces, the curiosity and attention of military men were excited by so splendid an exhibition. Colonel Dundas applied for leave to be present on this occasion, which

being granted, he repaired to the plains of Potsdam, and there laid the foundation of his new system of military tactics, to be afterwards matured and digested by deliberate observation and diligent consideration. This journey, moreover, enabled him to acquire a knowledge of the German language, so useful to an officer, and a thorough acquaintance with the military etiquette and interior economy of an army. On his return, the leisure hours from his staff-appointment were employed in arranging his system of tactics for the press, from which it issued in 1788, in one volume, quarto, under the title of 'Principles of Military Movements, chiefly applicable to Infantry.' In the compilation of this work he has borrowed largely from the two following publications:—'Essai de Tactique, par M. Guibert,' an officer in the service of France,—a very indifferent translation of whose work was published in this country a few years ago; and 'Elements of Tactics for the Prussian Infantry, by General Saldern,' translated by Professor Landmann of the Royal academy, Woolwich. Simplicity and generality of principle are the distinguishing features of the great Frederick's military system. Columns to the front, or in echelon,—accurate marching in line for his infantry,—and rapid movements for the cavalry, were the principal traits of it.

In April, 1790, Colonel Dundas was promoted to the rank of major-general, and appointed colonel to the 22d regiment of infantry on the 2d of April of the following year, on which he gave up the adjutant-generalship of Ireland. His majesty, to whom General Dundas had dedicated his work, having approved of it, directed it to be arranged and adapted for the use of the army, in June, 1792. It was accordingly printed, under the title of 'Rules and Regulations for the Formations, Field-exercise, and Movements of his Majesty's Forces,' with an injunction that this system should "be strictly followed and adhered to, without any deviation whatsoever; and such orders before given as are found to interfere with, or counteract their effect and operation, are to be considered as hereby cancelled and annulled." The principles on which these regulations were formed, are, in marching to preserve just distances, particularly the leading of divisions on which every movement depends,—forming good lines,—changing fronts by echelon movements,—wheeling by divisions from column,—and at all times marching either in ordinary or quick time by cadenced steps. A writer, to whom the army is much indebted for the elucidation of General Dundas's work, says, "That till these Rules and Regulations were published and directed to be followed, we never had any general system of discipline ordered by authority to be implicitly complied with; on the contrary, a few review-regulations excepted, every commander-in-chief, or officer commanding a corps, adopted or invented such manœuvres as were thought proper. Neither was the manual exercise the same in all regiments met in the same garrison or camp; they could not act in brigade or line till the general officer commanding established a temporary uniform system."[1] The 'Rules and Regulations for the Cavalry' were also planned by General Dundas.

On the commencement of the war General Dundas was put on the

[1] Reide's Treatise on the 'Duty of Infantry Officers, and the present System of British Military Discipline.'

staff, and, in the autumn of 1793, was sent to command a body of troops at Toulon. While we were in possession of that place, it was determined by Admiral Lord Hood and General O'Hara, to dislodge the French from the heights of Arenes, on which they had erected a battery of heavy cannon, and from whence Bonaparte, who commanded it, annoyed the town and citadel exceedingly. For this service General Dundas was selected, having under his command 2300 British allies. The approaches to the French lines were very strong and intricate; he had a bridge to cross, to march through olive-plantations, and ascend a hill cut in vine-terraces; yet, under all these disadvantages, he succeeded in taking the battery on the 20th of November. The French, however, who were very strong, attacked the assailants and dispossessed them of it, in consequence of which General Dundas was obliged to fall back on the town.

Shortly after his return the general was sent to the continent, to serve under the duke of York. In the action of the 10th of May, 1794, at Tournay, General Dundas distinguished himself greatly. During the unfortunate retreat through Holland he bore a very active part, particularly on the 30th of December, in taking Tuyl, where the French were strongly posted. In December, 1795, he was removed from the command of the 22d foot to that of the 7th dragoons. He was also appointed governor of Languardfort. On the resignation of General Morrison, from ill health, General Dundas was nominated quarter-master-general of the British army in 1797. When the army embarked on another expedition to Holland in 1799, Dundas was one of the general officers selected by the commander-in-chief, and in all the principal engagements in that strong country he had his full share, particularly those of Bergen and Alkmaar, on the 2d and 6th of October.

On the death of Sir Ralph Abercromby, General Dundas succeeded him in the command of the 2d or North British dragoons. He also succeeded him in the government of Forts George and Augustus, in North Britain. In the summer of 1801 he was second in command under the commander-in-chief of the grand army which was formed on Bagshot heath.

On the 12th of March, 1803, he resigned the quarter-master-generalship, and was put on the staff, as second in command under the duke of York. His majesty was pleased also, as a particular mark of his royal regard, to invest him with the order of the Bath.

On the resignation of the duke, Sir David was appointed commander-in-chief, and held this important office until the duke's restoration to his military honours. In 1813 he was appointed colonel of the 1st or king's regiment of dragoon guards, but thenceforth took little share in military affairs during the remainder of his life, which terminated on the 18th of February, 1820.

The reputation of Sir David Dundas rests principally on his abilities as a tactician. He was much respected by the army, and esteemed in private life.

Henry Grattan.

BORN A. D. 1750.—DIED A. D. 1820.

THIS eloquent and patriotic statesman was born in the year 1750. His mother was a sister of the witty Dean Morley. His father, who was an Irish barrister, and recorder of Dublin, had derived from his talents and reputation for integrity a competent share of practice in his profession; but he was not rich, and young Grattan had been early taught to depend, for his future fame and fortune, on the exertion of his own powers.

At the usual age he was entered a student of Trinity college, Dublin, where he was soon distinguished as the powerful competitor of two class-fellows whose good fortune and talents afterwards raised them to the highest situations in the state,—Mr Fitzgibbon, chancellor of Ireland, and Mr Forster, speaker of the house of commons. He afterwards resided in the Temple in London, and was intimately acquainted with Hugh Boyd, and Mr Eden, afterwards Lord Auckland. He is said to have been so straitened for money at this time that, in order to afford himself the means of purchasing books, he was compelled frequently to content himself with a scanty allowance of food. He was indefatigably industrious, and so anxious not to lose a moment in sleep which ought to be devoted to study, that he contrived a singular apparatus to rouse him regularly at day-break. A small barrel, filled with water, was placed over a basin which stood on a shelf immediately above his pillow, and the cock of it was sufficiently turned to fill the basin by day-light; so that, if he did not then rise, the water flowed over upon his person.

After taking a degree, Mr Grattan was, in 1772, called to the Irish bar, and for a few years attended the four courts with an empty bag, and a mind too elastic to be confined to the forms of pleading, and too liberal to be occupied by the pursuits of a mere lawyer. Disgusted with a profession in which he thought he could never rise but by habits to which he could not crouch, he retired from the bar; but it was not long before he was made known to Lord Charlemont. By his lordship, who had always shown equal sagacity in discovering and zeal in promoting genius, he was returned to parliament for his borough of Charlemont.

Entering into the legislature under such auspices, it was natural to expect that Mr Grattan would become the advocate of his then suffering and dependent country. Ireland, indeed, at that time, was in a state of perfect humiliation, being considered merely as a province to the sister country. Her legislature was a petty council incapable of originating laws, and her courts of justice subordinate to those of England, and incompetent to a final decision; destitute of foreign commerce, from which she had been excluded by British monopoly, her manufactures were crushed, and the industry of her people checked for want of encouragement; in short, discontent, bankruptcy, and wretchedness, covered the face of the country. To evils of such magnitude—which the calamities brought on by the unfortunate contest with America

greatly aggravated—the narrow policy of the times was applying temporary palliatives. Subscriptions were collected to keep the artificers from famishing; associations were formed to wear only domestic manufactures; and parliament itself looked no further than to alleviate the pressure of the immediate evil. Mr Grattan, however, whose mind was formed to embrace something beyond present objects, perceived that the root of those calamities was not a temporary stagnation of trade from the American war, but rather to be found in the unjust restraints imposed by Great Britain on the exertions of the country. He was the first, therefore, who had the boldness and the wisdom to urge the legislature to complain of those restraints; his efforts were seconded by the unanimous voice of the country; and such was the efficacy of a political truth, thus urged, and thus supported, that even the whole force of British influence was found unequal to resist it. The Irish legislature adopted the sentiment; and, after some hesitation on the part of the British parliament, the commerce of Ireland was in part thrown open. A temporary gleam of satisfaction was shed over the country by this concession, as it was called, of the British parliament; for so accustomed had the people been to exclusion, to penalties, and to restriction, that a relaxation or suspension of any of these was looked on as the conferring of a positive benefit, rather than the cessation of an actual injury.

Mr Grattan's name was now become an object of adoration to the people, and by the volunteer associations which the dangers of the war had called forth, he was looked up to with peculiar respect. In this state of affairs the reaction of popularity upon patriotism seemed to impart new energy to his mind. Mr Grattan continued to exert himself with indefatigable assiduity in the senate; and by leading the mind of the public, and even of the legislature itself, to the consideration of national rights, and the actual political situation of their common country with respect to England, he was clearing the way for that measure which he meditated,—a declaration of the legislature in favour of national independence. His eloquence, of a cast more warm and animated than either parliament or the people had usually felt, and exerted upon subjects on which the human mind is susceptible of the greatest degree of enthusiastic fervour, was gratified by complete success. Directed by an understanding which could catch the moment propitious to exertion, and proportion its zeal to its object, his parliamentary speeches taught a subjugated nation to pant for independence; while the public voice, highly animated by the subject, and seconded by the assent of 80,000 men in arms, kindled, even in the cold bosom of parliament itself, a desire to assert its dignity, and rescue its authority from the gripe of British usurpation. Of this sentiment, so novel in an Irish legislature that had long forgotten the pride of independence, Mr Grattan availed himself; and by one of those extraordinary displays of impassioned eloquence, to which even the eloquent cannot rise unless assisted by the inspiration of a great subject, he obtained the celebrated declaration that the king, lords, and commons of Ireland only could make laws to bind Ireland.

Mr Grattan's popularity was now at a height almost without example. The achievement of a nation's independence by an individual, unaided by any force or any influence but that which genius and which

truth afford, was considered as the result of talents and of virtue almost above the lot of humanity. The legislature itself seemed for once to participate in the feelings of the people; for, in the fervour of admiration, it was proposed that £100,000 should be voted him as a mark of approbation. In its full extent this proposition was not adopted; for, on a subsequent sitting, when the vote was before the committee, they reduced it, at the express instance of his own particular friends, to £50,000: to that amount, however, the grant was confirmed, and Mr Grattan actually received the money.

The declaration of rights of the Irish legislature, however unwelcome it must have been to the minister and parliament of England, was received with that kind of placid acquiescence with which we assent to what is inevitable. A negotiation was immediately instituted between the two nations, which terminated in the repeal of the 6th of Geo. I., the act by which the British parliament declared its right to bind Ireland by British statutes. On the subject of this repeal a question arose, which suspended for a considerable time Mr Grattan's popularity. It was contended by Mr Flood, that as the 6th of Geo. I. was an act only declaratory of a right asserted by the British parliament, the "simple repeal" of the statute did not involve a renunciation of the right: and he insisted that, notwithstanding the repeal, Great Britain might, and from her former conduct towards Ireland, probably would, resume the exercise of it. He therefore would advise the legislature to demand of the British parliament a full and explicit renunciation of all claim in future to bind Ireland. This opinion was adopted by the people, and met very powerful support even in both houses of parliament. Mr Grattan, whose sagacity this objection to a simple repeal had eluded, or who really did not deem it of sufficient importance for which to hazard the disturbing of the late happy arrangements, applied all his powers of reason and eloquence to combat this doctrine of Mr Flood. He contended that the repeal of a declaratory law, accompanied by such circumstances as had attended this, must be considered as implying a renunciation of the right; but, even if it were not so, and Great Britain should be so unjust and impolitic as to resume the right when she should recover means to support it by power, an explicit renunciation would be but a slender defence against injustice supported by force; that in such circumstances the true security of the people would consist, not in an act of parliament, but in that patriotic energy which would enable them to defend, as it had already enabled them to assert, their independence; and that to force Great Britain, in this her hour of distress, to confess herself an usurper, by an express renunciation of a right which she had exercised, would be as ungenerous to her as it would be useless to Ireland. With the people these arguments had no weight, and in the senate they were borne down by the irresistible force of that pride for which they were indebted alone to the recollection of Mr Grattan's victories.

Frustrated in the hope of carrying on exclusively to its completion a revolution—for such it may be called—which he had so successfully and honourably commenced, and finding the tide of popularity running against him, Mr Grattan seems for some time to have completely secluded himself from politics.

Though, during this period, Mr Grattan did not take an active part

in political affairs, he remained still in parliament and voted as his conscience bade, sometimes with and sometimes against the minister. Towards the close of the year 1785, when, under cover of a commercial arrangement, it was supposed a design had been formed by the British ministry to subvert the newly-acquired independence of the Irish parliament, we find him again alert and vigilant at his post. Among the celebrated proposals which were then offered to the house of commons in Ireland by an agent of the crown, and which are still remembered and execrated in that country by the name of 'Orde's Propositions, one was, "that the parliament of Ireland, in consideration of being admitted to participate equally with Great Britain in all commercial advantages, should from time to time adopt and enact all such acts of the British parliament as should relate to the regulation or management of her commerce," &c. The proposition, it was contended, would sink the parliament of Ireland into a mere register to the British legislature; and this opinion was entertained not only by the public in general, but by some of the ablest men in both houses; among them by Mr Grattan, who gave to the whole system the most unqualified and strenuous opposition. This opposition proved successful, the measure was relinquished, and Mr Grattan thenceforward continued to resist, with the most zealous and persevering firmness, what he called the principles of the 'old court,'—principles which he looked on as tending to degrade Ireland, by corruption and influence, to the same despicable and miserable state to which she had been reduced previously to the year 1783.

From this period we find Mr Grattan an active leader of the country-party in the house of commons, loved by the people and dreaded by the cabinet. His popularity, which had so suddenly sunk on his acceptance of the parliamentary boon, and his support of the simple repeal, had now risen to its former level, and the nation found that he was still an upright and independent senator. Among the various measures which now occupied his attention was the establishment of a provision for the clergy independent of tithes. For many years the Catholic peasantry of Ireland had been discontented, not so much with the payment of tithes to Protestant pastors, as with the rigid and oppressive manner in which they had been collected by proctors and tithe-farmers. The country had been kept by this cause for almost half a century in disturbance. Mr Grattan proposed a measure which would have removed every discontent, and at the same time have secured a provision for the clergy equal to that which they then possessed, easy and certain to them, and to the peasantry neither oppressive nor unpleasant. This plan was, however, opposed by the collective influence of the established church, and of course rejected by the legislature. Another measure which he proposed to parliament about the same time, viz. a bill to promote the improvement of barren land, by exempting reclaimed ground from payment of tithes for seven years, was but little calculated to restore the favour of the priesthood; they accordingly resisted and defeated the project, and continued thenceforward to hate and calumniate its author.

The whig club had for some time become a political body of no small consideration. Mr Grattan was one of the first, if not the very first member in point of talent and popularity. At his instance it was that the members who had been since its institution the advocates of a liberal

system, which they considered necessary to the security of the constitution and independence of the country, came now to a resolution, by which they publicly pledged themselves never to accept offices under any administration which should not concede certain measures to the people:—these consisted principally of a pension-bill,—a bill to make the great officers of the crown responsible for their advice and measures,—another to prevent revenue-officers from voting at elections,—and a place-bill. This explicit declaration of a sincere and fixed purpose respecting these essential subjects, gave the society much weight with the public, and enabled them, after a long opposition on the part of administration, to effect their purpose.

The celebrity which Mr Grattan had attained by his opposition to Mr Orde's system, and his subsequent exertions in the popular cause, procured for him, in the year 1790, an honourable and easy election as representative for the metropolis. During the existence of the parliament which then commenced, there occurred, however, a question on which Mr Grattan and a very considerable proportion of his constituents materially differed; this was the claim of the Catholics to the elective franchise. From his first entrance into parliament he had always been the decided friend of every measure which tended to abolish those political distinctions, which are founded only on a difference of religious tenets. The corporation of the city of Dublin, prone by situation and habit to religious bigotry, looked on the Catholics at once with suspicion and contempt. Enjoying a monopoly of municipal honour and emoluments, by the exclusion of all who professed a different faith, from the franchises of the capital, they considered every attempt to restore them to those franchises as an attack upon their property, or a violation of their rights. Besides these causes the then administration had, by some recent institutions, obtained a paramount influence in the corporation; and to perpetuate religious distinctions, which had hitherto kept Ireland weak, was still the court-policy. This influence, therefore, operating in conjunction with other causes, rendered the municipal officers of Dublin incapable of participating in that increased liberality of sentiment which had now every where begun to dissipate prejudice and dispel bigotry. On the question of admitting the Catholics to the privileges of the constitution, the corporation and Mr Grattan accordingly differed; and had not circumstances occurred which prevented him from becoming again a candidate for the capital, there was no chance of his being a second time elected its representative.

The war with France had now taken place; Mr Grattan approved of it, or rather he considered Ireland as bound, with all its might, to assist Great Britain, when once engaged in the contest. This, at least, was the opinion entertained by him during the short administration of Lord Fitzwilliam; and in this opinion he remained until he found that the continuation of hostilities threatened the empire with ruin, either from the incapacity of those by whom it was conducted, or the murmurs which it occasioned. During the debates on the union Mr Grattan was returned for Wicklow, for the express purpose of opposing a measure so hateful to Ireland, which he did with peculiar force.

In the British senate some of Mr Grattan's countrymen, who had been transplanted from the Irish to the British house of commons, seemed to sink beneath their former rank; but Mr Grattan in England

displayed all the force of eloquence, and splendour of thought and diction, which had so often been hailed by his countrymen in their own capital. The genius of Mr Grattan could live and bloom when torn from the beloved spot which gave it birth. Some of his speeches on the Catholic question have not been excelled by the greatest of native British orators. Yet he did not, of late years, indulge in the full expression of that passion and feeling which distinguished his early eloquence. He had adopted a principle of moderation, caution, and apparent equivocation, in all extreme questions, from which his latter speeches never departed; and to some he did not latterly seem to be the patriot and reformer who had half-won back the liberties of his country. His speech in 1815, on the occasion of the return of Napoleon from Elba, in which he gave countenance to the cause of legitimacy, astonished all his friends. His zeal for emancipation, however, increased with his years; only a few months before his death, he undertook to present the petition of the Irish Catholics, and to support it in parliament, although it was strongly urged by his friends that the exertion would be incompatible with his age and declining health. "I should be happy," he exclaimed, on this occasion, "to die in the discharge of my duty!" He had scarcely arrived in London with the petition, when his debility increased, and he expired on the 14th of May, 1820.

"A question," says Sir Richard Phillips, in his sketch of Mr Grattan in the 'Monthly Magazine,' which we have adopted with a few alterations in this article, "a question forces itself upon our attention here, which we will not shun. The enviable honour of being the author of Junius, has been successively given to various public characters, but more especially to Mr Burke, Mr Hugh Boyd, and Sir Philip Francis. The genius of Mr Burke was more than equal to all the finest qualities of that delightful work; but the character of his style is so different, that even the facility of his powers could not have borrowed a style, and used it with the ease and grace that adorns Junius. Neither Mr Hugh Boyd nor Sir Philip Francis possessed the extent of the powers and talents of Junius. They were inferior men, and look more like pigmies than giants when placed beside such a colossus as Junius. Mr Grattan possessed all the qualities which distinguished Junius, and some of them even in a greater degree; that is to say, the occasions of his orations were sometimes of a more elevated nature. All the strongest lines of Junius's style were in those of Mr Grattan. We have no room to develope this; but we should be surprised if no person of experience who reads this should recollect their saying to themselves and friends, when listening to Grattan,—'That is Junius! Junius could be no other man!' The early years of Grattan, at the time Junius appeared, has been objected. But Grattan was then about eighteen; and if a youth of that age could not be supposed to have all the knowledge of Junius, especially of the political position of affairs and parties, such a youth as Grattan could receive and understand all information respecting it, and could clothe the thoughts of others and of himself with a splendour which was exclusively his own. Junius might have been the production of a little junto, and probably was; but one hand chiefly wielded the pen, and the hand seems most like to the hand-writing of Grattan. When the editor of this Miscellany was engaged, a few years since, in preparing an edition of Junius, he addressed Mr Grat-

tan on the subject, but received the following negation to the hypothesis that Mr Grattan was Junius:—

'Sir,—I can frankly assure you that I know nothing of Junius, except that I am not the author. When Junius began I was a boy, and knew nothing of politics, or the persons concerned in them. Our friend my countryman was mistaken, and did me an honour I had no pretensions to.

I am, Sir, your—not Junius—but your
very good-wisher and obedient servant,
H. Grattan.'

Dublin, Nov. 4, 1805.

"This denial the editor communicated to the widow of Mr Boyd, who certainly believed that Mr Boyd, Mr Grattan, and perhaps Mr Eden and Mr Lauchlin Maclean, were joint-partners in the production of the letters signed Junius. It may be worth while to annex her reply, as furnishing further elucidation of the subject: 'I am sorry you troubled Mr Grattan, whose denial must be believed. If he was a boy when Junius began, what must Mr B. have been, who was a year younger than Mr G.; but Mr G. forgets dates, for he was in England in 67, and I remember our dining with him in the autumn of 69, when he and the present Judge Day resided in a cottage in Windsor Forest.' The editor was induced to challenge Mr Grattan by the following passages in previous letters from Mrs Boyd, and also by recollections of Mr Jesse Foot, the eminent surgeon of Dean-street, Soho, who knew Boyd, Grattan, and Eden, and believes they were the joint authors of Junius. The editor conceives, however, that Lauchlin Maclean was one of the junto, for in his conversation with the late marquess of Lansdowne, the marquess asked him emphatically, 'What does Almon say of Maclean?' And Mr Galt, in his 'Majola' preserves an American anecdote of Maclean, which confirms the fact of his participation. 'I have no proof of Mr Boyd's being Junius, my opinion being conjectural; however, long before Mr Almon's suggestions attracted the public attention, I was clearly of opinion that Mr Boyd was the joint-author of those far-famed letters. I surmised it before he left England, and above twenty years ago, in a confidential conversation with a relation of great taste and superior talents, my reasons and conjectures were thought convincing. A celebrated character now living, I suppose to have written conjointly with Mr Boyd the letters of Junius, for they were much together, the table was always covered with papers, and they were always writing, being always disconcerted whenever I went near the table.'

"'A celebrated orator was acquainted with Mr Boyd from boyhood, and they admired each other's great talents, without envy, often arguing, ever with temper, criticism and politics their chief subject. During the publication of Junius he was frequently at our house, and when I used unexpectedly to enter the parlour I found them seated at a table, on which were various papers that they would instantly cover, and in polite terms request my absence, as they were particularly busy, and oftentimes Mr Boyd would be writing at a desk in a large inner closet which he generally bolted when alone. I should be sorry to impose on the public, but there can be no imposition in my believing, from the

concurrence of many circumstances, that Mr B. was Junius, with the aid and assistance of his friend. There was one letter highly polished, which I believe to have been Mr B.'s, and which I particularly admired, my praise of which he always seemed to be particularly pleased with, and there is one of great severity which I have always attributed to his friend.'

"Of Mr Grattan's private life there is but little generally known, because little had occurred in it to interest attention. It had passed on in a smooth manner, marked equally by the practice of every conjugal and domestic virtue. In his private intercourse, Mr Grattan displayed manners that were in a high degree pleasing. Wit he seemed not to possess, and he had a cast of mind too lofty for humour; but if he did not 'set the table in a roar,' or dazzle with the radiance of fancy, he diffused over the convivial hour the mild charms of good humour, and softened society with unassuming gentleness.

"As a public speaker, Mr Grattan ranked in the highest class. In his orations there is a grandeur which marks a mind of superior order, and enforces at once reverence and admiration. On every subject which he treats, he throws a radiance that enlightens without dazzling; and while it assists the judgment, delights the imagination. His style is always peculiar, for it varies its character with the occasion. At one time close and energetic, it concentrates the force of his argument, and compels conviction; at another, diffuse, lofty, and magnificent, it applies itself to every faculty of the mind, charms our fancy, influences our will, and convinces our understanding. At all times his manner was animated with a pleasing warmth, which rendered it impossible to hear him without interest; but on some occasions he exerted a power which was irresistible. Prostitution, under his influence, forgot for a moment the voice of the minister; and place, pension, and peerage, had but a feeble hold even of the most degenerate."[1]

On the 14th of June, according to the practice of the house, Sir James Mackintosh rose to move, that the speaker should issue a new writ for the election of a citizen to serve in parliament for the city of Dublin, in the room of the late Right Hon. Henry Grattan, deceased. He said it had been the custom to limit addresses delivered upon occasions similar to the present, to cases of death occurring under peculiar circumstances, or in the public service. Excepting in cases of considerable merit, that limit had not been exceeded; and in this particular he thought parliament had acted rightly. The honourable and learned gentleman, after adverting to the nature and character of those cases,

[1] The reader may contrast with this eulogy of Sir Richard Phillips, the following account of Grattan's displays in parliament by an anonymous writer:—"You saw a little, oddly-compacted figure of a man, with a large head and features, such as they give to pasteboard masks, or stick upon the shoulders of Punch in the puppet-show, rolling about like a mandarin, sawing the air with his whole body from head to foot,—sweeping the floor with a roll of parchment which he held in one hand, and throwing his legs and arms about like the branches of trees tossed by the wind; every now and then striking the table with impatient vehemence, and in a sharp, slow, nasal, guttural tone, drawling forth with due emphasis and discretion a set of little smart antithetical sentences, all ready cut and dry, polished and pointed, that seemed as if they would lengthen out in succession to the crack of doom. Alliterations were tacked to alliterations,—inference was dove-tailed into inference,—and the whole derived new brilliancy and piquancy from the contrast it presented to the uncouthness of the speaker, and the monotony of his delivery."

went on to observe, that it was hardly justifiable to address the house in that manner upon any case which did not possess, besides a character of transcendent merit, some particular and individual claims upon parliamentary consideration. While it was reasonably to be expected that, if these proceedings were prefaced in the manner in which he could wish to preface his present address, they should be of adequate importance and merit, he thought that there could be no reason to suspect the sincerity of any part of the house in giving their concurrence to them; and he would add, that in speaking of names so celebrated, they must act under the peculiar disadvantage of speaking, as it might be said, in the presence of posterity, which must review, and might reverse, their decision. Having stated these conditions, he had only to add the name of Grattan, and the house must be convinced that he was justified in this view of the subject. The first of those peculiar claims, in the present instance, was to be traced in the most memorable occasion of Mr Grattan's life. As far as he knew, Mr Grattan was the only man of this age who had received a parliamentary reward for services rendered in parliament, although he was then only a private gentleman without civil or military honours. He was the only person to whom such a recompense had been voted under such honourable circumstances. It was now nearly forty years since the commons of Ireland voted an estate for him and for his family, not indeed as a recompense, because it was wholly impossible to recompense such services,—but, as the vote itself expressed it, "as a testimony of the national gratitude for great national services." These were the words of the grant. He need not remind the house what those services were, or what were the peculiar terms on which they were acknowledged: the only thing necessary to be said was this,—that he was the founder of the liberties of his country. He found that country a dependent province upon England, and he made her a friend and an equal; he gave to her her native liberties, and he called to the enjoyment of their freedom a brave and generous people. So far as he knew, this was the only man recorded in history who had liberated his country from the domination of a foreign power, not by arms and blood, but by his wisdom and eloquence. It was his peculiar felicity that he enjoyed as much consideration in that country, whose power over his own he had done his utmost to decrease, as he enjoyed in that for which he had achieved that important liberation. But there were still more peculiar features in the general character and respect which he was so fortunate as to maintain in both kingdoms. It must be admitted that no great political services could be rendered to mankind without incurring a variety of opinions, and of honourable political enmities. It was then to be considered as the peculiar felicity of the man whose loss they deplored, that he survived them for a period of forty years: he survived till the mellowness of time, and the matured experience of age, had subdued every feeling of hostility, and had softened down every political enmity. If it were possible that in that divided assembly any honour could now be paid to that exalted individual equal to that which he had enjoyed in life, it would be clearly that which should be an unanimous recognition of his meritorious character. He need not remind the house, that the name of Grattan would occupy a great space in the page of history; for it would be connected with the greatest events of

the last century. Fertile as the British empire had been in great men during our days, Ireland had undoubtedly contributed her full share of them. But none of these,—none of her mighty names,—not even those of Burke and Wellington,—were more certain of honourable fame, or would descend with more glory to future ages than that of Grattan. He had not touched, neither did he intend to touch upon any question which might have a tendency to provoke political discussion; he meant no allusion which should apply to any opinions entertained by honourable gentlemen; but he might be allowed to observe that those opinions of his great public services which had obtained for Mr Grattan the gratitude of his country in the year 1782, were totally distinct from those which might be formed upon other subsequent acts of his, and particularly as regarded the union; for whatever those latter opinions might be, this at least was certain,—that no safe and lasting union could be formed between the two countries till they met upon equal terms, and as independent nations. What Mr Grattan said, therefore, of the union—which he trusted might be lasting to eternity—was this, —that instead of receiving laws from England, the Irish members in this country would now take their full share and equal participation of the duties of legislation, and of the conduct of the affairs of both kingdoms. It resulted, therefore, that the reward which Mr Grattan had formerly received was equally good and merited, and that he was still equally entitled to the approbation of his countrymen. If he might be permitted to mention the circumstance, he would observe that there was one strong peculiarity in Mr Grattan's parliamentary history, which was, perhaps, not true of any other man who ever sat in that house. He was the sole person in the history of modern oratory, of whom it could be said that he had obtained the first class of eloquence in two parliaments, differing from each other in their opinions, tastes, habits, and prejudices,—as much possibly as any two assemblies of different nations. He was confessedly the first orator of his own country. He had come over to this country at the time when the taste of that house had been rendered justly severe by its daily habit of hearing speakers such as the world had never before witnessed. He had therefore to encounter great names on the one hand, and unwarrantable expectations on the other. These were his difficulties, and he overcame them all. He surpassed his friends' expectations, and he made others bend to the superiority of his genius, who had, perhaps, formed a very different estimation of his powers. This great man died in the attempt to discharge his parliamentary duties. He did not, indeed, die in that house, but he died in his progress to the discharge of those duties. He expired in the public service, sacrificing his life with the same willingness and cheerfulness with which he had ever devoted his exertions to the same cause. It was not for him to define what those services and exertions were. He called on no man to remodel or to alter his former opinions, relative to that great measure which Mr Grattan was about once more to propose to them; but he would only mention that Mr Grattan considered it in the same light as he had always done. Mr Grattan risked his life to come into that house for the purpose of so proposing it, because he believed that it would be the means of healing the long-bleeding wounds of his suffering country;—of establishing peace and harmony in a kingdom whose independence he had himself

achieved;—of transmitting to posterity, with the records of her political, the history of her religious liberation;—of vindicating the honour of the Protestant religion;—of wiping from it the last stain that dimmed its purity, and of supporting the cause of religious liberty, whose spirit went forth in emancipated strength at the Revolution, although its principle was long unknown to the reformers themselves. There was one important circumstance in the case of Mr Grattan, which was well entitled to observation: his was a case without alloy; it was an unmixed example for the admiration of that house. The purity of his life was the brightness of his glory. He was one of the few private men whose private virtues were followed by public fame; he was one of the few public men whose private virtues were to be cited as examples to those who would follow in his public steps. He was as eminent in his observance of all the duties of private life as he was heroic in the discharge of his public ones. Among those men of genius whom he had the happiness of knowing he had always found a certain degree of simplicity accompanying the possession of that splendid endowment; but among all the men of genius he had known he had never found such native grandeur of soul accompanying all the wisdom of age, and all the simplicity of genius, as in Mr Grattan. He had never known one in whom the softer qualities of the soul had combined so happily with the mightier powers of intellect. In short, if he were to describe his character briefly, he should say, "Vita innocentissimus; ingenio florentissimus; proposito sanctissimus." As it had been the object of his life, so it was his dying prayer that all classes of men might be united by the ties of amity and peace. The last words which he uttered were, in fact, a prayer that the interests of the two kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland might be for ever united in the bonds of affection; that they might both cling to their ancient and free constitution; and—as most conducive to effect both these objects—that the legislature might at length see the wisdom and propriety of adopting a measure which should efface the last stain of religious intolerance from our institutions. He trusted that he should not be thought too fanciful if he expressed his hope that the honours paid to Mr Grattan's memory in this country might have some tendency to promote the great objects of his life, by showing to Ireland how much we valued services rendered to her, even at the expense of our own prejudices and pride. The man who had so served her must ever be the object of the reverential gratitude and pious recollection of every Irishman. When the illustrious dead of different kingdoms were at length interred within the same cemetery, there would seem to be a closer union between them than laws and nations could effect; and whenever the remains of the great man should be carried to that spot where slept the ashes of kindred greatness, those verses might be applied to him which had been elicited on another occasion of public sorrow from a celebrated poet, who resembled Mr Grattan in nothing but this,—that to a beautiful imagination he united a spotless purity of life:

> 'Ne'er to these chambers where the mighty rest,
> Since their foundation, came a nobler guest;
> Nor ever to the bowers of bliss conveyed
> A purer spirit or a holier shade.'

Sir James Mackintosh was followed in a similar strain of panegyric by Lord Castlereagh, Mr Grant, Mr Wilberforce, and others. Mr Grattan was publicly interred in Westminster abbey on the 16th of June. The spot of earth dedicated to his mortal remains adjoins that which incloses the dust of Pitt and of Fox.

Mr Grattan's speeches were collected and published by his son, in four volumes 8vo., in 1821. The following is the peroration of his celebrated speech on introducing the 'Declaration of Irish Rights,' on the 19th of April, 1780: "There is no policy left for Great Britain but to cherish the remains of her empire, and do justice to a country who is determined to do justice to herself, certain that she gives nothing equal to what she received from us when we gave her Ireland.

"With regard to this country, England must resort to the free principles of government, and forget that legislative power which she has exercised to do mischief to herself. She must go back to freedom, which, as it is the foundation of her constitution, so it is the main pillar of her empire. It is not merely the connection of the crown, it is a constitutional annexation, an alliance of liberty, which is the true meaning and mystery of the sisterhood, and will make both countries one arm and one soul, replenishing from time to time in their immortal connection, the vital spirit of law and liberty from the lamp of each other's light. Thus combined by the ties of common interest, equal trade and equal liberty, the constitution of both countries may become immortal, a new and milder empire may arise from the errors of the old, and the British nation assume once more her natural station, the head of mankind.

"That there are precedents against us, I allow. Acts of power I would call them, not precedents; and I answer the English pleading such precedents, as they answered their kings, when they urged precedents against the liberty of England. Such things are the weakness of the times; the tyranny of one side, the feebleness of the other, the law of neither. We will not be bound by them; or rather, in the words of the Declaration of Right, 'No doing judgment, proceeding, or any wise to the contrary shall be brought into precedent or example.' Do not then tolerate a power—the power of the British parliament over this land—which has no foundation in utility, or necessity, or empire, or the laws of England, or the laws of Ireland, or the laws of nature, or the laws of God,—do not suffer it to have a duration in your mind.

"Do not tolerate that power which blasted you for a century; that power which shattered your loom, banished your manufactures, dishonoured your peerage, and stopped the growth of your people; do not, I say, be bribed by an export of woollen or an import of sugar, and permit that power which has thus withered the land, to remain in your country, and have existence in your pusillanimity.

"Do not suffer the arrogance of England to imagine a surviving hope in the fears of Ireland; do not send the people to their own resolves for liberty, passing by the tribunals of justice and the high court of parliament; neither imagine that, by any formation of apology, you can palliate such a commission to your hearts, still less to your children, who will sting you with their curses in your grave for having interposed between them and their Maker, robbing them of an immense occasion,

and losing an opportunity which you did not create, and can never restore.

"Hereafter, when these things shall be history, your age of thraldom and poverty, your sudden resurrection, commercial redress, and miraculous armament, shall the historian stop at liberty, and observe,—that here the principal men among us fell into mimic trances of gratitude,—they were awed by a weak ministry, and bribed by an empty treasury,—and when liberty was within their grasp, and the temple opening her folding-doors, and the arms of the people clanged, and the zeal of the nation urged and encouraged them on, that they fell down, and were prostituted at the threshold?

"I might, as a constituent, come to your bar, and demand my liberty. I do call upon you, by the laws of the land and their violation, by the instruction of eighteen counties, by the arms, inspiration, and providence of the present moment, tell us the rule by which we shall go,—assert the law of Ireland,—declare the liberty of the land.

"I will not be answered by a public lie in the shape of an amendment; neither, speaking for the subject's freedom, am I to hear of faction. I wish for nothing but to breathe, in this our island, in common with my fellow-subjects, the air of liberty. I have no ambition, unless it be the ambition to break your chain, and contemplate your glory. I never will be satisfied so long as the meanest cottager in Ireland has a link of the British chain clanking to his rags: he may be naked, he shall not be in iron. And I do see the time is at hand, the spirit is gone forth, the declaration is planted; and though great men should apostatize, yet the cause will live; and though the public speaker should die, yet the immortal fire shall outlast the organ which conveyed it; and the breath of liberty, like the word of the holy man, will not die with the prophet, but survive him.

"I shall move you, that the king's most excellent majesty, and the lords and commons of Ireland, are the only power competent to make laws to bind Ireland."

John Eardley Wilmot.

BORN A. D. 1748.—DIED A. D. 1815.

MR WILMOT was the second son of Sir John Eardley Wilmot, Lord-chief-justice of the court of Common pleas, of whom a brief notice has been already presented to the reader. He was educated at Westminster and Oxford, and was originally intended for the church. It was for him that Warburton drew up those directions for a young clergyman's reading which were afterwards published by Hurd. The following curious indorsation was found in his father's handwriting on the back of the learned prelate's plan of study: "These directions were given me by Dr Warburton, bishop of Gloucester, for the use of my son when he proposed to go into orders; but, in the year 1771, he unfortunately preferred the bar to the pulpit, and instead of lying on a bed of roses, ambitioned a crown of thorns: 'Digne puer, meliore flamma!'"

In 1781 Mr Wilmot was appointed a master in Chancery by Lord-chancellor Thurlow. He had a few years previous to this entered par-

liament as member for Tiverton in Devon, and identified himself with the conciliation-party during the progress of the unhappy dispute with America. On the appearance of a ministerial pamphlet, in 1779, entitled 'A Short History of the Opposition,' in which it was contended that the revolt of the colonies had been originally suggested and afterwards supported and matured by the language and measures of an ambitious, disaffected, and dangerous minority in both houses of parliament, Mr Wilmot drew his pen, and in a sensible and calm but spirited reply flung back the insinuation on the party with whom it had originated.

On the accession of Shelburne to the premiership the member for Tiverton was appointed first commissioner for settling the claims of the American loyalists,—a difficult and delicate task, but one in which he acquitted himself to the satisfaction both of the public and the lords of the treasury. During the discussion of the treaty between France and America, in 1783, Mr Wilmot defended the Provisional articles relative to the American loyalists, speaking of whom he said: "I would share with them my last shilling, and my last loaf; and if the legislature of this country was not disposed to do them the justice they deserve, I would be the first to open a subscription in their favour, and commence it by giving a moiety of all I am worth in the world."

In the new commission on the bill brought in by the Coalition ministry for settling the claims of the American loyalists, Mr Wilmot was again placed at the head of the commissioners. The commission discharged their duties in an able and upright manner, and received the thanks of all parties for their conduct. On the 31st of March, 1790, they reported that claims to the amount of £10,358,413 had been presented, and that they had examined claims to the amount of £8,216,126.

Mr Wilmot supported Pitt's administration, but retired from parliament in May, 1796, and in 1804 resigned his mastership in chancery, and dedicated the remainder of his life to literary retirement. He died on the 23d of June, 1815. His acknowledged works are: 1. The Life of Hough, Bishop of Worcester; 2. Memoirs of Sir John E. Wilmot, Knt.; 3. A Short Defence of the Opposition; and, 4. Historical View of the Commission for inquiry into the Claims of the American Loyalists.

Charles, Duke of Norfolk.

BORN A. D. 1746.—DIED A. D. 1815.

THIS singular character was the second son of Charles Howard of Greystock in Cumberland, who succeeded collaterally to the title of Duke of Norfolk by his descent from Thomas, Earl of Arundel. His son, the subject of the present notice, became eleventh duke of Norfolk, on the demise of his father in August, 1786.

He was educated in the Roman Catholic faith, but publicly abjured the errors of that church in the year 1780, and soon afterwards obtained a seat in the house of commons as member for the city of Carlisle. He immediately joined the party in opposition to North, and on the accession of the Rockingham administration was appointed lord-lieutenant of the west riding of Yorkshire. He opposed Shelburne, but accepted

office under the duke of Portland, and, on the rise of Pitt, became a steady advocate for parliamentary reform, and joined the popular political societies of the day.

In 1798 he was discharged from his lieutenancy, and deprived of the command of a regiment of militia which he had trained with no common care, for having presided at the annual meeting of the whig club, and given as a toast 'The Majesty of the People.' Eight years afterwards, on the accession of his friend Fox, he was restored to his official honours. From this period, however, he assumed a more moderate tone in politics, and even supported the 'Property-tax Bill' of 1815, after Earl Grey had pronounced it an "unequal, vexatious, and oppressive measure." He was a uniform and zealous opponent of the slave-trade, however. He died in the last-mentioned year.

The duke possessed some literary talents and occasionally exercised a very judicious patronage of literary men; but he not unfrequently treated them with great harshness. In his private manners he was licentious in the extreme, and he treated the unhappy offspring of his amours with most unfeeling neglect and harshness. Shortly before his death he celebrated the centenary of the signature of Magna Charta in a grand festival at Arundel Castle.

Charles, Earl Stanhope.

BORN A. D. 1753.—DIED A. D. 1816.

THE Stanhopes are a Durham family. The first of the house ennobled was John Stanhope, who was created a baron by James I.; but his son dying without issue, the title became extinct. Alexander Stanhope, only son of Philip, Earl of Chesterfield, was created Baron Stanhope of Mahon in 1717, and obtained the title of Earl Stanhope in the following year. Philip, the second earl, was a man of literary tastes, and one of the first mathematicians of his age. He was, like his father, a whig in politics. He died in March, 1786, and was succeeded by his eldest surviving son, the subject of this notice, who was educated at Eton and Geneva.

On the death of his elder brother he became Viscount Mahon, and on his return to England was introduced to parliament through the influence of Lord Shelburne. In 1775 he published a small tract entitled 'Considerations on the means of preventing fraudulent practices on the Gold coin.' At a later period in life, he turned his attention also towards the prevention of forgery on bank-paper. His remedies or preventives in both cases were purely mechanical, and of doubtful efficacy. From the period of his first publication to within a few years of his death, Earl Stanhope employed himself in a variety of scientific researches, mostly of an economical nature, the fruits of which he occasionally laid before the public. He applied his ingenuity to the discovery of the best method of protecting houses against fire, and against the effects of lightning,—to the economy of planting and brick-making, —and to the improvement of the art of printing. He also published an essay on the 'Principles of the science of tuning Instruments with fixed Tones.'

In parliament he zealously opposed the American war, and made a variety of attempts to put down corrupt election practices. He ably exposed the absurdity of Pitt's plan for the reduction of the debt, but strenuously supported the minister in the discussion on the regency bill in 1788. In the same year he greatly distinguished himself by his exertions to purge the statute-book of various odious and inequitable penal laws; he was unsuccessful in his efforts, but he declared that he would persist in them to the latest moments of his public life, and that "if the right reverend bench of bishops would not allow him to load away their rubbish by cart-fulls, he would endeavour to carry it away in wheel-barrows; and, if that mode of removal were resisted, he would take it away if possible with a spade,—a little at a time."

Earl Stanhope was one of the founders of the 'Revolution society,' whose object was to cherish and perpetuate the principles of the British Revolution. At the annual meeting of this society, on the 5th of November, 1789, Dr Price preached, in the former part of the day, his famous discourse 'On the Love of our Country.' In this discourse the principles of government were stated in a mode which the sanction of a century had rendered familiar to Englishmen; and the great doctrines of civil and religious liberty inculcated. "The improvement of the world depends," the preacher affirmed, "on the attention given by men to this topic. Nor will mankind be ever as virtuous and happy as they are capable of being, till the attention to it becomes universal and efficacious. If we forget it, we shall be in danger of an idolatry as gross and stupid as that of the ancient heathens, who, after fabricating blocks of wood or stone, fell down and worshipped them." At the conclusion, expatiating on the friendly aspect of the times to the cause of liberty, the preacher broke out into the following exclamation: "What an eventful period is this! I am thankful that I have lived to it; and I could almost say, 'Lord! now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, for mine eyes have seen thy salvation.' I have lived to see a diffusion of knowledge which has undermined superstition and error; I have lived to see the rights of men better understood than ever, and nations panting for liberty which seemed to have lost the idea of it; I have lived to see thirty millions of people indignantly and resolutely spurning at slavery, and demanding liberty with an irresistible voice,—their king led in triumph, and an arbitrary monarch surrendering himself to his subjects. After sharing in the benefits of one revolution, I have been spared to be a witness to two other revolutions, both glorious; and now methinks I see the ardour for liberty catching and spreading, and a general amendment beginning in human affairs,—the dominion of kings changed for the dominion of laws, and the dominion of priests giving way to the dominion of reason and conscience. Be encouraged, all ye friends of freedom, and writers in its defence! The times are auspicious. Your labours have not been in vain! Behold kingdoms, admonished by you, starting from sleep, breaking their fetters, and claiming justice from their oppressors! Behold the light you have struck out, after setting America free, reflected to France, and there kindled into a blaze that lays despotism in ashes and warms and illuminates Europe!" Impressed with these sentiments, the society—whose numbers on this occasion far exceeded those of any former anniversary—unanimously resolved, on the motion of Dr Price, to offer, in a for-

mal address, "their congratulations to the National assembly, on the event of the late glorious revolution in France." This being transmitted by their chairman, Earl Stanhope, to the Duke de la Rochefoucault, and laid by that nobleman before the assembly, was received with loud acclamations. "It belonged," said Rochefoucault in his reply, "to Dr Price, the apostle of liberty, to propose a motion tending to pay to liberty the fairest homage,—that of national prejudices. In that address is seen the dawn of a glorious day, in which two adverse nations shall contract an intimate union, founded on the similarity of their opinions and their common enthusiasm for liberty." The archbishop of Aix, president of the National assembly, transmitted to Earl Stanhope the vote of the assembly relative to the address, stating "that the assembly was deeply affected with this extraordinary proof of esteem, and directing the president to express to the Revolution society, the lively sensibility with which the National assembly had received an address, breathing those sentiments of humanity and universal benevolence, that ought to unite together in all countries of the world the true friends of liberty, and the happiness of mankind." These were very decided proceedings, and exposed Earl Stanhope to no little misrepresentation and political hostility. His lordship, however, continued true to the cause in which he had thus embarked, and on the publication of Burke's celebrated speech on the French revolution, addressed a very spirited 'Letter in Answer' to the right honourable gentleman.

In 1792 Lord Stanhope warmly supported Fox's 'Libel Bill,' and published a small volume entitled 'The Rights of Juries Defended,' in which he describes trial by jury as "the impregnable Gibraltar of the English constitution," "the stronghold and fortress of the people." His lordship maintained a steady and consistent opposition to the war-measures against France. On the 6th of January, 1795, he moved, in his place in the upper house, a resolution which was not supported even by his own friends in the minority, but his lordship entered the following protest on the journals:

"*January 9th*, 1795.

"Dissentient. 1st. Because the motion made for the house to adjourn was professedly intended to get rid of the following resolution, viz. 'Resolved, that this country ought not, and will not interfere in the internal affairs of France; and that it is expedient explicitly to declare the same.'

"2dly. Because I hold that it is contrary to equity and justice for any foreign country to interfere in the internal affairs or constitution of the French republic, or of any other independent nation.

"3dly. Because the government of Great Britain, (not having been elected by the citizens of France,) can have no more right to give to France a monarchical, aristocratical, or other form of government whatever, than the crowned despots of Prussia and Russia had to overturn the constitution of (now unhappy) Poland.

"4thly. Because I highly disapprove and reprobate the doctrine advanced by ministers in the debate, namely, 'That to restore the ancient and hereditary monarchy of France no expense should be spared.' And I reprobate that pernicious and uncivic doctrine the more strongly, from its not having been suddenly, hastily, or inconsiderately started,

but from its having been taken up (as it was solemnly declared) upon the utmost deliberation.

"5thly. Because I deem it to be an injustice committed by ministers towards my fellow-citizens to adopt a principle which shall render it necessary for the government of Great Britain to lay further heavy burthens upon the people; and to tax their houses, their windows, their beer, their candles, their shoes, and many other conveniencies and necessaries of life, in order to provide a fund to attempt the accomplishment of such wicked purposes as aforesaid.

"6thly. Because the proposed resolution above stated was intended by me as a 'solemn pledge' that the government of this nation would not interfere in the internal affairs of France; but the refusal of the house to give such a pledge tends to shut the door to peace, and consequently tends to insure the ruin of this manufacturing, commercial, and once happy country: particularly considering the increased and rapidly increasing strength of the navy of the French republic, independently of the prospect there is of their having the navies of Holland and Spain under their immediate influence.

"7thly. Because the public funds, the paper currency, and the public and private credit of this country will probably be unequal to stand against the tremendous shock to which the ministers will now expose them.

"8thly. Because I think that frankness, fairness, humanity, and the principles of honesty and of justice, are always in the end the best policy. And I believe it to be true in regard to nations (as well as with respect to individuals) that 'nothing that is not just can be wise, or likely to be ultimately prosperous.'

"9thly. Because I lament the more that the house should refuse to disclaim the interfering in the internal constitution of France, inasmuch as by the new constitution of the French republic, one and indivisible, adopted by the present national convention, on the 23d of June, 1793, and under the title 'Of the Relation of the French republic with foreign nations,' and by the articles 118 and 119 of that constitution it is declared and enacted,

"'That the French people is the friend and natural ally of every free nation. It does not interfere with the government of other nations: it does not suffer that other nations should interfere with its own.'

"So frank, so fair, and so explicit a declaration on their part did, in my opinion, entitle them to a better species of return.

"10thly. Because I conceive that a true republican form of government being firmly established in France, is much more safe to the liberties of the people of Great Britain, than the tyrannical, capricious, perfidious, secret, intriguing, and restless, ancient monarchy of France, or than any other monarchy they could there establish; but even if I were of a direct opposite way of thinking, I would not be guilty of the gross injustice of attempting to force a monarchy upon them contrary to their inclination.

"11thly. Because I think that no war ought to be continued that can by a proper line of moderation be avoided; and the more especially with respect to the French people, who, by their republican exertions, republican enthusiasm, and republican courage, have made victory the almost constant 'order of the day.'

"12thly. Because the continuance of such a bloody contest without necessity, appears to be a profane tempting of Divine Providence, in whose benign and almighty hands the fate of battles and of empires is placed

"13thly. Because I wish to wash my hands entirely of the innocent blood that may be shed in this war with France, and of all the destruction, confusion, and devastation (perhaps of Great Britain itself) which may ensue.

"14thly. Because it was my object to preclude the government of Great Britain from attempting to stir up or excite insurrections in La Vendée, or any other department of the French republic, and the resolution I moved was well-calculated for that purpose.

"15thly. Because the maxim of 'Do not to others that which you would not wish done to yourself,' is an unerring rule, founded upon the clear principles of justice, that is to say of equality of rights. It is upon this strong and solid ground I make my stand. And all public men, in order to merit the confidence of the British people, must show their determination to act with frankness and with unequivocal good faith and justice towards the French republic.

"Having upon this important and momentous subject frequently stood alone, and having also been upon this last occasion totally unsupported in the division, if I should therefore cease at present to attend this house (where I have been placed by the mere accident of birth), such of my fellow-citizens as are friends to freedom, and who may chance to read this my solemn Protest, will find that I have not altered my sentiments or opinions: and that I have not changed any of my principles; for my principles never can be changed. And those fellow-citizens will also find, that I hereby pledge myself to my country, that I shall continue what I ever have been, a zealous and unshaken friend to peace, to justice, and to liberty, political, civil, and religious; and that I am determined to die (as I have lived) a firm and steady supporter of the unalienable rights and of the happiness of all mankind."

In the month of February, 1800, we find his lordship once more in his place in parliament, and moving the following resolution: "That an humble address be presented to his majesty, representing the horrors of war: that in all countries a state of peace is ever the interest of the people, and the shedding of blood, without absolute necessity, repugnant to humanity; and further representing that the present war has been expensive beyond example, productive of a great increase of the national debt, of taxes to an enormous amount, and of an alarming increase in the price of all the necessaries of life: and further representing, that peace is necessary to avert the impending danger of famine; for although the present scarcity is in the first instance occasioned by a scanty harvest, the extent of the evil arises from the war; and that it is the duty of this house strongly to dissuade his majesty from the continuance of the contest for the restoration of the ancient line of princes of the house of Bourbon to the throne of France: and to entreat that a negotiation may be immediately opened for peace with the French republic." The motion was rejected by an overwhelming majority. After this period his lordship took less interest in public measures, and lived in comparative retirement. His last years were imbittered by unfortunate family-disputes, in the course of which he

found himself deserted by all his family. He died on the 17th December, 1816.

His lordship, says the writer of the notice in the 'Annual Obituary,' "was one of the most singular men of the age in which he lived. In person he was tall, lank, with a polished forehead, which, on account of baldness, extended to the occiput. His countenance, of late years, was wan and pale, and shrivelled, so as to render him much older in appearance than in reality; while his locks were straight, stiff, and formal, sacred alike from hair-powder and the curling-irons, so as exactly to resemble Sir Harry Vane's portrait during the civil wars. A scorn of dress and of fashion seems to be hereditary; and so plain and simple was his appearance, that had it not been for a certain awkwardness in his gait and manner, in express defiance to the rules laid down by his celebrated kinsman, Philip Lord Chesterfield, he might, like his own father, the second earl, have been refused admission within the bar of the house of lords, accompanied with the remark of 'Good man, stand off; such as you must not come here.' One anecdote, on the score of philosophical oddity, will suffice. Sitting one day in company with his lordship, I perceived that his boots were rounded off in a particular manner, so as to be far more capacious than common. On inquiry, I found it to be his opinion, 'that, as iron joints work best in oil, so do those also composed of bone, muscle, and flesh!' His son, a fine young man, since dead, soon after confirmed this fact; and in respect to the reasoning, after due reflection, I am yet to learn why the rigidity and stiffness incident to age, and also to the unnatural constraint of a leathern shoe, may not in part be warded off, by means of an oleaginous composition."

John Courtenay.

BORN A. D. 1741.—DIED A. D. 1816.

THIS gentleman was a native of Ireland, where his family, though of English descent, once possessed immense estates. Viscount Townshend, when viceroy of Ireland, first brought him into political life, by appointing him his secretary, and getting him returned for the borough of Tamworth to the parliament which assembled in October, 1780. He did not, however, identify himself with ministers in his first appearances in the house, although on the resignation of Lord North he accompanied him into retirement.

In 1784 he opposed Pitt's 'Commutation Act,' and, in 1786, the duke of Richmond's plan of internal fortifications. He was one of the earliest and staunchest supporters of Wilberforce in his noble efforts to put down slavery. In 1797 we find him in the minority which supported Mr Grey's motion for parliamentary reform; and in 1805 he joined the same member in his motion relative to the Spanish papers. On the change of administration in 1806 Mr Courtenay became a commissioner of the treasury. He enjoyed office only a few months, after which he retired from public life. His death took place on the 24th of March, 1816. As an orator, Courtenay amused more frequently than he convinced: his speeches often displayed a glittering but harmless

poignancy which almost amounted to wit. Though a whig he wrote a laudatory poem on Johnson. He was also the author of 'A Series of Poetical Epistles on the Manners, Arts, and Politics of France and Italy;' of 'Philosophical Reflections (addressed to Priestley) on the Revolution in France;' and of a 'Poetical and Philosophical Essay' on the same subject, dedicated to Burke. To use a Johnsonian phrase, he was eminent as a talker.

Patrick Duigenan.

BORN A. D. 1735.—DIED A. D. 1816.

THIS celebrated character is generally supposed to have been the son of an Irish peasant. A Roman Catholic writer, who evidently owes his subject no good-will, says of him: "Dr Duigenan owes his birth to Paddy O'Dewgenan, and Joan his wife, two Catholics, who subsisted by tending cattle on one of the bleakest mountains of the county of Leitrim." He also maintains that he was intended for a priest, but converted by a Protestant clergyman, who kept a school, and raised him to the situation of his assistant. "With his elevation, our hero adopting new views, read his recantation, and changed his real name of O'Dewigenan, which he thought savoured too much of Popery, to the more Protestant appellation of Duigenan. Mr Duigenan, as we must now call him, remained at this school, till by the benevolent aid of his master, he acquired as much learning as enabled him to gain admission as a sizer to Trinity college, Dublin, where, conscious he was fighting *pro unguibus*, his application was so intense, that, though unassisted by any extraordinary talents, he obtained a scholarship, and afterwards in due time a fellowship, then the highest point of ambition to which he could aspire. Among the Irish Catholics it is universally observed that kiln-dried Protestants, (by which is meant those who have read their recantation from the church of Rome to that of England or Ireland,) are peculiarly intolerant and hostile to the members of their former communion."

However obscure his birth may have been, we soon find him taking a distinguished place amongst his fellow-colleagues at Dublin and rewarded with a lay-fellowship, of which only two are allowed by the statutes of that university. When Hely Hutchinson became provost, Duigenan exhibited his dissatisfaction at the appointment by the publication of a Latin poem entitled 'Lachrymæ Academicæ,' and immediately withdrawing from under his jurisdiction. He successively published a series of satirical pieces levelled against the provost, for which he was called to account by one of Hutchinson's admirers. Duigenan accepted the challenge sent him, but terrified his adversary into a compromise by appearing on the field armed with a huge blunderbuss with which he threatened to blow him to pieces.

In 1785 he was appointed king's advocate-general and a judge in the Prerogative court. In 1790 he was returned to the Irish parliament. "His adherence to the old high church principle," says one of his contemporaries, "finally procured him a seat in parliament, when the increasing liberality of public feeling made it likely that those prin-

ciples might need an advocate to support them. Sent to the senate by clerical influence, Dr Duigenan has never forgotten what he owes to his patrons, nor has he at any time omitted an occasion of inculcating on the house and the public the virtues, the poverty, and the loyalty of the clergy, or of holding out popery and sectarists as the enemies of God and of religion, of moral duty and of good government. It is not only against papists and sectarists, as such, that the caustic eloquence of Dr Duigenan is directed; the Irish, as distinguished from the British settler and their descendants in Ireland, are equally, at times, the smarting victims of his tongue; even a name sounding like that of an Irishman, or an Irish Catholic, furnishes a theme for the parliamentary invectives of the learned doctor. The unfortunate name of Keogh, which belonged to a man some time active in the cause of emancipation and reform, has more than once been pronounced by Dr Patrick Duigenan in a manner, and a tone, which, while it entertained the senate, spoke his contempt and scorn for Irish gutturals. It would be doing great injustice to this learned gentleman to insinuate that he is an indolent senator, except when the concerns of the church call for his exertions; the fact is, he is one of the most zealous supporters of the Irish administration, and the most devoted enemy of sedition in every form; but it must be acknowledged that his powers are most happily raised when the interests of the clergy combine with the safety of the state, and when he labours at once for God and for his country. Hence it is that he calls forth his finest figures, and flames with most heat, when he opposes such a man as Mr Grattan, who so mistakingly would engraft religious freedom on civil liberty. Indeed, against such men as Mr Grattan, the doctor delights to pitt himself. Even when that gentleman had retired from parliament, his address to his constituents, and some other trifles which appeared in public under his name, excited the attention, and roused the fire of the doctor. He attacked them in a pamphlet so much in the doctor's strong way, so vehement, we do not say so scurrilous and so abusive, that Mr Grattan thought himself called upon to give the gentleman, who had taken so much offence at him, some other way of obtaining satisfaction than mere writing would afford him; he accordingly left London, went to Dublin, and after publishing an advertisement in most of the London and Dublin papers, in which he applied the strongest epithets of contempt to the doctor's publication, gave notice, that for a certain number of days, in the advertisement mentioned, he should be found at Keams's hotel, in Kildare-street. The doctor, however, on this occasion, showed himself a well-disposed subject, who could not easily be persuaded to break the peace: he exerted no sagacity in finding out Mr Grattan's meaning, and Mr G. knowing, perhaps, the danger of giving an ecclesiastical judge a more explicit declaration of it, returned after some time to England. It is remarkable, that Dr Duigenan is at present a widower. His wife was a very rigid Catholic; and notwithstanding the vehemence of his declaration against popery, with his strong opposition to every popish claim, he kept constantly, during his wife's life, a Catholic priest in his house, as her confessor and chaplain. He is still a healthy, strong man, though in declining years: whether he will a second time connect himself with the abominations of Babylon, is a matter of curious speculation."

He was the first member who ventured to propose a union with Great

Britain. At the time of his death, which happened on the 11th of April, 1816, he was an Irish privy-counsellor; vicar-general of the metropolitan court of Armagh, of the dioceses of Meath and Elphin, and of the consistorial court of Dublin; judge of the prerogative court; king's advocate-general of the high court of admiralty; professor of civil law in the university of Dublin, and LL. D.

He was a man of very considerable powers, but violent to an extreme in all his actions, and not without reason suspected of sycophancy to ministers.

Sir Roger Curtis.

BORN A. D. 1750.—DIED A. D. 1816.

This gallant admiral was born at Downton in Wilts, where his father was an opulent farmer. He early evinced a decided predilection for the sea, and was allowed to gratify his inclination. He entered the service under Captain, afterwards Admiral, Barrington, as a midshipman on board the Venus. In 1771 he became a lieutenant, and in 1776 was appointed commander of the Senegal sloop of war. His services on the North American station recommended him to the notice of Admiral Lord Howe, who promoted him to the rank of post-captain, in which capacity he materially contributed to the reduction of New York, Rhode Island, and Philadelphia. In 1781 he greatly distinguished himself by his able service in throwing supplies into Gibraltar, and in the following year he contributed greatly to the gallant defence of that place made by Governor Elliot against the Spanish and French forces, as appears from the following extract from the governor's despatches:—

"The Spanish squadron having gone to the eastward of the rock, and formed in a line, (the admiral leading,) came before the batteries of Europa, and under a very slow sail, commenced a fire from all their guns until the last ship had passed. They repeated their manœuvre at two o'clock the following morning, and again in the forenoon of the same day. These successive cannonades did not any way damage the works. Some of the leading ships having been pretty frequently struck by our shot, they afterwards kept at a greater distance. Two Spanish ships went early in that morning to Algeziras to repair, as we imagine. All the batteries at Europa were manned by the marine brigade encamped there, with a small proportion of artillerists. The guns were extremely well laid and pointed; the whole under the immediate command of Brigadier Curtis. But the 13th of September was the epoch fixed upon for the grand attack, and as many of the Spanish vessels were deemed indestructible by fire, in consequence of a new invention by General D'Arçon, a French engineer, it was expected that a serious impression would be made. The following is the total amount of the combined force brought into action upon the present memorable occasion:—1. Spanish ships of three decks, 2;—2. Of the line, 28;—3. French ships of three decks, 5;—4. Of the line, 9;—5. Spanish ships of from fifty to sixty guns, 3;—6. Battering ships, 10;—7. Floating battery, 1;—8. Bomb ketches, 5. In addition to these 63 sail, are

to be included an immense flotilla consisting of frigates, xebecs, gun and mortar boats, together with 300 large shallops to carry troops; so that, in the event of the fire of the garrison being silenced, a landing was to have been attempted. About eight o'clock in the morning the Spanish battering ships got under weigh, and by ten they were all placed in their respective stations. From the ten battering ships alone was opened a tremendous fire, from two hundred and twelve twenty-six pounders, while the Spanish lines, at the same time, played incessantly on the rock with heavy artillery and mortars. The following interesting account cannot fail of affording complete satisfaction:—'The eyes of all Europe had long been turned on this famous siege, and the preparations latterly made by the allied forces of France and Spain, were of such a magnitude, that it was generally supposed victory must at length have crowned their persevering efforts; the princes of the blood royal of France, some of the principal nobility of Spain, and many distinguished military officers had joined the besieging army, and, together with an immense crowd of spectators, were anxious witnesses of the attack; the combined powers had formed the most sanguine expectations of success from their battering-ships deemed perfect in design, completed by dint of prodigious labour, and unlimited profusion of expense, and, by common report, pronounced invincible. The English batteries opened as the enemy came before them, and an awful and tremendous fire was kept up on both sides; the Spanish floating batteries were supported by the cannon and mortars in their lines and approaches, and two bomb ketches, which were brought forward, continued to throw shells into the garrison during the attack. Red-hot shot were sent with such precision from the garrison, that in the afternoon the smoke was seen to issue from the upper part of the Spanish admiral's and some other ships, and men were perceived ineffectually labouring to extinguish the fire by the use of fire-engines. The fire from the garrison was kept up briskly, and that of the enemy gradually decreased. About seven in the evening they fired only from a few guns, and that only at intervals. At midnight the admiral's ship was plainly discovered to be on fire, and an hour after she was completely in flames: eight more of the Spanish ships took fire in succession. Confusion was now evident among them, and the numerous rockets thrown up from each ship was a demonstration of the greatness of their distress; their signals were answered from the fleet, and they immediately sent launches and boats of different descriptions to take out the men; the fire from the Spanish lines, however, did not slacken, and the ships not completely in flames still sent a few shot at intervals. At this critical period Captain Curtis gave proof of his great skill and judgment; he advanced with the whole division of gun-boats, (twelve in number,) each carrying a twenty-four or eighteen pounder, and formed them so as to flank the line of the enemy's battering ships, while they were annoyed by an excessive heavy and well-directed fire from the garrison. The fire from the gun-boats was exceedingly well-directed, and kept up with great vigour; it effectually prevented the enemy from approaching to the assistance of their ships. General Elliot, in his public letter, observes, speaking of this manœuvre, that "the enemy's daring attempt at sea was effectually defeated by the constant and well-supported fire from the batteries; but the well-timed, judicious, and spirited attack made by Brigadier Curtis,

rendered this success a complete victory." The scene now became entirely changed; the Spaniards having abandoned the ships, and left the men in them to the mercy of the English or the flames, the enemy became objects only of pity, and as much courage was exerted to save them as had before been displayed in repelling their attack; the men were seen amid flames, and on floating pieces of wreck, imploring the compassion of their enemies, and this humane service became a very perilous employment, from the firing of the cannon as the metal became heated. This scene cannot be painted in stronger language than in the words of General Elliot. "They fled precipitately with all their boats, abandoning their ships, in which some officers, and numbers of their men, including many wounded, were left to perish. This unavoidably must have been their wretched fate, had they not been dragged from amidst the flames by the personal intrepidity of Brigadier Curtis, at the utmost hazard of his own life, a life invaluable to his majesty's service. For some time I felt the utmost anguish, seeing his pinnace close to one of the largest ships at the moment she blew up, and spread her wreck to a vast extent round. The black cloud of smoke being dispersed, I was again revived by the sight of the pinnace, little apprehending that the brigadier was in the utmost danger of sinking, some pieces of timber having fallen into and pierced the boat, killing the cockswain, and wounding others of the men, and leaving scarce any hope of reaching the shore; providentially he was saved by stopping the hole with the seamen's jackets, until boats arrived to his relief." By the same explosion one gun-boat was sunk, and another damaged. Animated by the example of Captain Curtis, the British seamen discovered as much ardour in employing every effort to relieve their enemies, as they had done in conquering them; by their generous exertions thirteen Spanish officers, and 344 men, were rescued from the flames. Thus ended a contest, in which it is difficult to decide whether the intrepidity or humanity of the English deserved most commendation. Shortly after this, on the 11th of October, the St Michael, a Spanish 74 gun-ship, was driven under the walls of Gibraltar, and captured. By the great exertions of Captain Curtis, her stores were taken out, the ship got afloat, and warped into the Mole by the 17th, notwithstanding the enemy annoyed them exceedingly by shells when carrying out anchors, &c. to get her off. Lord Howe shortly after arrived with a convoy to relieve the garrison; it appears by his public letter, that had due attention been paid to the instructions communicated by Captain Curtis, the transports might have entered the bay some days earlier than was accomplished; however, the service was at length completely executed, and the fortress relieved in the presence of a very superior force, much to the honour of the British naval character. Captain Curtis, being charged with the final communications of General Elliot to Lord Howe, embarked on board the Latona frigate for that purpose. The situation of the enemy's fleet the next day, however, precluding him from returning to Gibraltar, he remained on board the Victory. The captain of that ship being despatched with an account of the proceedings of the fleet during the relief of Gibraltar, and the subsequent partial actions with the combined squadrons of France and Spain, a vacancy consequently took place, and Captain Curtis was appointed to the Victory. Had it been a matter of choice probably he would have preferred re-

maining with his old friend, Lord Howe, as captain of the Victory, to again resuming the command at Gibraltar. It was not, however, left to his option;—his majesty's ministers, in consequence of a pressing solicitation from General Elliot, having ordered Captain Curtis to Gibraltar in the Thetis frigate.' "

For his services on this occasion, Captain Curtis was knighted, and was also appointed ambassador to the emperor of Morocco, with the rank of commodore. After having for some time commanded the Ganges guard-ship at Portsmouth, he was nominated colonel of marines at Plymouth, as well as captain of the fleet under Lord Howe, and bore a distinguished part in the battle of the 1st of June, 1794. On the 4th of the following July he was promoted to the rank of rear-admiral; and on the 10th of September created a baronet. In 1799 he became vice-admiral of the Red; and in 1800 obtained a separate command at the Cape of Good Hope. On the peace of Amiens he retired to his residence at Gatcombe in Hampshire, where he died on the 14th of Nov 1816.

George Hardinge.

BORN A. D. 1743.—DIED A. D. 1816.

GEORGE, second son of Nicholas Hardinge, chief clerk in the house of commons, was born in 1743. He was educated at Eton and Oxford. Having studied for the bar, he soon came into considerable practice, and in 1780 was appointed solicitor-general for the queen. In 1783 he defended Sir Thomas Rumbold against a threatened bill of pains and penalties, and also spoke in favour of Warren Hastings, in his place as member for Old Sarum. In 1787 he was appointed one of the senior Welsh judges.

The following address to the grand jury of Presteigne, on the 12th of April, 1808, will convey some idea of Mr Hardinge's style and sentiments at once:—" Gentlemen of this grand jury,—It is now the 21st year of my judicial attendance in this court,—a period in which 'more signs and wonders,' more 'distresses of nations,' and more awful changes, (not of empire alone, but of man,) have convulsed and have desolated the world, than ever before took effect in so limited a compass of time. Yet, in the midst of such alarming visitations around us on every side, this island—this little spot in the map—holds up its head, and covers under its wings the most envied community of the inhabited earth. What is it that has accomplished this unexampled security, and this elevated character? Is it the army? Is it the navy? Is it the peasant? or the merchant? It is not any one of these, nor all of these united, though each of them tells powerfully in the balance; but it is the soul which animates them; it is the constitution of the government, and the native spirit of the people! There are vital parts of us which the tyrant of Paris cannot reach, which his inordinate wealth cannot impoverish, and which his gifted abilities in seduction cannot mislead. We cherish these barriers against him, the more because we have taken a note from the example of his friends. The enemy there has been our friend. A reluctant witness against his own credit is, in courts of jus-

tice, the most powerful advocate upon earth for the interests of truth. A time was—it was a passing cloud—that some of us were tinged with levelling principles; but the good sense of the national mind and spirit soon recovered its tone; and, with prophetic sagacity, escaped in time from those vipers of the bosom. What is it that we now live to see in the wisdom of that awful instructor, Time? Engrafted upon the savage phrenzy of popular clamour against all government, whether of God or of man, is a despotism the most unbridled, and the most insolent, that ever degraded the liberty it overcame. Every nominal stake, for which innocent blood was the order of the day, and the policy of the guillotine, has been more than superseded, it has been thrown into wanton ridicule by the parade of that supercession. Kings were to be dethroned and murdered;—regicide was an attribute of honour;—the very name of king was to be a curse. An imperial king has not only taken the sceptre of his own 'French territory,' as he calls it, into his personal hand; but, as if to laugh at the fools he has enslaved, has littered, if I may use that phrase, half the continent with petty sovereigns, at the mercy of his breath.

> '——— What seem their heads,
> The likeness of a regal crown have on.'

The pillars of the church were to be subverted; the pope of the day was banished, was degraded, was imprisoned, was a rambling fugitive under a guard, and shown to the multitude as an object of derision; it was a murder; it took his heart. The successor of that pope, terrified or corrupted, is received into the very heart of Paris, and consecrates the imperial diadem, with all the imposing fopperies of the Catholic altar. The nobles were to sink into the dust;—all were to be citizens. One of the *noblesse*, who was descended from the Bourbon race, took the name of *D'Egalité*, and paid for it with his head. What has become of that vulgar and brutal spirit now? Ask the dukes and princes, elevated into the peerage for being janizaries to the usurper, who animates their energies by terror, not by love! All badges of honour were to be torn off, trampled under foot, and abjured as humiliating memorials of slavery to kings. They are now spread over a court as full of parade as that of Louis XIV., and are wantonly exchanged in the coquetting intercourse of a regal confederacy against the obstinate, though solitary embers of spirit, independence, and freedom, left on earth! We thank him for this note which he has given to history,—for the living proof, upon a record which 'he who runs may read,'—that 'rebellion against the legitimate principles of government and of religion, is the unequivocal parent of tyranny in the church and state.' Returning home with a generous abhorrence from the awful picture of experiments like these, upon a foreign shore, our national spirit feels pride of heart in the scene before us. The dignity of independence receives every one of us into its open arms, animated by a social union of all the links in our political chain from the palace to the cottage; each of them sacred and revered in its turn, but not one of them intrusted with a power to injure the rest. You, gentlemen of this county in particular, if you are asked, 'what you have done as contributors to the bank and stock of your country's welfare?' can tell us, without one feather of arrogance, that you have promoted with success, tranquillity,

and justice, the most valuable blessings of human life;—that your judges, who visit you at stated periods, find their office anticipated or disarmed by your public spirit as magistrates, and by your example as men."

A fall from his horse hastened his death, which took place in April, 1816. He died at Presteigne, "leaving behind him," says the writer of the biographical notice appended to his 'Miscellaneous works,'[1] "the character of possessing, rather than profiting by, great talents. From his father he enjoyed a very good hereditary estate; and with his wife, who still survives him, he obtained a very handsome dower. Either or both of these circumstances, united with a strong love for independence, might have rendered him less anxious for advancement. Mr Hardinge seems to have had some forebodings of the melancholy event which took him from his friends and the world. In one of his latest letters to Lady Knowles, he says, 'I despair of taking leave of Davies until the undertaker is waiting for me.' He had proposed to visit at Kingsland the shrine of Dr Davies. His remains passed through Kingsland to be interred with those of his family at Kingston-upon-Thames. A melancholy association with the recollection of the intended visit to the tomb of his last favoured hero of taste and virtue is formed in the mind; and painful moral feelings of regret arise, which teach us more forcibly to remember that man proposes, but God disposes. Mr Hardinge was rather short of stature, but very handsome, with a countenance expressive of the good qualities he possessed. His temper was admirable, and his perseverance in the cause of those he protected most extraordinary and exemplary. When we consider that few live to the advanced age Mr Hardinge attained without sustaining a loss in some material faculty, we shall more highly prize the rare gifts he enjoyed, both mentally and bodily; for, excepting the wrinkles and grey hairs, which hoary time by its iron grasp will leave on the strongest, his life may be said to have been mental youth, and his death a short interruption and passage to that blessed state of perfection which his goodness and philanthropy sought after while on earth. As a Christian, Mr Hardinge, in all circumstances, and in every part of his life, appears to have been a steady believer, and at times pious and devout in the extreme. In the character of a judge he was irreproachable; and his various charges for many years, at the different assizes in Wales, are admirable. In that respectable function, one of the latest acts of his life was the sifting to the bottom the grounds upon which all judges before his time had charged juries in cases of child-murder. Some excellent notes for a charge were prepared by the benevolent judge in April, 1816, not many days before his decease; but he did not live to deliver it. Mr Hardinge's ideas on this subject were fully confirmed by the unquestionable concurrent opinions of several professional gentlemen of first-rate eminence; and that this important subject had long before excited his attention, will appear from a letter addressed in 1805 to Dr Horsley, then bishop of St Asaph. Mr Hardinge had brilliant talents, and a power of showing them so as to afford to his companions and correspondents the greatest gratification. The talent of society he possessed in an eminent degree; and the rank which he held among the

[1] London, 3 vols., 8vo.

wits of his day, and the illustrious personages by whom he was admitted into familiarity, sufficiently evince how much, in conversation at least, he must have displayed the gentleman and the scholar. In conversation indeed he had few equals; as he had an astonishing flow and choice of words, and an animated delivery of them, such as few persons possess. He delighted in pleasantries, and always afforded to his auditors an abundance of mirth and entertainment, as well as information. His passion for the muses commenced in infancy, and continued to the close of life. The correspondence of Mr Hardinge was most extensive. His letters were extraordinary from their wit, fancy, and gaiety. They seemed to be the productions of a youth of twenty, rather than a man upwards of sixty years of age. Of his various compositions his letters were pre-eminent. Notwithstanding his talents and acquirements, he had a rare humility for an author, being ready at all times to adopt the suggestions of his friends, in preference to his own expressions. Of this he gave a striking proof, in permitting me to expunge some unpleasant reflections on a deceased commentator on Shakspeare, for whom I had a great respect, and whom he had treated somewhat too cavalierly. On the suggestion of a gentleman on whose judgment he had great reliance, he destroyed one of his early productions, on which he had bestowed much labour. Mr Hardinge, like the generality of mankind, was not without his failings. Men of genius are often negligent in concerns they deem trivial. Anxious as he was that his own literary productions should be preserved, his inattention to their preservation is much to be lamented. Those who were in habits of intimacy with him must have experienced the frequency with which he requested the loan of books, and sometimes the difficulty of recovering them from what he called 'the chaos of his library.' But whatever were his merits or his defects, they were greatly overbalanced by his active benevolence. By ardent zeal and perseverance he obtained immense sums by subscription for such persons as he thought worthy of his protection. This activity of friendship, almost always successful, was the principal feature in his character. It was wholly disinterested; it was noble, and ought to be held forth to general example."

Henry Erskine.

BORN A. D. 1746.—DIED A. D. 1816.

THE honourable Henry Erskine, third son of Henry David, earl of Buchan, by Agnes, daughter of Sir James Stewart of Coltness, was born in Edinburgh on the 1st of November, 1746. His patrimony being small, he early selected the profession of the law, and was admitted a member of the faculty of advocates at the age of 22. The eloquence of the Scottish bar was by no means proverbial at this period; and the existing forms of court seemed ingeniously contrived to repress any thing like eloquence on the part of the pleaders. Our young advocate, however, broke through many of the trammels that had hitherto been imposed by universal habit, at least on his brethren at the bar, and introduced a style of pleading, animated and graceful beyond any thing that had yet been witnessed in the court of session. It took well both

with the court and clients, and he rapidly rose into the leading practice at the bar.

The Erskines espoused whig politics in very early life, and on the accession of the Rockingham administration, Henry Erskine was appointed lord-advocate of Scotland,—a dignity which of course proved as ephemeral as the ministry which conferred it. On the return of Fox to power in 1806, Henry Erskine once more became lord-advocate, while his brother, Thomas, was nominated lord-chancellor. He enjoyed his honours a little longer this time, but was again stripped of them when Pitt resumed the ascendant.

In 1812 Mr Erskine withdrew from the bar, finding his health giving way. He died on the 8th of October, 1817. "The character of Mr Erskine's eloquence," says one who knew him long and intimately, "bore a strong resemblance to that of his noble brother, Lord Erskine, but being much less diffusive, it was better calculated to leave a forcible impression: he had the art of concentrating his ideas, and presenting them at once in so luminous and irresistible a form, as to render his hearers masters of the view he took of his subject; which, however dry or complex in its nature, never failed to become entertaining and instructive in his hands; for, to professional knowledge of the highest order, he united a most extensive acquaintance with history, literature, and science, and a thorough conversancy with human life and moral and political philosophy. The writer of this article has witnessed, with pleasure and astonishment, the widely different emotions excited by the amazing powers of his oratory; fervid and affecting in the extremest degree when the occasion called for it; and no less powerful, in opposite circumstances, by the potency of wit and the brilliancy of comic humour, which constantly excited shouts of laughter throughout the precincts of the court,—the mirthful glee even extending itself to the ermined sages, who found too much amusement in the scene to check the fascinating actor of it. He assisted the great powers of his understanding by an indefatigable industry, not commonly annexed to extraordinary genius; and he kept his mind open for the admission of knowledge, by the most unaffected modesty of deportment. The harmony of his periods, and the accuracy of his expressions, in his most unpremeditated speeches, were not among the least of his oratorical accomplishments.

"In the most rapid of his flights, when his tongue could scarce keep pace with his thoughts, he never failed to seize the choicest words in the treasury of our language. The apt, beautiful, and varied images which constantly decorated his judicial addresses, suggested themselves instantaneously, and appeared, like the soldiers of Cadmus, in complete armour and array to support the cause of their creator, the most remarkable feature of whose eloquence was, that it never made him swerve by one hair-breadth from the minuter details most befitting his purpose; for, with matchless skill, he rendered the most dazzling oratory subservient to the uses of consummate special pleading, so that his prudence and sagacity as an advocate were as decisive as his speeches were splendid.

"Mr Erskine's attainments, as we have before observed, were not confined to a mere acquaintance with his professional duties; he was an elegant classical scholar, and an able mathematician; and he also pos-

sessed many minor accomplishments in great perfection. His knowledge of music was correct, and his execution on the violoncello most pleasing. In all the various relations of private live, Mr Erskine's character was truly estimable, and the just appreciation of his virtues extended far beyond the circle of his own family and friends; and it is a well-authenticated fact, that a writer, or as we should say, attorney, in a distant part of Scotland, representing to an oppressed and needy tacksman, who had applied to him for advice, the futility of entering into a lawsuit with a wealthy neighbour, having himself no means of defending his cause, received for answer, 'Ye dinna ken what ye say, Maister, there's nae a puir man in Scotland need to want a friend or fear an enemy while Harry Erskine lives!' How much honour does that simple sentence convey to the generous and benevolent object of it! He had, indeed, a claim to the affection and respect of all who were within the knowledge of his extraordinary talents, and more uncommon virtues.

"With a mind that was superior to fear, and incapable of corruption, regulated by undeviating principles of integrity and uniformity,—elevated in adversity as in prosperity, neither subdued by pleasure into effeminacy, nor sunk into dejection by distress. In no situation of his life was he ashamed or afraid of discharging his duty, but constant to the God whom he worshipped, he evinced his confidence in the faith he professed by his actions; to his friends he was faithful, to his enemies generous, ever ready to sacrifice his little private interests and pleasures to what he conceived to be the public welfare, or to the domestic felicity of those around him. In the words of an eloquent writer he was 'a man to choose for a superior, to trust as a friend, and to love as a brother:' the ardency of his efforts to promote the happiness of his fellow-creatures, was a prominent feature in his character; his very faults had their origin in the excessive confidence of too liberal a spirit, the uncircumscribed beneficence of too warm a heart. It has been remarked of a distinguished actor, that he was less to be envied whilst receiving the meed of universal applause, than at the head of his own table: the observation may justly be applied to Mr Erskine. In no sphere was the lustre of his talents more conspicuous, while the unaffected grace and suavity of his manners, the benevolent smile that illumined his intelligent countenance in the exercise of the hospitalities of the social board, rendered indeed a meeting at his house 'a feast of reason, and a flow of soul.' In person Mr Erskine was above the middle size, well-proportioned, but slender; his features were all character and most strikingly expressive of the rare qualities of his mind. In early life his carriage was remarkably graceful,—dignified and impressive as occasion required it; in manner he was gentle, playful, and unassuming; and so persuasive was his address, that he never failed to attract attention, and by the spell of irresistible fascination to fix and enchain it. His voice was powerful and melodious, his enunciation uncommonly accurate and distinct, and there was a peculiar grace in his utterance which enhanced the value of all he said, and engraved the remembrance of it indelibly on the minds of his hearers. For many years of his life, Mr Erskine had been the victim of ill health, but the native sweetness of his temper remained unclouded, and during the painfully protracted sufferings of his last illness, the language of com-

plaint was never heard to escape his lips, nor the shadow of discontent seen to cloud his countenance! 'Nothing in his life became him, like the leaving it.' He looked patiently forward to the termination of his painful existence, and received with mild complacency the intelligence of his danger, while the ease and happiness of those, whose felicity through life had been his primary consideration, were never absent from his thoughts. It is said that Swift, after having written that celebrated satire on mankind, Gulliver's Travels, exclaimed whilst meditating on the rare virtues of his friend Arbuthnot:—'Oh! were there ten Arbuthnots in the world, I would burn my book.' It is difficult to contemplate such a character as Mr Erskine's without a similar sentiment, without feeling, that were there many Erskines, one should learn to think better of mankind. The general voice placed him, while living, high among the illustrious characters of the present age; may the humble memorial the author is giving to the public, preserve his name unblemished by misrepresentation, till some more equal pen shall hand it down to posterity, as a bright example of what great usefulness extraordinary talents may prove to society, when under the direction of sound judgment, incorruptible integrity, and enlarged philanthropy"

Francis Horner.

BORN A. D. 1778.—DIED A. D. 1817.

THIS upright and intelligent statesman was the son of a respectable merchant in Edinburgh. He received his education at the high school and university of that city, and chose the profession of the law, in which he gave early promise of future eminence.

When Lord Henry Petty, the second son of the first marquess of Lansdowne, was appointed chancellor of the exchequer, he procured the return of Mr Horner for the borough of St Ives, in 1806, wishing to strengthen his party by the presence and talents of one whom he had long known, and of whose ability he had formed a very high opinion.

From this period Mr Horner resided in London, and, though he qualified himself for, and was called to the English bar, appears to have devoted his whole attention to politics. The dismissal of the Foxo-Grenville administration deprived him of his seat for St Ives, but he was immediately returned for Wendover by the courtesy of Lord Mahon, who vacated his seat to make room for him.

On the 1st of February, 1810, Mr Horner, pursuant to a notice he had given, moved in his place for an inquiry into the state of the coin and exchanges. This was the commencement of a brilliant career in this department of finance, to which Mr Horner had long given peculiar attention. He acted for some time as chairman of the Bullion committee, and drew up the first part of their report.[1] The committee recommended the repeal of the law suspending the cash-payments of the bank; leaving the details of the measures necessary for returning to cash-payments to the bank itself.

On the 16th of May, 1811, Mr Horner, in a long and eloquent

[1] The second was prepared by Mr Huskisson, and the third by Mr Henry Thornton.

speech of between three and four hours' duration, supported all these positions, and contended strongly for the justice of the results. On this occasion, he with great ability defended both himself and the other members of the committee, and concluded with moving sixteen distinct resolutions, the subject of which amounted to the following:—1. That the promissory notes of the bank of England are stipulations to pay, on demand, the sum in pounds sterling, respectively specified in each of these notes.—2. That when the parliament suspended the cash-payments of these notes, it was not its intention that any alteration whatever should take place in the value of these promissory notes.—3. It appears that the actual value of the promissory notes of the bank of England, (measuring such value by the standard weight of gold and silver aforesaid,) has been for a considerable period of time, and still is considerably less than what is established by the laws of the realm, to be the legal tender in payment of any money-contract or stipulation.—4. That the fall which has taken place in the value of the promissory notes, &c., has been occasioned by the too great issue of paper currency.—5. That to the depreciation which has taken place in the relative value of the currency of this and foreign countries may be attributed the depression of the exchange.—6. That the only certain and adequate security to be provided against an excess of paper currency, and for maintaining the relative value of the circulating medium of the realm, is the legal convertibility, upon demand, of all paper currency, into lawful coin of the realm: and, 7. That in order to revert gradually to this security, and to enforce a due limitation of the paper of the bank of England, as well as the other bank-paper of the country, it is expedient to alter the time, during which the suspension of cash-payments shall continue, from six months after the ratification of a definitive treaty of peace, to that of two years from the present time.

Mr Horner's propositions were negatived at the instant, but afterwards acted upon in spirit and substance both by government and the bank.

For several years Mr Horner pursued his parliamentary avocations with great industry, and few public men, perhaps, ever commanded so much general esteem in the house; but his health—which had never been robust—at last gave way before his unwearied application and fatiguing duties. He complied with the advice of his medical men to refresh and recreate himself by a tour in southern Europe, but expired soon after his arrival at Pisa, on the 8th of February, 1817.

On moving for a new writ for the borough of St Mawes, Lord Morpeth said, in reference to the late lamented member:—"I may perhaps be permitted, without penetrating too far into the more sequestered paths of private life, to allude to those mild virtues, those domestic charities, which embellished while they dignified his private character. I may be permitted to observe, that as a son and as a brother, he was eminently dutiful and affectionate; but I am aware that these qualities, however amiable, can hardly, with strict propriety, be addressed to the consideration of parliament. When, however, they are blended, interwoven, and incorporated in the character of a public man, they become a species of public property, and by their influence and example, essentially augment the general stock of public virtue. For his qualifications as a public man I can confidently appeal to a wider circle,—to

that learned profession of which he was a distinguished ornament,—to this house, where his exertions will be long remembered with mingled feelings of regret and admiration. It is not necessary for me to enter into the detail of his graver studies and occupations. I may be allowed to say generally, that he raised the edifice of his fair fame upon a good and solid foundation,—upon the firm basis of conscientious principle. He was ardent in the pursuit of truth,—he was inflexible in his adherence to the great principles of justice and of right. Whenever he delivered in this house the ideas of his clear and intelligent mind, he employed that chaste, simple, but at the same time nervous and impressive style of oratory, which seemed admirably adapted to the elucidation and discussion of important business; it seemed to combine the force and precision of legal argument with the acquirements and knowledge of a statesman. Of his political opinions it is not necessary for me to enter into any detailed statement; they are sufficiently known, and do not require from me any comment or illustration. I am confident that his political opponents will admit, that he never courted popularity by any unbecoming or unworthy means: they will have the candour to allow, that the expression of his political opinions, however firm, manly, and decided, was untinctured with moroseness, and unembittered with any personal animosity or rancorous reflection. From these feelings he was effectually exempted by the operation of those qualities which formed the graces and the charms of his private life. But successful as his exertions were, both in this house and in the courts of law, considering the contracted span of his life, they can only be looked upon as the harbingers of his maturer fame, as the presages and the anticipations of a more exalted reputation. But his career was prematurely closed. That his loss to his family and his friends is irreparable, can be readily conceived; but I may add, that to this house and the country it is a loss of no ordinary magnitude; in these times it will be severely felt. In these times, however, when the structure of the constitution is undergoing close and rigorous investigation—on the part of some with a view of exposing its defects, on the part of others with that of displaying its beauties and perfections—we may derive some consolation from the reflection, that a man not possessed of the advantages of hereditary rank or of very ample fortune, was enabled, by the exertion of his own honourable industry, by the successful cultivation of his native talents, to vindicate to himself a station and eminence in society, which the proudest and wealthiest might envy and admire."

Mr Canning warmly seconded this eulogy:—"I, Sir," said he, "had not the happiness—a happiness now counterbalanced by a proportionate excess of sorrow and regret—to be acquainted personally, in private life, with the distinguished and amiable individual whose loss we have to deplore. I knew him only within the walls of the house of commons. And even here, from the circumstance of my absence during the last two sessions, I had not the good fortune to witness the later and more matured exhibition of his talents; which, as I am informed, and can well believe, at once kept the promise of his earlier years, and opened still wider expectations of future excellence. But I had seen enough of him to share in those expectations, and to be sensible of what this house and the country have lost by his being so prematurely taken from us. He had, indeed, qualifications eminently calculated to obtain

and to deserve success. His sound principles, his enlarged views, his various and accurate knowledge, the even tenor of his manly and temperate eloquence, the genuineness of his warmth, when into warmth he was betrayed, and, above all, the singular modesty with which he bore his faculties, and which shed a grace and lustre over them all; these qualifications, added to the known blamelessness and purity of his private character, did not more endear him to his friends, than they commanded the respect of those to whom he was opposed in adverse politics; they insured to every effort of his abilities an attentive and favouring audience, and secured for him, as the result of all, a solid and unenvied reputation."

An early and very intimate friend drew up the following sketch of Mr Horner for the 'Annual Obituary:'—"The characteristics of Mr Horner's mind, if I apprehend them rightly, were clearness of perception, calmness of judgment, and patience of investigation; producing, as their consequences, firmness of conduct and independence of principle. Carrying these qualities into his public life, he evinced greater moderation and forbearance than are often found in the narrow and comparatively unambitious strifes of a less extended scene. He entered parliament at rather an early age, and soon became not only an useful and conspicuous man of business, but drew more respect to his personal character, and was regarded by both sides of the house of commons, with greater confidence and interest than any young member had attracted, perhaps, since the early days of Mr Pitt. This will appear higher praise, when it is added, with truth, that no man coming into that house under the patronage of a whig nobleman, could have acted with greater liberality towards extended ideas of popular right, with more fairness and firmness to the persons of his opponents, or with more apparent latitude of individual judgment, on some of the most trying occasions, in all these scenes that have occurred in our recent parliamentary history. He took a considerable part in the important financial, and especially politico-economical, deliberations which have occupied public attention for the last seven years, and will be long remembered, as having in great part, if not wholly, constructed the far-famed report of the Bullion committee; of the doctrines and recommendations of that production, men's opinions differed at the time of its appearance, according as they were led, by a knowledge of the science, through which alone it could be rationally appreciated by a sense of immediate expediency, or by the leanings of the leaders of their respective parties. But, considering the circumstances under which it was produced, the temper of the times, and the extent and varying aspect of those appearances and conditions which it had to reconcile into the shape of general principles, I may venture to affirm, that it abounds with more accurate evolution of important propositions and first truths in the science of political economy, than any document ever produced by a legislative body. Indeed, those who have been accustomed to note carefully the parliamentary debates since 1811, must have perceived that Mr Horner had a better hold on the principles of that important science than any orator of his day. As a public speaker, he was not remarkable for the popular graces and attractions. If eloquence consists in rousing the passions by strong metaphor, in awakening the sympathies by studied allusions, or in arresting attention by the sallies

of a mind rich in peculiar association, Mr Horner was not eloquent. But if eloquence be the art of persuading by accurate reasoning, and a right adjustment of all the parts of a discourse, by the power of a tact which is rather intellectually right, than practically fine; Mr H. was eloquent. He spoke with the steady calmness of one who saw his way on principle, while he felt it simply and immediately through sobriety of judgment and good conduct, and never seemed to be more excited by his subject, or more carried away in the vehemence of debate, than to make such exertions as left one uniform impression on the minds of his hearers, that he spoke from an honest internal conviction, and from a real desire to be useful. In private life he was distinguished by an impressive graveness, which would have appeared heavy, had it not been observed in permanent conjunction with an easy steadiness of conversation, and a simplicity of manners very far from any thing odd, affected, or inelegant. His sense of honour was high and decided. His taste for literature, like his taste for conduct, was correct. As his acts of friendship or of duty were done without effort or finesse, so did he enjoy with quietness and relish, those tender and deeply felt domestic affections which can sweeten or even adorn almost any condition of life. He was one of that powerful band of able and distinguished men, with whom the Edinburgh Review originated, and was known as one of its contributors for several of the earlier years of its progress. He was not fitted to win popularity, but his habitual moderation, his unaffected respect for every thing respectable that was opposed to him, and the successful pains which he took to inform himself well on the grounds and nature of every business in which he bore a part, gained him an influence more valuable to a man of judgment, than popularity. In short, reckoning forward to the distance of probably a very few years, and to that change in his majesty's councils, which it was the object of Mr Horner's political life to accomplish, and under which he sincerely believed his country would be more free and more secure, than under any other probable event; no man seemed more likely to rise to high place and influence than himself. In a crisis of public affairs like the present, unbiassed and upright politicians will admit, that the influence of men like him is peculiarly desirable. And I would receive it as a consolation if any one could be at present named, to fill the space which he has left."

Sir Philip Francis.

BORN A. D. 1740.—DIED A. D. 1818.

SIR PHILIP FRANCIS was born in Dublin on the 22d of October, 1740. His father was Dr Francis, the well-known translator of Horace and Demosthenes. In 1750 he was sent over to England, and was in 1753 placed at St Paul's school, where he made great proficiency in classical learning. In 1756 Mr Henry Fox, afterwards Lord Holland, gave him a clerkship in the secretary of state's office. He was afterwards patronized by Lord Chatham, to whom he occasionally acted as

amanuensis,[1] and who procured for him the appointment first of secretary to General Bligh, who commanded the expedition against Cherbourg, and subsequently that of secretary to the earl of Kinnoul, British ambassador at the court of Lisbon. He returned to England in 1763, when he was appointed by Lord Mendip to a good clerkship in the war-office, which he resigned in 1772, on account of a difference with Lord Barrington.

He spent the remainder of 1772 in travelling through France, Germany, and Italy. In the month of June next year, he was nominated one of the members of the council of Bengal, with a salary of £10,000 per annum. His coadjutors were Sir John Clavering and Colonel Monson, who agreed with him in his views of Indian policy, and in opposition to those of the governor, Warren Hastings. On the 14th of August, 1780, the governor, irritated by being constantly thwarted by his council, addressed a note to Francis in which the following expressions were used:—"My authority for the opinions which I have declared concerning Mr Francis, depends on facts which have passed within my own certain knowledge. I judge of his public conduct by my experience of his private, which I have found to be void of truth and honour. This is a severe charge, but temperately and deliberately made, from the firm persuasion that I owe this justice to the public and myself, as the only redress to both, for artifices of which I have been a victim, and which threaten to involve their interests with disgrace and ruin. The only redress for a fraud, for which the law has made no provision, is the exposure of it." A duel followed, in which Mr Francis was severely wounded. He immediately resigned his office, and returned to England, where he commenced a series of attacks on the administration of Hastings. He was not, however, allowed to take a part in the impeachment of the governor; being considered disqualified for that duty by the fact of his personal hostility to the accused. Mr Fox proposed his name, in a speech highly complimentary both to his talents and his virtues; for, after enumerating the different qualities requisite in a public accuser, he declared that they all centred in the gentleman then proposed by him. "In such a character, innocence and integrity were indispensable ingredients. It was necessary that he who preferred an accusation against another, should himself be blameless, and his reputation unsuspected. That this was the case with Mr Francis was universally known. He had been selected a parliamentary delegate to India in the year 1773, in consequence of the reputation he bore. He had returned with the approbation and confidence of the East India company, and the testimony of his friends was confirmed and corroborated by those of his enemies. By a steady hostility to the malversation of others, he had provoked the most rigid scrutiny into his own conduct. Had any acts of delinquency been discoverable in him, they must long since have

[1] "In the early part of my life I had the good fortune to hold a place very inconsiderable in itself, but immediately under the earl of Chatham. He descended from his station to take notice of mine, and he honoured me with repeated marks of his favour and protection. How warmly, in return, I was attached to his person, and how far I have been grateful to his memory, they who knew me, know. I admired him as a great, illustrious, faulty, human being, whose character, like all the noblest works of human composition, should be determined by its excellencies, not its defects."—*Mr Francis's Speech of 12th February*, 1787.

been brought before the public. It was fit that an accuser should possess talents. What were the natural abilities of Mr Francis, it was needless to state in a place where they were so well known. What were his acquired abilities on the subject of the prosecution, must be equally evident from the opportunities he had enjoyed. It was much to have been in India; it was much to have been acquainted with the evasions and tergiversations under which Mr Hastings had been accustomed to screen his obliquities. There were but few men from that quarter who would dare to assume the character of an accuser, or whose own conduct would stand the test of inquiry. Lastly, he conceived that it was no less requisite in an accuser, that he should entertain no partiality in favour of the accused; that he should not be indifferent to the end of the prosecution, and that he should be animated with an honest indignation against the crimes, and the criminal whom he attempted to bring to justice. If Mr Francis was disposed to cherish enmity to Mr Hastings, it was not a private but a public enmity; a dislike not founded on antipathy to his person, but in a just sense of the crimes he had committed, and the trust he had abused." Towards the conclusion, Mr Fox entered into an eulogium on the conduct of this gentleman, relative to his plans for the government of our Asiatic settlements, and observed, "If ever India should be well governed, if the corruptions that had prevailed in that country should ever be corrected, the discovery was to be imputed to Mr Francis. He had, with infinite application and ability, brought forward the abuses of the East India administration to the notice of this country. By means of his local and personal knowledge, he had developed the whole mystery of corruption. He had enforced it on the conviction of the house; he had persuaded an unwilling audience, for no man was willing to become an accuser. Would the house, now that they had adopted the accusation, and made it their own, prevent its author from supporting it at the bar of the house of lords, where he only could support it with effect?" The late Mr Windham delivered his sentiments on the same subject. He observed, "That in all judicial proceedings the truth was to be discovered through the contention and opposition of the parties or their advocates. It was, perhaps, by confounding the functions of a witness and an accuser, that members were induced to entertain so ill-founded an idea, as that private resentment unfitted a man for the character of an accuser. Even a witness was not disqualified for partiality; for, in fact, every witness was in some degree partial; and if the judge perceived in him a more than ordinary degree of animosity, he only heard him with the more caution, and questioned him with the greater strictness. But did Mr Francis really labour under that impression? He could see no reason to imagine it, unless the necessary consequence of a duel was perpetual enmity. Would a private individual, having a law-suit with another, and that other fastening a quarrel upon him, immediately, on that account, relinquish his cause, and give up his property? Mr Windham hoped that no one would pretend to argue, that it would be more incumbent where the person was only a trustee for another. This was Mr Francis's case; he had been intrusted by the public,—he saw the public wronged by Mr Hastings, and he determined to do justice to his masters by bringing the delinquent to an account for his malversation. The delinquent quarrelled with him, and they fought; and for

that reason, merely because a private injury was superadded to public offences, the public were to lose the means of bringing to punishment the person who had violated the trust they had reposed in him." Mr Pitt having observed, "That the question, in his opinion, was a question of feeling, and not of argument; and that he was disinclined to appoint, as a representative of the house of commons, the only member who had, on a former occasion, been engaged in a personal contest with the accused," Mr Burke ridiculed these allegations with considerable force and effect. "Was it fit or becoming in the character of a legislator, on a great and important question, to say that his feelings were so much hurt, that he found himself compelled to abandon investigation and argument, that he might not violate his delicacy? What was delicacy? It was but a term to which no definite idea had been found. It was at best but a superadded flower to virtue; an ornament, the absence or the presence of which was alike indifferent to the substance. Delicacy and feeling might be very proper terms to express the sensations arising from the exertions of an opera singer, but they were an insult to the solemnity and magnitude of parliamentary deliberation." Mr Francis at length arose and observed, "That he had attended the debate very much against his inclination, although he could not, with any propriety, have avoided it. It was incumbent on him to appear, and be ready to give answers to any thing which, in the judgment of the house, might have called for explanation. But he now found, that the objection turned upon no imputation against his character, no suspicion upon his conduct, but merely on a point of honour." Turning round to the friends of the accused, he then apostrophised them in a manner that extorted even their applause. "Thirteen years are now elapsed," observed he, "since I first was connected in office with Mr Hastings; six of them were wasted in India in perpetual contest with him. Seven years ago, I left him there, in possession of absolute power. In all that time, no charges have been produced against me. Surely, Sir, if accusation is ever to come, it is high time it should appear. If now, or at any other period, I should be obliged to change place with Mr Hastings, if hereafter it should be my lot to be accused, I shall assuredly never object to his being my prosecutor; for though by removing a powerful, a well-informed, and in the sense of the present argument, an inveterate accuser, I might provide for my safety, my honour would be lost. Let those gentlemen who are intrusted with the care of Mr Hastings' honour, look to what they are doing!" Mr Francis then entered into a review of his conduct in respect to Mr Hastings, since his return to England. Seven years before, when he had been almost immediately called on to give evidence before a committee of the house of commons, "Could he, without treachery to the public, have refused any information in his power? If not, the single question was, in what form did it become him to act? In the character of an evidence only? Would that have been a part to which no enmity, no malice could have been imputed? Would it have been honourable in him to stand aloof and hide himself, while in fact he supplied the information, furnished the materials, and prompted the prosecution? Was he thought to have acted dishonourably, becaused he declared himself the responsible accuser of Mr Hastings, because he avowed his principles, and hazarded all the consequences of

obloquy, retaliation, and revenge, which a public prosecutor must encounter, but which a secret and skulking accuser might easily avoid? I had originally advised on this subject with Sir William Draper; my conduct has been more recently approved by General Burgoyne,—men who might be supposed no mean judges of a point of honour. But while I lament the consequences of a vote that shall exclude me from any share in the impeachment of Mr Hastings, I trust that no person will think it possible, that I mean to solicit this house to alter its resolution. I owe every assistance to my friend, Mr Burke, in the task he has undertaken but exclusively of that consideration, what can I deserve better than to be absolved without disgrace from any further concern in this toilsome, invidious, and most unthankful office?" The friends of Mr Hastings triumphed on the division, although fairly beaten in the debate; for the ayes in favour of Mr Francis's admission were 62, and the noes 122! On this the name of Mr Frederick Montague was substituted.

He warmly opposed the war with France, and took a lead in the reform association, called 'The Friends of the People;' he might indeed be considered as the founder of it.[2] He also zealously advocated

[2] In his plan of reform, intended to be proposed to the 'Friends of the People,' he contends, "That to have stated an enormous public grievance without proposing a remedy, would only tend to alarm and agitate the minds of the people, as well as to disturb the peace of society. The house of commons," observes he, "ought to be the constitutional instrument or weapon of the people. With an honest and vigorous house of commons, really representing and acting for the country, the removal or correction of oppressive or expensive institutions, the repeal of bad laws, and the mild but steady administration of good ones, would follow of course; with the reduction of all extravagant expenditure, the exorbitant grants of the public money, and useless establishments; and with a real economy in the collection and appropriation of the taxes raised on the people. Such a parliament would, above all things, never suffer the nation to be involved in the calamities of war for any purpose but defence. In providing the means we shall secure the end. The restoration of the rights of free election is a preliminary indispensable to every other reformation. The constitution, thus restored to genuine health, would soon recover its real and genuine beauty. What image does it exhibit now but the false, fictitious charm of prostitution, ruined by treachery, wasted in riot, and perishing in the profligate embraces of seduction!" Notwithstanding this, our author praises the act (8th of Henry VI.) which restricted the votes at county elections to forty shilling freeholders, and prevented all freemen, as heretofore, from being convened to choose a knight of the shire. "We approve," observes he, "of suspending the right of voting in persons of no substance; but, far from confining it to one species of qualification (lands or tenements,) we shall contend for its extension to every kind of property, where the amount, combined with other circumstances, is sufficient to afford a reasonable security that the right will be properly exercised. In a word," continues he, "whoever observes the course of the English history, and the progress of the constitution, will find that liberty and property have invariably gone hand in hand, and protected each other; and while the lands were engrossed by the church and the nobility, the clergy and barons did, in fact, constitute the parliament; but that as fast as entails were unfettered, as industry and trade were encouraged, and as the means of acquiring property were laid open, the liberties, the rights, the privileges, and the power of the commons expanded along with them." It is also maintained in this work, that every member shall possess an adequate qualification, and that a fictitious or borrowed one ought to vacate his seat. One great object only is here attempted, and that is, "To take the choice of the house of commons out of the hands of a few privileged persons, and replace it in the hands of the many to whom it belongs by common right." Sir Philip thinks that 'wages' as heretofore, ought to be paid to the members; and this new expense, at forty shillings a-day, would not exceed £100,000 for a single session. It is also proposed that all the elections should commence on the same day and hour, and that the day should be Sunday, immediately after divine service. As to the franchise itself, the plan here stated is to confine it to all freeholders

the abolition of the slave-trade. In 1796 he stood for Tewkesbury, but was defeated; in 1802 he was nominated and returned for Appleby.

On the death of Lord Cornwallis, it was at one time intended that Mr Francis should go to India as governor-general; but the appointment never took place; he was, however, on the recommendation of Lord Grenville, invested with the order of the Bath on the 29th of October, 1806. While in parliament, he for a time made India the great theme of his speeches, but at last declared that he had given up the task of directing the attention of the British senate to the affairs of that country in sheer despair and disgust:—"I passed," said he, "six years in perpetual misery and contest in Bengal, at the hazard of my life: then a wretched voyage of ten months, and two-and-twenty years of labour in the same course, unsupported, and alone. By so long endeavouring to maintain right against wrong, I have sacrificed my repose, and forfeited all hopes of reward or personal advantage; but now I have taken my resolution, and will do so no more: I shall never again assume an active part, much less a lead, in any discussion of Indian affairs. As to future personal proceedings against any man, I am resolved to take no part in them. The impeachment of Mr Hastings cured me of that folly. I, in fact, was tried, and Mr Hastings acquitted. My spirits are exhausted, and my mind subdued by a long, unthankful, and most invidious application to one pursuit, in which I have never been able to do any good."

In 1814 he relinquished his seat in parliament, and seemed to have finally retired from public life; but on the 22d of June, 1817, he unexpectedly presented himself at a meeting of the Middlesex freeholders, and moved a petition against the suspension of the habeas corpus act in very energetic terms. Sir Philip died in December, 1818.

Sir Philip's greatest claim to notoriety now rests upon the nearly made out fact that he was the author of the far-famed 'Junius's Letters.' In an able disquisition entitled 'The Identity of Junius with a distinguished Living character,' published in 1816, the authorship of the 'Letters' is assigned to Sir Philip. Burke is known to have repeatedly expressed his admiration of Francis's talents as a pamphlet-writer; and the following extracts from speeches delivered by him in the house of commons prove him to have been possessed of very high talents. He thus attacked the lawyers in the house of commons: "It belongs to the learning of these gentlemen to involve, and to their prudence not to decide. In the name of God and common sense, what have we gained by consulting these learned persons! It is really a strange thing, but it is certainly true, that the learned gentlemen on that side of the house, let the subject be what it may, always begin their speeches with a panegyric on their own integrity. You expect learning, and they give you morals; you expect law, and they give you ethics; you ask them for bread, and they give you a stone. In point of honour and morality, they

paying parish taxes, except peers, so that the kingdom being divided into districts, every 2400 houses should return a member. This work was republished, with a new introduction, in 1817, in which the venerable author once more maintains, "that the possession of competent property ought to be a *sine qua non* to a right of disposing of the property of others." He at the same time deprecates the ideas of a former duke of Richmond respecting universal suffrage, and also the ballot, the latter, in the language of Cicero, "affording a skulking shelter for corrupt transactions, over which the sense of shame can have no effect."

are undoubtedly on a level with the rest of mankind. But why should they pretend to more? Why should they insist on taking the lead in morality? Why should they so perpetually insist upon their integrity, as if that were the objection *in limine;* as if that were the point in question; as if that were the distinguishing characteristic, the prominent feature of the profession? Equality is their right. I allow it. But that they have any just pretensions to a superior morality, to a pure and elevated probity, to a frank, plain, simple, candid, unrefined integrity, beyond other men, is what I am not convinced of, and never will admit. On my principles, however, the damage we have suffered is not very great. In attending to this learned gentleman we have lost nothing but our time; we have wasted nothing but our patience. The question before us may easily, and can only be determined by ourselves."

His attack upon Thurlow is superlatively fine: "It was well known," said he, "that a gross and public insult had been offered to the memory of General Clavering and Colonel Monson, by a person of high rank in this country. He was happy when he heard that his name was included in it with theirs. So highly did he respect the character of those men, that he deemed it an honour to share in the injustice it had suffered. It was in compliance with the forms of the house, and not to shelter himself, or out of tenderness to the party, that he forbore to name him. He meant to describe him so exactly, that he could not be mistaken. He declared in his place in a great assembly, and in the course of a grave deliberation, 'that it would have been happy for this country if General Clavering, Colonel Monson, and Mr Francis, had been drowned in their passage to India.' If this poor and spiteful invective had been uttered by a man of no consequence or repute, by any light, trifling, inconsiderate person, by a lord of the bed-chamber, for example, or any of the other silken barons of modern days, he should have heard it with indifference. But when it was seriously urged and deliberately insisted on by a grave lord of parliament—by a judge—by a man of ability and eminence in his profession, whose personal disposition was serious, who carried gravity to sternness, and sternness to ferocity, it could not be received with indifference, or answered without resentment. Such a man would be thought to have inquired before he pronounced. From his mouth a reproach was a sentence, an invective was a judgment. The accidents of life, and not any original distinction that he knew of, had placed him too high, and himself at too great a distance from him, to admit of any other answer than a public defiance, for General Clavering, for Colonel Monson, and for himself. This was not a party question, nor should it be left to so feeble an advocate as he was, to support it. The friends and fellow-soldiers of General Clavering and Colonel Monson would assist him in defending their memory. He demanded and expected the support of every man of honour in that house and in the kingdom. What character was safe, if slander was permitted to attack the reputation of two of the most honourable and virtuous men that ever were employed, or ever perished in the service of their country? He knew that the authority of this man was not without weight; but he had an infinitely higher authority to oppose to it. He had the happiness of hearing the merits of General Clavering and Colonel Monson acknowledged and applauded

in terms to which he was not at liberty to do more than to allude: they were rapid and expressive. He must not venture to repeat, lest he should do them injustice, or violate the forms of respect, where essentially he owed and felt the most. But he was sufficiently understood. The generous sensations that animate the royal mind, were easily distinguished from those which rankled in the heart of that person who was supposed to be the keeper of the royal conscience."

In 1811 he sent a letter to the public journals on the regency question, the spirit and style of which is remarkably like Junius. The following is a specimen of this epistle: "Who is there so ignorant, as not to know that the prerogatives of the crown are not vested for his own sake in the person who wears it, but to insure the execution of his office; and then I ask, what power has the constitution reserved to any set of men to strip the crown of those prerogatives, or even to qualify or impair them? Show it if you can, and produce your evidence. In a case of such importance I will not submit to authority, and, least of all, to the authority of a party, which perhaps means or expects to benefit by the decision. They, who can wholly refuse, may grant upon conditions. The lords may say, you shall make no more peers. The commons may say, you shall have no power to dissolve us. The ministers of course will not submit to be dispossessed; and this is the executive government, which they are willing to establish in the prince's hands. Before they decide, let them make the case their own. Do they mean to admit that the king, uniting with a convention of the peers, could abolish the house of commons, or even divest them of any one of their privileges? Could the king and the commons, I will not say abolish the house of lords, but could they take away their jurisdiction in the last resort, or in trials by impeachment?" &c.—"I am not talking of desperate or extreme cases. Necessity, unavoidable and irresistible, must be left to provide for itself. True wisdom, even then, will do nothing beyond what the instant exigency requires, and will return as soon as possible to its regular established courses. Neither do I deny the power of the people to do what they will. Undoubtedly they may tear down the temples and tribunals, and murder their teachers and their magistrates. They have a physical force to abolish their laws, and to trample on the institutions of their forefathers. But, remember, the man who pulled down the building, and buried himself in its ruins, was blind as well as strong. The quality of an immoral act is not altered, the guilt of an enormous crime is not diminished, by the numbers that concur in it. The moment the people did these things, they would cease to be a nation. To destroy their constitution is beyond their competence. It is the inheritance of the unborn as well as theirs. What we received from our ancestors, we are morally and religiously bound, as well as by our laws, to transmit to our posterity. Of such enormous violence on the part of the people, I know there is no danger. Will they suffer any other power to do that in their name, which they cannot and ought not to do for themselves? I heard it from Lord Chatham, 'that power without right is the most odious and detestable object that can be offered to the human imagination. It is at once *res detestabilis et caduca*.' Let who will assume such power, it ought to be resisted. Brave men meet their fate; cowards take flight, and die for fear of death."

Besides these indications, there are other circumstances of a personal and historical nature that go very far to make out the identity of Sir Philip Francis and Junius. "There are three great facts connected with the publication of these letters,"—says the editor of an excellent edition of the 'Letters of Junius' published by Messrs Oliver & Boyd of Edinburgh,—"for every one of which some satisfactory account is required. In the first place, they must have been written by a person who resided almost uninterruptedly in London between the years 1769 and 1772. In the second place, we naturally inquire, what could have induced a writer of such talent and celebrity all at once to become silent at the end of that period. And, in the last place, we perceive, from a careful perusal of the Letters, not only that their author kept a vigilant eye on great public events, but that he was conversant with the transactions of some inferior departments of the state, in a degree which could not be expected with respect to any individual who was not himself employed in the transactions he has noticed. We allude, in particular, to the knowledge which these Letters show of events that had taken place in the war-office and in the secretary of state's office, and to the acquaintance which the author evidently had with persons known only to those who had a view of the interior of these offices. Now, it appears from the short account of Sir Philip Francis's life which we have already given, that he was employed in the war-office from the year 1763 till 1772, and, consequently, that he was always upon the spot at the time when these Letters were sent so regularly and rapidly to the press. We also perceive, from the same account, that at the end of that time he was sent as a sovereign to India, after having been forced to leave a post of £400 per annum in the war-office about a twelvemonth before. And we also know, that he was superseded in his post in the war-office by the very person to whom Junius has repeatedly shown an inveterate antipathy, and whom we may be sure Sir Philip regarded with no feelings of good-will. It is curious, indeed, to remark with what sort of feelings a person like Junius, who considered the highest characters in the kingdom as not game too high for him, regarded an ordinary clerk who had been put into his place. We find him, accordingly, descending to the lowest and most scurrilous invective whenever he touches upon that subject, and evidently uttering the language of a man whose mind is agitated between contempt and indignation. He calls Chamier, Tony Shammy—little Shammy—a tight active little fellow—a little gambling broker—little Waddlewell—my duckling—little three per cents. reduced—a mere scrip of a secretary—an omnium of all that's genteel. Bradshaw, who was connected with Chamier, he also mentions as Tommy Bradshaw, the cream-coloured Mercury, whose sister Miss Polly, like the moon, lives upon the light of her brother's countenance, and robs him of no small part of his lustre. It is obvious how well all this corresponds with the supposition of Mr Francis being the author of the Letters; and how impossible it is to conceive what other motive but his own interest in this transaction could have induced Junius to soil his pages by such frequent and scurrilous mention of it."

The same writer thus notices the correspondence of temper and character betwixt the masked Junius and Sir Philip: "We expect that Junius, whenever he shall be seen, shall be a man of high spirit, but probably also of more than ordinary impetuosity of temper—keenly at-

tached to his own notions and his own party—looking with infinite disdain upon all who hold opinions incompatible with his—and disposed to allow no merit to any character that is not marked by the same devise which he himself has assumed. We may allow something for the fictitious character under which the author wrote; but we never can be satisfied that a man of gentle habits, and of a forbearing mind, could by any management have assumed the appearance of the temper which these Letters disclose. On this subject we shall permit Sir Philip to speak for himself. In reference to his quarrel with Mr Hastings, he observes, 'We are both, I believe, men of a temper too warm to be capable of lasting resentments.' In a speech delivered by him on another occasion, he observes, that 'it was his purpose on this occasion to say "things strong, severe, and personal;" and if he should be thought to exceed the bounds of moderation, he desired it might not be imputed to a hasty impatience of temper, to which he was supposed to be more subject than other men; for he said them coolly and deliberately, and after having maturely reflected on their cause and on their consequences.' Again, when he was accused of placing himself on an equality with the lawyers in matters of legal opinion, he rebuts the charge in the following manner:—'Much has been said of my character, much of my temper. I have, by one learned gentleman, not now present, (the master of the rolls,) been accused of comparing myself with him and with others of his profession. Such a comparison I never presumed to make. Arrogance is one thing, passion is another. Passion I have ever conceived to be an honest, open, and manly emotion of the mind; arrogance, on the contrary, I take to be a cold, deliberate, thoughtful thing. I may have made use of warm or passionate language, perhaps, but I was never guilty of the presumption and arrogance which have been imputed to me.'"

"To all these arguments," continues this essayist, "it may be added that Sir Philip, during almost the whole of his long life, continued that plan of writing by which, as Junius, he is so well known. Scarcely any public event of moment occurred without drawing from him a letter or short pamphlet; and the fact seems to be, that, invisible as Junius has long been supposed to have been, he has yet, till within the last four years, been almost regularly addressing the public. At first it may seem wonderful, that while all the youth of Britain are early taught to admire and to study the writings of this author, he should have so long existed, as a living writer, without being detected. But a little reflection will abate our wonder; for it is to be remarked, in the first place, that Sir Philip was withdrawn from this country to the government of India almost immediately after the publication of the Letters of Junius—that he was thus lost to the public eye during a series of years, and at the very time when a desire to find out the author of the Letters was most intense—that his youth prevented him from being at all suspected—and that when he returned to this country, it was in circumstances of disappointment and disgrace.—In the second place, it ought to be remarked, that the subjects upon which Sir Philip, after his return, employed his pen, were not of a kind to draw the attention of men of all ranks. When he wrote as Junius, he attacked the ministry in general—the premier in particular—great lords and dukes personally—the king himself—and both houses of parliament—and the public attention

was drawn to his writings by the circumstance of Sir William Draper and other opponents having endeavoured to combat his reasonings. But when he continued his lucubrations in his own name, it was either the affairs of India on which he wrote, or some other of the particular measures of government, without the introduction of personalities. His dissertations were, therefore, read by but a few; and personal abuse being out of the question when the author appeared in his own character, there was not the same opportunity for the introduction of that sarcasm which forms so remarkable a feature of the Letters of Junius. To all these considerations it is to be added, that the style of Junius is not of that obvious kind which strikes a superficial or hasty reader. Johnson would infallibly have been recognised under whatever name he had written, and even Burke could not long have lain concealed; but the style of Junius requires to be more carefully weighed; and when it appeared as the production of Sir Philip Francis, it is not to be wondered that it should not have been recognised, coming, as it then did, from a person to whom no suspicion of his being Junius had ever attached."

Notwithstanding all this weight of evidence, however, Sir Philip maintained his denial of the authorship of these 'Letters' to the last. In a note to the editor of the 'Monthly Magazine,' on the subject of Busby's pamphlet, of which a review was about to appear in that periodical, Sir Philip said, "whether you will assist in giving currency to a silly malignant falsehood, is a question for your own discretion." So lately as December, 1817, he positively denied that he was the author of the letters in question; and in a conversation with a friend, at a period when an avowal of having written them would not have been attended with the least danger, he stated, that he had denied being Junius until he was weary, and would answer no more questions on the subject.

John Palmer.

BORN A. D. 1742.—DIED A. D. 1818.

GREAT BRITAIN is chiefly indebted to the subject of this hasty and imperfect notice for that admirable system of mails by which communication is kept up with such rapidity and unerring accuracy between every part of the three kingdoms. John Palmer was born at Bath in the year 1742. His father was a brewer in that city, and wished him to follow his own humble but lucrative profession. John, however, had more ambitious ideas in his head; and persuaded his father to hand over to him the entire management of the Bath theatre, of which he had become, by some unexpected turn of fortune, the principal proprietor. In the sphere of manager he succeeded beyond even his own expectations, and the Bath stage, under the guidance of a young man scarcely out of his teens, became the cradle of dramatic genius. He soon after extended his efforts to Bristol, and raised the provincial stage there to a respectable eminence.

In 1782 Mr Palmer presented a memorial to the lords of the treasury, in which he pointed out various improvements of which he deemed

the post-office arrangements susceptible. The minister of the day was favourable to his proposals, and the scheme, so far as it was put into operation, succeeded beyond even what its projector had anticipated from it. On the 5th of May, 1785, we find Mr Palmer addressing the premier in a letter of which the following is an extract: "The success of the plan, Sir, I believe, has exceeded both yours and the public expectation. I am sure it has my own in some points, though not in others, but has not fallen short in one. A circumstance, I believe, almost as new to administration in the various plans that are submitted to them, as a popular tax, which the post-tax really is, where the accommodation has been given with it. It incurred no new expense, no inconvenience in the old establishment, even in the trial, but what was occasioned by the opposition from the general office. It conveys the mails in half the time they used to be, and guarded under regulations that will in a great measure enforce themselves; and where it has been carried into execution, has immediately occasioned an increase of revenue to the post-office. It having been proved, that it is scarce possible for greater neglect or abuses to prevail than in the conduct of the old post; that in consequence of it, a great share of the correspondence was carried on by coaches, to the detriment of the post revenue; that the new tax, coupled with the old plan, would have increased such defalcation, which, by the statements given in to the treasury, comparing the great improvement in the revenue from the tax upon the new opposed to the old establishment, has been very fully proved. It was promised in the plan to give the improved expedition and security to the great roads from London, and some of the cross roads, for the payment of threepence per mile, the allowance for guards, and the exemption from turnpike tolls. The contracts are now made for the greater part of the kingdom for the allowance of guards and the exemption from turnpike tolls only. Likewise, for all the cross posts, six times a-week, instead of three, so as to make those posts as regular and perfect as the general one. This accommodation will be given to the public, and the arrival and departure of the mails all over the country will now be regular, expeditious, and safe, on plain, certain, and simple principles, instead of the reverse. It will not only save many thousands a-year, in the expense of the riding work, &c., but in consequence of the superior mode of conveyance to any other, add greatly to the revenue, by the increase of correspondence through the post-office. In the progress of the business, I have had every possible opposition from the office; I have neither spared trouble nor expense to inform myself in every department of it, so that I may carry my plan completely into execution, and defeat their repeated attempts to ruin it. I have been perfectly open, and kept no one secret from government, or desired one shilling advantage from any contract, but acted in every respect to the best of my judgment for the benefit of the public; nor can I gain the least advantage from my agreement till I have completed the plan over the whole kingdom, as my per centage from the increased revenue by the tax, without the accommodation, will not pay the very great expenses I am obliged to incur in the establishing it."

Mr Palmer was now appointed surveyor and comptroller-general of the post-office. In this situation he had to encounter the determined hostility of Lord Walsingham, the post-master-general, and all his sub-

ordinates; and even the government appeared unwilling to fulfil its original engagement with him. "On this"—says the writer of the notice of his life in the 'Annual Obituary,' vol. iv.—"in 1797, Mr Palmer applied, by petition, to the house of commons, and a committee was nominated to report on the causes of his suspension, and also on the nature of his agreement. Mr Pierrepoint, in a very able speech, pointed out the merits and success of Mr Palmer's plan, which was attended with this peculiarity, that in case of failure, he was to receive no pecuniary indemnification, and no reimbursement for his expenses. During the forty years preceding his intervention, notwithstanding the great increase of trade and manufactures, the nett revenue of the post-office had experienced no increase whatever, except what was necessarily derived by the enhancement of the rate of postage, and restriction of franks; on the contrary, indeed, taking an average of the nine years preceding the new plan, it had actually experienced a decrease of £13,198 13s. per annum. After the first gleam of success, the projector was obliged to submit to a new agreement, by which he lost £750 per annum, but this was to be followed by every possible facility in the furtherance of his ultimate designs. And yet, the commissioners appointed by the house of commons to inquire into this very subject, reported, that Mr Palmer had experienced 'opposition from the oldest and ablest officers in the service, who represented his plan not only to be impracticable, but dangerous to commerce and the revenue;' and it was nevertheless added, 'that he has exceeded the expectations which he held forth in his first proposal, both with regard to despatch and expense.' They further state, that the country has derived great advantage by the new scheme; while the post-office revenue had increased, since 1783, to the amount of nearly half a million! Mr Sheridan, on this occasion, supported the pretensions of the claimant in a very brilliant speech; in the course of which he expressed himself as follows: 'None but an enthusiast could have imagined or formed such a plan; none but an enthusiast could have made such an agreement; none but an enthusiast could have carried it into execution: and I am confident,' adds he, 'that no man in this country, or any other, could have performed such an undertaking, but that very individual John Palmer.' Dr Lawrence also observed, in the course of a very energetic harangue, which, like the former, proved ineffectual, 'That it was to be apprehended, from what he had heard and what he knew, that men of talents, who might hereafter be willing to employ their genius and their industry in the service of the public, would discover, that Mr Palmer had one fault greater than any which had been pressed against him. This was the fault of an over-hasty and improvident zeal, to do, without regard to his own interests, whatever good it was in his power to achieve for his country.' Nor ought it to be here omitted, that the joint postmasters-general, with whom he had many disputes and contentions, on being required to deliver their opinion as to his motives, readily exhibited the most ample testimony on behalf of his character and integrity. At length Mr Palmer, after an interval of some years, determined, undismayed by his former defeat, to apply once more to parliament for redress; and it must be allowed, that he never displayed greater perseverance and abilities than upon this occasion. He had taken care to make his pretensions known from one end of the kingdom

to another; he canvassed almost every member of parliament, by himself or others, and as his cause was good, and his friends with enthusiasm, the best founded hopes were entertained of success. His eldest son, Major (now Lieutenant-colonel) Palmer, who had succeeded him as M.P. for Bath, was intrusted with the management of this delicate and interesting business. Accordingly, on May 12th, 1808, in a committee of the whole house, after a short introductory speech, it was moved by him, 'That this house is of opinion, that Mr Palmer is entitled to £2 10s. per cent. on the nett revenue of the post-office, exceeding the sum of £240,000, to be paid up from the 5th of April, 1793, and during his life, according to the provisions of his appointment of 1789; deducting the sum of £3000 a-year, received subsequently to the 5th of April, 1793.' This proposition was opposed by Messrs Long and Rose, the chancellor of the exchequer, and the attorney-general; but supported by Lord Henry Petty, Sir Francis Burdett, Mr Windham, &c.; and, after a long debate, carried against ministers by a majority of 86. In a committee of supply, leave was soon after given to bring in a bill to secure to the subject of this memoir the benefits of the late vote; and it was soon after moved and carried, 'that a sum not exceeding £54,702 0s. 7d. be granted to his majesty, to be paid to John Palmer, Esq., being the balance of the percentage due to him on the nett revenue of the post-office, from the 5th of April, 1793, to the 5th of January, 1808.' "

Mr Palmer died in 1818. A higher eulogium cannot possibly be paid than what occurs in the minutes of the evidence of Mr Francis Freeling, who now so worthily presides over the post-office department: "I always conceived I was best serving the interests of the public, by following the plans laid down by Mr Palmer."

Sir Richard Musgrave.

BORN A. D. 1757.—DIED A. D. 1818.

THE Musgraves are of English, or rather Norman descent, but a branch of them early settled in Ireland, of whom the subject of the present notice was descended. We find Mr Musgrave in early life an active member of the Irish parliament, in which he uniformly supported government. His exertions were rewarded by an appointment to a very lucrative office, the collectorship of the Dublin city excise, and with a title. On the 2d of December, 1782, he was created a baronet by the style and title of Sir Richard Musgrave of Lismore in the county of Wexford. While sheriff of his county he evinced great vigour and determination in following up the plans of government and enforcing a strict execution of the laws. There is a strange story told of his having on one occasion actually officiated as hangman when no one could be found to undertake the odious office! On the breaking out of the Irish rebellion, Sir Richard's zeal outstripped his prudence, and the government was obliged to disclaim him on account of the obnoxious sentiments which he introduced into his 'Memoirs of the Rebellion,' at the very moment when the English ministry were putting forth all their energies to promote a union betwixt the two countries. Sir Richard died in 1818.

Charles, Duke of Richmond.

BORN A. D. 1764.—DIED A. D. 1819.

CHARLES, son of Lord George Lenox by Lady Louisa Kerr, daughter of the marquess of Lothian, was born in 1764. His early predilections were for the army, and he obtained a commission in the Coldstream guards, of which, in 1795, he became colonel. In 1803 he was nominated to the command of the 35th, and in 1814 he attained the rank of general. His duel with the duke of York, while an officer in the guards, has been already noticed.

When his father retired from the representation of Sussex, he succeeded to his seat, and gave his support to Pitt's administration. In 1783 he married Lady Charlotte Gordon, daughter of the duke of Gordon, by whom he had fourteen children. In 1808 he was appointed viceroy of Ireland, which dignity he held for the space of six years. His administration, with the present duke of Wellington as his secretary, was not very unpopular in Ireland; although it is alleged that his grace's influence was chiefly exercised through the hospitalities of his table.

On quitting Ireland, his grace and family removed to Brussels; and both he and his son, the present duke of Richmond, accompanied the duke of Wellington's suite to the field of Waterloo. Soon after this event, the duke was appointed governor-general of British North America. His administration commenced auspiciously, but was soon terminated in a very melancholy manner. It appears that his grace, who was exceedingly fond of tame animals, had received a slight scratch from a tame fox, or a lap-dog. No evil symptoms manifested themselves for several weeks, and the accident had been entirely forgotten: but on the morning of the 25th of August, 1819, his valet, on entering his sleeping apartment, "found him alarmed at the appearance of some trees which were near a window where he slept, and which he insisted were people looking in; and shortly afterwards, when a basin of water was presented to him, he exhibited evident abhorrence at the sight of it; and on several other occasions on that day and on the 26th, the same symptoms were but too obvious whenever any liquid was presented, and which, it now appeared, his grace partook of with extreme reluctance. On this day at dinner he had requested Lieutenant-colonel Cockburne to take wine with him; but his grace had no sooner lifted the liquid to his lips, than, unable to control the violence of his disease, he replaced the glass on the table, observing, 'Now, is not this excessively ridiculous? Well, I'll take it when I don't think of it.' The same evening, an assistant-surgeon, the only one in the vicinity, was sent for, who bled him; and his excellency found, apparently, so much relief from it, that he rose early the next morning, and proposed walking through Richmond wood to the new settlement of that name. He had, in his progress through the wood, started off at hearing a dog bark, and was with difficulty overtaken; and on the party's arrival at the skirts of the wood, at the sight of some stagnant water, his grace hastily leaped over a fence, and rushed into an adjoining barn, whither

his dismayed companions eagerly followed him. The paroxysm of his disorder was now at its height. It was almost a miracle that his grace did not die in the barn. He was with difficulty removed to a miserable hovel in the neighbourhood; and early in the morning of the fatal 28th, the duke of Richmond expired in the arms of a faithful Swiss, who had never quitted his beloved master for a moment. Whilst in this miserable log-hut, reason occasionally resumed her empire; and his grace accordingly availed himself of these lucid intervals to address a letter to Lady Mary Lenox; in which he reminded her that a favourite dog, belonging to the household, being in a room at the castle of St Louis, at a time (five months before,) when the duke, shaving, cut his chin, the dog was lifted up to lick the wound, when the animal bit his grace's chin. The recollection of this circumstance gave his grace but too sure a presentiment (the dog having subsequently ran mad) of his approaching fate; and his grace, therefore, in his letter to Lady Mary, expressed his conviction, (which indeed appears an irresistible conclusion,) that his disorder was hydrophobia. His grace recommended the line of conduct to be observed by his children in the painful situation in which they would be placed at his death; and it is said, requested to be buried in Quebec on the ramparts like a soldier, there to remain. His grace's sufferings were extreme; yet his mind soared above agony. He directed Colonel Cockburne not to attend to his orders any longer; 'For you see,' said the great man, 'the state I am reduced to:' and, during a paroxysm of pain, he exclaimed, 'For shame, Richmond! Shame, Charles Lenox! Bear your sufferings like a man!'" This painful scene was soon closed by death. His grace died on the 28th of August, 1819, and was interred in the cathedral church of Quebec.

"The death of his grace," says a Canadian writer, "was felt by the inhabitants of Canada as a sensible calamity; for his grace's benevolent and ingenuous disposition had endeared him to the people, and the general tone and character of his administration met with the cordial concurrence of those who were best capable of appreciating its effects. From the system which his grace has pursued since his arrival, there can be no doubt of his ardent desire to elevate these colonies to a rank worthy his great ambition. To agriculture he has given an additional impulse by his liberal patronage and co-operation with existing societies. The husbandman is now pursuing his art with the zeal of an impatient rival: what was before a dull and laborious routine of unproductive duties, has now become the pleasing and lucrative employment of laudable competition. Canals have been projected, and were already in progress under the auspices of this great man; and there can be little doubt of his intention to have intersected the whole country, and improved the advantages which nature has bestowed with a bountiful liberality. While thus employed in laying the basis for an elegant superstructure, he has been diligent in adopting the necessary precautions to secure it from the grasp of omni-voracious ambition. The various fortifications which border its threshold already bid defiance to the most determined aggressor; and while happiness is smiling within, she enjoys the peaceful repose of conscious security. His benevolence was an object of general admiration, and his amiable endowments and conciliating manners had endeared him to his family and friends. In public life he was steady, firm, and decisive in his measures. He was ac-

cessible to all who chose to prefer their complaints to him; and when he was compelled to refuse their prayers, he anxiously studied to convey that refusal in terms the least unpleasing to the feelings of the applicant. In private life, his affable condescension was gratifying to all around him; and although he could descend to the social intercourse of the domestic circle, he never lost sight of that native dignity which repelled improper liberties, and checked the forward. In early life, devoted from choice to the profession of arms, he evinced that most valuable of all qualities in an officer,—the power of securing the attachment of those under him. And when he afterwards came to be employed in the more difficult and complex duties of a ruler, he performed the office so as to secure him the esteem and confidence of his sovereign, and the ardent attachment of those people over whom he was placed. A striking instance of this was evinced in his appointment as lord-lieutenant of Ireland. At a time when contending parties, and discontented individuals, distracted the public mind in that country, his grace's behaviour soon produced the happiest result. His affable condescension pleased all parties; his confidence gained their esteem; and they soon discovered that the chief aim of his administration was to relieve their distresses and promote their happiness. At the present time, though twelve years have elapsed since his appointment to that office, the anniversary of the arrival of the duke of Richmond in Ireland still continues to be celebrated in that country with the warmest enthusiasm, and most gratifying recollection of the event. And this we consider a higher tribute to his memory than 'storied urns or monumental epitaph' can ever perpetuate."

Charles, Duke of Buccleugh.

BORN A. D. 1772.—DIED A. D. 1820.

WILLIAM SCOTT DOUGLAS, Duke of Buccleugh and Queensberry, was born in 1772. He married Harriet, daughter of Viscount Sydney, and succeeded to the family titles and estates in 1812. He did not long enjoy his honours, having fallen a victim to a long-threatened pulmonary affection in 1820. His weak state of health rendered his life comparatively a private one, if indeed a man of his unbounded wealth and influence could be said to enjoy privacy at all. Sir Walter Scott has sketched his noble relative's character in a very pleasing manner. The following is an extract from his eulogy:

"As a public man, the duke of Buccleugh was, like his father, sincerely attached to the principles of Mr Pitt, which he supported on every occasion with spirit and energy, but without virulence or prejudice against those who held different opinions. He held that honour, loyalty, and good faith, although old-fashioned words, expressed more happily the duties of a man of rank, than the newer denominations which have sometimes been substituted for them. He was a patriot in the noblest sense of the word, holding that the country had a right to the last acre of his estates, and the last drop of his blood; a debt which he prepared seriously to render to her, when there was an expectation that the country would be invaded. While Lord Dalkeith, he sat in

the house of commons: we are not aware that he spoke above one or twice in either house of parliament; but as president of public meetings he often expressed himself with an ease, spirit, and felicity, which left little doubt that his success would have been considerable in the senate. His grace was for many years colonel of the Dumfries-shire regiment of militia, the duties of which situation he performed with the great regularity, showing a turn for military affairs as well as an attachment to them, which would have raised him high in the profession, had his situation permitted him to adopt it. That it would have been his choice was undoubted, for the military art, both in theory and in practical detail, formed his favourite study.

"The management of the duke's very extensive estates was conducted on the plan recommended by his father's experience, and which is peculiarly calculated to avoid the evil of rack-renting, which has been fraught with such misfortune to Scotland, and to secure the permanent interest both of tenant and landlord. No tenants on the Buccleuch estate, who continued worthy of patronage, were ever deprived of their farms; and scarce any have voluntarily relinquished the possession of them. To improve his large property by building, by plantations of great extent, by every encouragement to agriculture, was at once his grace's most serious employment, and his principal amusement. The estate of Queensberry, to which he succeeded, although worth from £30,000 to £40,000 yearly, afforded to the duke, owing to well-known circumstances, scarce the sixth part of the lesser sum. Yet he not only repaired the magnificent castle of Drumlanrig, but accomplished, during the few years he possessed it, the restoration, with very large additions, of those extensive plantations which had been laid waste during the life of the last proprietor. We have reason to think that the duke expended, on this single estate, in repairing the injuries which it had sustained, not less than eight times the income he derived from it. He was an enthusiastic planter, and personally understood the quality and proper treatment of forest-timber. For two or three years past his grace extended his attention to the breed of cattle, and other agricultural experiments,—a pleasure which succeeded, in some degree, to that of field-sports, to which, while in full health, he was much addicted. Such were the principal objects of the duke's expense, with the addition of that of a household suitable to his dignity; and what effect such an expenditure must have produced on the country, may be conjectured by the following circumstance:—In the year 1817, when the poor stood so much in need of employment, a friend asked the duke why his grace did not propose to go to London in the spring? By way of answer, the duke showed him a list of day-labourers, then employed in improvements upon his different estates, the number of whom, exclusive of his regular establishment, amounted to nine hundred and forty-seven persons. If we allow to each labourer two persons whose support depended on his wages, the duke was, in a manner, foregoing, during this severe year, the privilege of his rank, in order to provide with more convenience for a little army of near three thousand persons, many of whom must otherwise have found it difficult to obtain subsistence. The result of such conduct is twice blessed, both in the means which it employs, and in the end which it attains in the general improvement of the country.

"In his domestic relations, as a husband, a son, a brother, and a father, no rank of life could exhibit a pattern of tenderness and affection superior to that of the duke of Buccleugh. He seemed only to live for his family and his friends; and those who witnessed his domestic happiness can alone estimate the extent of the present deprivation. He was a kind and generous master to his numerous household, and was rewarded by their sincere attachment.

"In the sincerity and steadiness of his friendship he was unrivalled. His intimacies, whether formed in early days, or during his military life, or on other occasions, he held so sacred, that, far from listening to any insinuations against an absent friend, he would not with patience hear him censured, even for real faults. The duke of Buccleugh also secured the most lasting attachment on the part of his inmates, by the value which he placed upon the sincerity of their regard. Upon one occasion, when the duke had been much and justly irritated, an intimate friend took the freedom to use some expostulations with his grace, on the extent to which he seemed to carry his resentment. The duke's answer, which conceded the point in debate, began with these remarkable words:—'I have reason to thank God for many things, but especially for giving me friends who will tell me truth.' On the other hand, the duke was not less capable of giving advice than willing to listen to it. He could enter with patience into the most minute details of matters far beneath his own sphere in life, and with strong, clear, unsophisticated good sense, never failed to point out the safest, most honourable, and best path to be pursued. Indeed his accuracy of judgment was such, that, even if a law point were submitted to him, divested of its technicalities, the duke generally took a view of it, founded upon the great principles of justice, which a professional person might have been benefited by listening to. The punctilious honour with which he fulfilled every promise, made the duke of Buccleugh cautious in giving hopes to friends, or others, applying for his interest. Nor was he, though with such high right to attention, fond of making requests to administration. But a promise, or the shadow of a promise, was sacred to him; and though many instances might be quoted of his assistance having been given farther than his pledge warranted an expectation, there never existed one in which it was not amply redeemed.

"Well-educated, and with a powerful memory, the duke of Buccleugh was both a lover and a judge of literature, and devoted to reading the time he could spare from his avocations. This was not so much as he desired; for the active superintendence of his own extensive affairs took up much of his time. As one article, he answered very many letters with his own hand, and never suffered above a post to pass over without a reply, even to those of little consequence; so that this single duty occupied very frequently two hours a-day. But his conversation often turned on literary subjects: and the zeal with which he preserved the ancient ruins and monuments which exist on his estates, showed his attachment to the history and antiquities of his country. In judging of literary composition, he employed that sort of criticism which arises rather from good taste, and strong and acute perception of what was true or false, than from a vivacity of imagination. In this particular, his grace would have formed no inadequate representative of the soundest and best educated part of the reading public; and

an author might have formed, from his opinion, a very accurate conjecture how his work would be received by those whom every author is desirous to please. The duke's own style in epistolary correspondence was easy, playful, and felicitous, or strong, succinct, and expressive, according to the nature of the subject."

Sir Vicary Gibbs.

BORN A. D. 1750.—DIED A. D. 1820.

THIS eminent lawyer was born about the year 1750, in the city or the vicinity of Exeter. He was educated at Eton, and in 1770 was elected to king's college, Cambridge, as a scholar on Lord Craven's foundation, where he distinguished himself by his attainments in classical literature; and where he took the degree of B. A. 1772, and proceeded M. A. 1775.

In the earlier part of his life he was a popular counsel, being second to Lord Erskine in the State-trials of 1794; his exertions in favour of liberty at that time were the foundation of his eminence; but, like others, he kicked down the stool by which he rose, and when made king's counsel, his political principles changed into the most violent persecution by *ex-officio* informations ever known among the records of attorney and solicitor-generals, who are no way sparing in this mode. In 1795 he was made solicitor-general to the Prince of Wales, and recorder of Bristol. In 1805 he was knighted, and appointed solicitor-general; at the general election of 1807, he became M. P. for Cambridge. In 1812, attorney-general. In 1813 he was elevated to the bench as chief-baron of the exchequer, and soon afterwards chief-justice of the court of common pleas, on the resignation of Sir James Mansfield, which important office he was obliged to resign in 1818, on account of ill health.—"In 1808," says the editor of the 'London Magazine,' "he was counsel in a cause in which the editor of this magazine, then acting as sheriff of London, was a witness. It was important to his client to prove that the editor paid vulgar respect to the dicta of reviews; but the editor, whose opinions of these corrupt productions are well known to all his readers, told the counsel that he neither respected nor read them. This Sir Vicary Gibbs affected to think strange, and insisting that every publisher ought to consult the opinions which the reviews give of authors before he treated for their works, he asserted in his coarse way, that 'if any publisher bought a MS. without consulting the reviews in regard to former works of the same author, he ought not to be allowed to walk about without a keeper.' This position was to the last degree silly, yet it suited the purpose of certain witlings of the day to endeavour to embroil the sheriff with the attorney-general. The former, indeed, did not consider himself as likely to be a favourite with the crown-lawyers, with whom he had been officially at issue on several points discreditable neither to his patriotism nor benevolence. What had passed led him, however, to consider the affair as a manifestation of personal hostility on the part of Sir Vicary; but in a few days, both being in the drawing-room at St James's—Sir Vicary, at a considerable distance, across a crowd of heads, recognised the sheriff by

nuance of cordial salutations, which were at first gravely received t returned; but in a few minutes he bustled through the throng, nced some friendly inquiries, and held out his hand. The sheriff , and remarked, that after all that had passed in the newspapers t be thought strange to see them in that attitude. 'Pshaw, Sir,' he, 'do you imagine I regard newspapers, or think about their vations?' 'Good,' rejoined the sheriff; 'yet Sir Vicary, it must llowed that you have as great an interest in what they say, as a isher has in the opinions of reviews!' 'You are right—you are t, Sir—I feel the force of the observation; but you must not expect eader to be always logical—the man must be distinguished from advocate, and I hope we are friends and shall continue to be so.' e sheriff replied, that a publisher always wished to be on good terms h an attorney-general; and the parties then separated in mutual good mour, several by-standers laughing at the incident and at so singular eclaircissement. A volume," adds Sir Richard Philipps, "could not ore fully illustrate the character of Sir Vicary Gibbs, though different aders may draw very different inferences from the anecdote."

Sir Vicary died on the 8th of February, 1820. His friend Sir Richard, hose interview with him we have just described in his own words, thus ums up his character: "The late chief-justice of the court of common pleas, was a man of strong mind, peevish temper, and great legal knowledge, perfected by vast industry and continual practice. For the sake of the bar, however, the urbanity of which we would wish to respect, it is to be hoped that the asperity with which this lawyer treated all who differed in opinion from him, whether in a wig or without, will never be copied. In a counsellor a waspish infirmity of temper becomes disgusting, but in a judge it is monstrous; not that we can impute this to Sir Vicary as a chief-justice,—when raised to the bench all his petulance fled, and a dignified amenity went hand in hand with duty. The dictatorial manner of a contemporary chief-justice was unknown on the chief seat of the common pleas."

Francis Hargrave.

BORN A. D. 1741.—DIED A. D. 1821.

This very eminent lawyer was the son of an attorney. He was educated at the Charter house and Oxford, and afterwards entered of Lincoln's Inn. Little is known of his early career at the bar. The first case in which he appears to have distinguished himself was that of the negro Somerset, already noticed in our sketch of that eminent philanthropist Granville Sharp. Soon after his successful pleading in this interesting case, Lord North appointed him one of the treasury counsel; but he did not long retain this appointment; his whig principles appear to have procured his abrupt and early dismissal.

On this occasion Lord Thurlow addressed a letter to him in the following terms: "I am exceedingly sorry for the accident, whatever it be, by which you are removed from an office, which could not be more agreeable to you, than you might have been useful to the public. If it was mere caprice, I am also sorry that it was thought expedient to

add insult to injury, by the dryness used upon the occasion. And indeed I am surprised at it; for Steele is certainly a sensible, honest, and well-natured man. If the business of the treasury has been done lately with less skill and accuracy than might have been expected, I have been told, that, as by some means or other it has happened, you had no share in that. In which case I should think that would have been a better reason for employing than dismissing a man of talents. I shall not easily be brought to consider this as a tacit manner of insinuating that blame which could not be directly imputed. On the other hand, you had great merit with government, by a seasonable publication of those grounds and principles, which afforded such effectual assistance in a moment of much more importance to this country than the fate of twenty ministers. Though I have no access to know how this happened, yet you have other friends, who can easily procure such information, and I dare say Mr Harding will readily take any part which will be agreeable to you." Brinsley Sheridan also wrote to him as follows: "I do assure you that it has given me the sincerest concern that I have not yet been able to find the manuscript which you have had the trouble to inquire about so frequently. I know that it cannot be lost. But I am most irregular about papers; and sometimes, in order to be very careful, I hide what I want to secure. I have made many researches since I have come from Richmond; but being now in town for some time I have no doubt of receiving it, and will immediately have the satisfaction of sending it to you. The conduct of the minister in your case, is, in my opinion, the most violent and unjust act which the vindictive system, adopted since the king's recovery, has produced. When parliament meets, it is a circumstance very likely to be alluded to. The pretence of inattention to the treasury bills, circulated by their creatures, is a pretence, which happens, from many circumstances, to fall within my experience, to be able to place in a proper light. I hope I need not request you to believe it will be a satisfaction to me to do you justice; and as far as character is concerned, you need no more than that truth should be known."

In 1791 he drew up the Roman Catholic bill. He continued in practice as a chamber-barrister until the year 1813, when his state of health rendered retirement unavoidable. He died in August, 1821. Mr Hargrave's fame is chiefly founded on his professional publications, which, for research, solid argumentation, and masterly exposition of the principles of English law, are unrivalled. The following is a specimen of his style. It is from his Introduction to a tract by Lord Hale on the Amendment of the Law:

"It is no more than might be expected from such active zeal for public good as Lord Hale's, that, notwithstanding the unusual weight of his judicial and professional fatigues, and the variety of studies to which he was addicted independently of the law, he should be prompted to give some attention to the reduction and improvement of the laws of his country, and to encourage others in like undertakings. Long before his time Lord Bacon had anxiously laboured to accomplish a work of the same laudable kind, as appears by several of his printed works: namely, his proposal for amendment of our law, made to the crown whilst he was attorney-general; his offer, when under his disgrace and troubles, to assist in composing a digest of our laws both common and

statute; and his remarks on obscurity, accumulation, and new digests of law, in his great work 'De Augmentis Scientiarum.' Thus, even in Lord Bacon's time, the evil from the obsoleteness of various titles in our common law, and the evil from the increased bulk of our statutes, were sufficient to strike his mind as a serious one. After the Restoration both evils not only had considerably increased; but from the great revolution as to the law of real property, which then took place under the statute converting military tenures into socage, and from the increasing frequency of new laws, were likely to be yearly more aggravated. Lord Hale certainly took alarm at this prospect of growing inconveniences in a venerable and fine structure, which, from its antiquity, was already encumbered with too many useless apartments, and from the nature of our constitution was particularly open to a superabundance of new accessions. Hence, therefore, notwithstanding his apparent jealousy of the proneness to innovation for which the age in which he lived had proved itself almost characteristic, he convinced himself that some remedy was become requisite to reduce and simplify our system, as well by lopping off ancient redundancies as by encouraging an orderly digest and a correct elucidation of all the remaining matter. The former purpose could not be attained without the sanction of the legislature. Nor could either be effectuated in the best manner, without an union of private labours in the extended vineyard of juridical learning under the fostering encouragement of royal patronage. For where was the single individual equal to so vast a design? where could have been found the many qualified by education, study, and talents, for a joint-execution, whose situation would allow them to make the necessary sacrifice of their time without a prospect of retribution from their country? or how could it be expected that lawyers, such as the great Tribonian and his illustrious associates, would desert all private pursuits, and all professional emoluments, for the sake of digesting national laws, without a Justinian to patronise their toils, and to reward them with some portion of distinction and independence? Lord Bacon's discernment apparently saw the matter in this light; for from the beginning he addressed King James as if royal countenance was essential to the execution of such high plans; nor could Lord Hale be ignorant that in England such enterprises wanted the patronage of an Edward the First to feed and cherish them. So far as single persons, so much detached by public employment and important studies and occupation of another kind, could well contribute by the combined exertions of genius and learning, was performed in a very considerable degree by Bacon, and in a very wonderful one by Hale. Pity it is, that, from their times down to the present moment, the body of our law has been suffered continually and rapidly to increase, with scarce any other aids to contract its bulk or preserve its consistency than those of occasional private contribution. What would a Bacon or a Hale have said, what would they have advised, had they lived to have seen our statute law not only swelled already into more than tenfold size beyond that which so alarmed their apprehensions, but still yearly extending its dimensions, by such a ratio as must soon terminate in a bulk immeasurable by the most industrious and accomplished of legal understandings? Would two such zealous friends to English jurisprudence, far exceeding even the Tribonian and Theophilus of the school

of Roman law, have been mere spectators of the most dangerous of all juridical diseases? Would they not have generously offered their aid towards forming a plan for as gradually curing this disease of infinite accumulation as it has been gradually and almost imperceptibly contracted? Would they not, were they now living, have earnestly supplicated the sovereign, or perhaps the parliament, to save the country from that ruin which must ensue the moment the science of law and the administration of justice shall cease to be practicable? These questions lead the mind into such a field of high national topics, that I fear at this time to continue the train of thoughts which momentarily occur to me. To engage in such an enterprise at any time, or under any circumstances, might be extreme rashness in one ill situate and sparingly endowed as I am. It is an ocean far too boisterous for a little shattered bark like mine; and therefore cannot be too soon quitted."

The following is a list of Hargrave's publications: 1. The Case of James Somerset, a negro, lately determined by the Court of King's Bench, wherein it is attempted to demonstrate the unlawfulness of Slavery in England. London, 1772, 8vo. 3d edit. 1783, 4to.—2. Arguments in defence of Literary Property. London, 1774, 8vo.—3. A complete Collection of State Trials, and Proceedings for High Crimes and Misdemeanours. 4th edit. To which is prefixed a new Preface. London, 1781, fol.—4. Collection of Tracts relative to the Law of England, from Manuscripts never before published; containing, besides the following by the Editor and anonymous authors, some by Lord Chief Justice Hale, Mr George Norburie, Justice Blackstone, q. v.; One Treatise of Maisters of the Chauncerie; Two Pieces touching Suits in Chancery by Subpœna; A Discourse against the Jurisdiction of the King's Bench by Process of Latitat; Concerning the Effects of Sentences of the Courts Ecclesiastical in cases of Marriage when pleaded or offered in Evidence in the Courts Temporal, by the Editor; An Argument by the Editor on the Appeal from Chancery in the Case of Messrs Wicker and Sir Thomas and Lady Boughton, against John Mitford, Esq., delivered at the Bar of the House of Lords; and Observations concerning the Rule in Shelley's Case, viz. that Heirs of the Body, or other inheritable Words, after an Estate of Life, shall operate as Words of limitation, and of purchase; chiefly with a view to the application of that Rule to last Wills; by the Editor. Together with a Preface containing a general account of the above-mentioned tracts, and observations on the subject-matter of them. London, 1787, 4to.—5. Brief Deductions relative to the Aid and Supply of the Executive Power in cases of Infancy, Delirium, or other Incapacities of the King. 1788, 4to.—6. Notes on Lord Coke's first Institutes, or Commentary on Littleton. London, 1794, 8vo.—7. The Jurisdiction of the Lords' House of Parliament considered, by Lord Chief Justice Hale; with a Preface, including a Narrative of the same Jurisdiction, from the Accession of James I. 1796, 4to.—8. Juridical Arguments and Collections. London, 1797-9. 2 vols. 4to.—9. Three Argu- [illegible] e Two Causes in Chancery, on the last Will of Peter The- [illegible] with Mr Morgan's Calculation of the Accumulation under [illegible] the Will. London, 1799, 4to.—10. Opinion in the Case [illegible] of Athol, in respect to the Isle of Man. 4to. Printed [illegible] e.—11. Address to the Grand Jury at the Liverpool

Sessions. 1803, 8vo.—12. Jurisconsult Exercitationes, vols. 1 and 2. 1811, 4to.—13. Institutes of the Laws of England. By Sir Edward Coke. Revised and corrected, with Notes, &c. By Francis Hargrave and Charles Butler, Esquires. 1818. 2 vols. 8vo.

Sir John Macpherson.

BORN A. D. 1767.—DIED A. D. 1821.

THIS eminent Indian statesman was the second son of the Rev. Mr Macpherson of Slate, in the isle of Skye. He received his university education at St Andrews and at Edinburgh.

Having resolved to push his fortune as an adventurer in the Indian army, he sailed with this view in an East Indiaman, commanded by his maternal uncle. On their arrival off Mangalore, they found the nabob of Arcot besieging that place in conjunction with a body of English troops. A message was sent to the English vessel, begging the aid of two hundred sailors to assist in storming the place, which was granted, and young Macpherson being placed at their head by his uncle, was the first who ascended the breach next morning. This fortunate introduction to public notice laid the foundation of his future fortune. The nabob of Arcot became his patron, and soon made him his chief confidant and adviser.

In 1781, after a residence in England of several years, Mr Macpherson went out to India in the capacity of a member of the supreme council of Bengal; and on the retirement of Hastings he held the office *ad interim* of governor-general of India. The following letter which he addressed to an old friend, Dr Adam Ferguson, a short time subsequent to his accession to the governorship, sets his character in a pleasing light:—

"CALCUTTA, 12*th January*, 1786.

"MY DEAR FRIEND,—When I was but a company's writer in the Carnatic, I remember I sent you a small bill, which you told me you accepted with pleasure, as it came from me, and you bought French clothes with it, being then on a visit to Paris. I have been near a year governor-general of India, and four years a supreme counsellor, and I have sent you nothing but a little Madeira. Yet you are the friend next to my heart, and your interests are dearer to me than my own, as they involve the concerns of a numerous family, depending on the state of your health. If I have been thus inattentive to your situation, you are yourself the cause; for to you am I indebted for those rules of conduct in my public trusts, which have bound my generosity to you, or to my own private interests within narrow limits. You have been occasionally informed of the line pursued by me since I left Europe; the situation in which I found affairs, my labours to retrieve them, and the disbursement of my own income in various attentions to those who were recommended to me, and whom I could not oblige at the public expense. If the line I have pursued was not necessary from its satisfactions to my own mind, the example of it was a *sine qua non* to enable me, when affairs devolved upon me, to reduce the expense of this col-

ony about a million sterling per annum, and to silence the cries of thousands, who might otherwise have just grounds for charging me with partiality and selfishness. I have followed your maxims in the practice of affairs upon, perhaps, the greatest theatre of affairs!—if the greatness of affairs is founded in the numbers of men, and the extent of their interests; the concerns to be extricated or forfeited; the wealth that might have been acquired, and the consequences that might thereby ensue to individuals, tribes, and nations. The events that hinged upon my ideas and conduct, four years ago, were more important than those which I can now influence, though I stand at the head, and in absolute charge, of all our affairs in India! It is, my friend, one-and-twenty years since I began under you, the rudiments of these affairs; and as there is no period of my life that I look to with such a conscious sensation of joy and pride, as that which I passed with you and our noble pupils, so to you is due the account, which I can in truth give, and which I am bound to make to you: it must be interesting to you, and it is for the benefit of our native school, and perhaps of society in general, that I should enable you to know the result, that you might hereafter be the more confirmed in your system! I have amply experienced the truth of three of your favourite positions. First, 'That the pursuits of an active mind are its greatest happiness when they are directed to good objects, which unite our own happiness with that of our friends, and the general advantage of society.' Hence the first success in the Carnatic in 1767,—the subsequent efforts in London in 1769,—the return to India in 1771,—the visit to Europe in 1777,—the intercourse with men in business,—the friendships of the ministers,—and Lord North's selection of me for my trust in 1781, &c., in the supreme council. I have likewise experienced, 'that he who has not been in contest with his fellow-creatures knows but half of the human heart.' But such are the necessary taxes of occupation, of business, and perhaps of life. Thirdly, 'That all that rests with us individually, is to act our own parts to the best of our ability, and to endeavour to do good for its own sake, independently of events, disappointments, or sufferings.'

"Under these impressions I have acted, and I now act; and if the India company, and the ministers, and the legislature, extend their views to the necessity of affairs, and to the future prosperity of Great Britain and India, as they stand united; and if they will adopt the plans I have laid before them, I am steady in believing that the greatest benefits to Great Britain, from Thulè to the Land's End; and to Asia, from Cape Comorin to Tartary, may flow from the practical operation of the commercial and political systems I have opened for the progressive adoption of the empire. The outlines are clear and strong, as well as the ground of the operations themselves. Look at the map, and see the field of empire, marked by the Thibet Hills, from Tartary to Chittagong; by the Ganges, from its source to its embrace of the ocean; and by opposite chains of hills, and of wild tribes from Balasore to the Jumna.

'This empire asks nothing from Great Britain but protection, and staples; and it sends to Europe, every year, about twenty-five 'en, loaded with the industry and the productions of its extra- y soil: each ship is worth £100,000, one with another. The

improvements made in navigation, and the knowledge of climates, and the care of health, enable Great Britain to carry on her trade, if she would adopt a liberal plan for it, on a footing to employ a fleet in going and returning (including China and the coasts of the Great Peninsula) of about seventy ships, now equal in size to 50-gun ships: why not to 64 and 74? Commerce would then create a navy for Britannia; at least, such as would command the Indian seas! And, as in King William's days, the first great operations of our state began by converting our debts into funds, or property, by regular payments of the interest; so we may here employ the present interests of our debts to be a medium for remitting the whole to Britain in an additional investment of goods; the duties and customs of which will equal the land-tax at four shillings in the pound.

"Upon this system, which necessity forced us to begin here in 1782, (by providing what is called a subscription investment, and drawing bills upon the proceeds of the goods,) India was saved from the jaws of war, and the chains of a little monopolist policy, which forced all extra-remittances to Britain, through the channels of foreign trade, and which paid their tributes of customs to Lisbon and Copenhagen, at a rate that has turned the exchange from Copenhagen against England to about £18 per cent. But my system does more; it pours in upon Britain those streams of friendship, and of aid, which every officer, civil and military, in these provinces, wishes to send, partially, to his relations; and which, in the general reciprocal remittance and receipt, give the British heart, on this and your side of the ocean, its most delightful exercises; and which gladden every village and place, from the cottages of the Isle of Skye to the palaces of London!

"I think, still a greater scene opens by this commercial intercourse, if our rivals in Europe wished but for a proper share of it. It would embrace much of the repose of the universe in the happy communications of all the inhabitants of the globe, from the sources of the Mississippi to those of the Ganges; and from West to East, till the East and the West are united.

"I have at this moment, at Calcutta, ambassadors from Tidona, in the Eastern seas; from Thibet; from all the states of India; and from Timiu Shaw, who is crossing the Indus: and, as Manilla is opening her trade, I hope to hear direct from Lima, before I leave India, and to make the Incas of Peru acquainted with the Brahmin rajahs on the banks of the Ganges. Curious are, besides, the treasures in literature, and the oblivious history of nations, that are dawning upon us from the researches of Sir William Jones and others, in Sanscrit, Arabic, and Persian; even Anacreon's and Euclid's best and happiest labours may have been long asleep in the translations of this country. And what seems to complete our prospect of elegant and useful information is, that the present governor of Chinsura, who was for seven years in Japan, has brought us the wonders of that country: their encyclopædia is in his hands; and, in some of the arts of life, and of government, those islanders of Asia, those Anglo-Asiatics, have left all other nations far behind.

"While devoting all my moments, that are my own, to such general considerations, I have perused, and am perusing again, your story of the Roman state, and their rule of India. Thanks, thanks, my dear

friend.—But one ambition remains; it is, to converse with you at your farm on these affairs. Has life in reserve for us this happiness? or, is our expectation of it enough? May I be able to meet you there, worthy, in every respect, of your esteem, as of your affection. And, is it possible to go through the remaining acts of my life here, with progressive dignity and success? Hitherto, all is as you could wish; but all may not be at the farm as you wish. I know the feu-duty embarrasses you; and the dignitas, without the otium, may be there. Receive, then, the inclosed bill upon my masters, the India company: let the amount of it be sunk to discharge the annual feu-duty of the farm during your life and Mrs Ferguson's, and the lives of all your children and their descendants;—it will be a future business to buy off the feu-duty altogether.

"At present, I can send you no more; and should fate have deprived me of the future happiness of knowing that you can be conscious of this little attention, those nearest and dearest to you I must consider as what remains to me of you: to them I address this letter also."

Sir John's government was terminated by the removal of Earl Cornwallis. He soon after returned to England, where he spent the remainder of his life. He died in January, 1821.

Robert, Marquess of Londonderry.

BORN A. D. 1789.—DIED A. D. 1822.

THE Right Honourable Robert Stewart, Marquess of Londonderry, Viscount Castlereagh, was born on the 18th of June, 1789. His father, Robert Stewart, first marquess of Londonderry, was advanced to that dignity in 1816. The subject of this memoir received his early education at Armagh under Archdeacon Hurrock. In 1786 he was entered of St John's college, Cambridge. His youth was little distinguished by his attachment to letters, but he early gave many proofs of that firmness or rather obstinacy of character which afterwards distinguished him. On coming of age he stood for the representation of the county of Down, and carried his election after a severe and very expensive contest. On the hustings he pledged himself to support the cause of parliamentary reform,—a pledge which he afterwards found it convenient to maintain was fully redeemed by his exertions to procure the right of voting to Catholics. The first debate in which he took a part was on the question of the independent right of Ireland to trade with India, irrespective of the British East India company's monopoly. He adopted the affirmative side of the question, and in this his debut obtained the decided approbation of the opposition in the Irish house of commons. For a time he promised to become a valuable auxiliary to the liberal party. He presided at public dinners where they drank 'Our Sovereign Lord the People;' he supported Grattan in his motion for reform; and characterized the system pursued by government as "a vicious system which was fast driving the public mind into a state of agitation." At last, on the recall of Earl Fitzwilliam, he suddenly turned round and

identified himself with the administration, by supporting its coercive measures.

In 1798 the Honourable Mr Stewart—now become Lord Castlereagh in consequence of his father having been created Viscount Castlereagh in October, 1795, and Earl of Londonderry in 1796—joined the administration of Earl Camden, the Irish viceroy, in the quality of secretary, and of course identified himself with the infamous practices which were avowedly resorted to for the discovery and suppression of the rebellion.

After the Union he was appointed a privy-councillor and president of the Board of Control. On the resignation of Pitt he managed to retain his offices, and on the return of his patron to power he was appointed secretary-at-war. He had now, however, become eminently unpopular in Ireland, and was defeated in his attempt to be re-elected for Down, so that he was obliged to come into the house as member for Boroughbridge. On the death of Pitt he resigned office; but on the resignation of Grey and Grenville he was brought into office with Perceval, Eldon, and other ultras, under the duke of Portland. In 1809 a hostile meeting took place betwixt Lord Castlereagh and Mr Canning, who also held a place in the cabinet. The following is a copy of the correspondence which passed between Lord Castlereagh and Mr Canning, previous to the duel:

"ST JAMES'S SQUARE, *September* 19*th*, 1809.

"SIR,—It is unnecessary for me to enter into any detailed statement of the circumstances which preceded the recent resignations. It is enough for me, with a view to the immediate object of this letter, to state, that it appears a proposition had been agitated, without any communication with me, for my removal from the war department; and that you, towards the close of the last session, having urged a decision upon this question, with the alternative of your seceding from the government, procured a positive promise from the duke of Portland (the execution of which you afterwards considered yourself entitled to enforce), that such removal should be carried into effect. Notwithstanding this promise, by which I consider you pronounced it unfit that I should remain charged with the conduct of the war, and by which my situation as a minister of the crown was made dependent upon your will and pleasure, you continued to sit in the same cabinet with me, and to leave me not only in the persuasion that I possessed your confidence and support as a colleague, but you allowed me, in breach of every principle of good faith both public and private, though thus virtually superseded, to originate and proceed in the execution of a new enterprise of the most arduous and important nature, with your apparent concurrence, and ostensible approbation. You were fully aware that if my situation in the government had been disclosed to me, I could not have submitted to remain one moment in office, without the entire abandonment of my private honour and public duty. You knew I was deceived, and you continued to deceive me. I am aware, it may be said, which I am ready to acknowledge, that when you pressed for a decision for my removal, you also pressed for its disclosure, and that it was resisted by the duke of Portland and some members of the government supposed to be my friends. But I never can admit that you

have a right to make use of such a plea, in justification of an act affecting my honour, nor that the sentiments of others could justify an acquiescence in such a delusion on your part, who had yourself felt and stated its unfairness. Nor can I admit that the head of any administration, or any supposed friend (whatever may be their motives), can authorize or sanction any man in such a course of long and persevering deception. For were I to admit such a principle, my honour and character would be from that moment in the discretion of persons wholly unauthorized, and known to you to be unauthorized, to act for me in such a case. It was therefore your act and your conduct which deceived me; and it is impossible for me to acquiesce in being placed in a situation by you which no man of honour could knowingly submit to, nor patiently suffer himself to be betrayed into, without forfeiting that character. I have no right, as a public man, to resent your demanding, upon public ground, my removal from the particular office I have held, or even from the administration, as a condition of your continuing a member of the government. But I have a distinct right to expect that a proposition, justifiable in itself, shall not be executed in an unjustifiable manner, and at the expense of my honour and reputation. And I consider that you were bound, at least, to avail yourself of the same alternative, namely, your own resignation, to take yourself out of the predicament of practising such a deceit towards me, which you did exercise in demanding a decision for my removal. Under these circumstances, I must require that satisfaction from you to which I feel myself entitled to lay claim. I am, &c. CASTLEREAGH.

"THE RIGHT HON. GEORGE CANNING, &c. &c. &c."

"GLOUCESTER LODGE, *September 20th*, 1809.

"MY LORD,—The tone and the purport of your lordship's letter, which I have this moment received, of course preclude any other answer on my part to the misapprehensions and misrepresentations with which it abounds, than that I will cheerfully give to your lordship the satisfaction which you require. I am, &c. GEORGE CANNING.

"LORD VISCOUNT CASTLEREAGH, &c. &c. &c."

The following statement was circulated among Mr Canning's friends some days before the preceding letters were made public: "It is perfectly true, that so long ago as Easter, Mr Canning had represented to the duke of Portland the insufficiency (in his opinion) of the government, as then constituted, to carry on the affairs of the country, under all the difficulties of the times, and had requested, that unless some change should be effected in it, he might be permitted to resign his office. It is equally true, that in the course of the discussion, which arose out of this representation, it was proposed to Mr Canning, and accepted by him, as the condition of his consenting to retain the seals of the foreign office, that a change should be made in the war department. But it is not true that the time at which that change was ultimately proposed to be made was of Mr Canning's choice; and it is not true that he was party or consenting to the concealment of that intended change from Lord Castlereagh. With respect to the concealment, Mr Canning, some short time previous to the date of Lord Castlereagh's letter, without the smallest suspicion of the existence of any intention on the part

of Lord Castlereagh to make such an appeal to Mr Canning as that letter contains, but upon information that some misapprehension did exist as to Mr Canning's supposed concurrence in the reserve which had been practised towards Lord Castlereagh, transmitted to one of Lord Castlereagh's most intimate friends, to be communicated whenever he might think proper, the copy of a letter addressed by Mr Canning to the duke of Portland, in the month of July, in which Mr Canning requests, 'in justice to himself, that it may be remembered, whenever hereafter this concealment shall be alleged (as he doubts not that it will) against him, as an act of injustice towards Lord Castlereagh, that it did not originate in his suggestion; that so far from desiring it, he conceived, however erroneously, Lord Camden to be the sure channel of communication to Lord Castlereagh; and that up to a very late period he believed such communication to have been actually made.' The copy of this letter, and of the duke of Portland's answer to it, 'acknowledging Mr Canning's repeated remonstrances against the concealment,' are still in the possession of Lord Castlereagh's friend. The communication to Lord Camden, to which this letter refers, was made on the 28th of April, with Mr Canning's knowledge, and at his particular desire. Lord Camden being the near connection and most confidential friend of Lord Castlereagh, it never occurred to Mr Canning, nor was it credible to him, till he received the most positive asseverations of the fact, that Lord Camden had kept back such a communication from Lord Castlereagh. With respect to the period at which the change in the war department was to take place, Mr Canning was induced, in the first instance, to consent to its postponement till the rising of parliament, partly by the representations made to himself of the inconveniences of any change in the middle of a session, but principally from a consideration of the particular circumstances under which Lord Castlereagh stood in the house of commons after Easter; circumstances which would have given to his removal at that period of the session a character which it was certainly no part of Mr Canning's wish that it should bear. Mr Canning, however, received the most positive promise, that a change in the war department should take place immediately upon the close of the session. When that time arrived, the earnest and repeated entreaties of most of Lord Castlereagh's friends in the cabinet were employed to prevail upon Mr Canning to consent to the postponement of the arrangement. At length, and most reluctantly, he did give his consent to its being postponed to the period proposed by Lord Castlereagh's friends, viz. the termination of the expedition then in preparation; but he did so upon the most distinct and solemn assurances, that, whatever might be the issue of the expedition, the change should take place at that period; that the seals of the war department should then be offered to Lord Wellesley (the person for whose accession to the cabinet Mr Canning was known to be most anxious), and that the interval should be diligently employed by Lord Castlereagh's friends, in preparing Lord Castlereagh's mind to acquiesce in such an arrangement. It was therefore matter of astonishment to Mr Canning, when, at the issue of the expedition, he reminded the duke of Portland, that the time was now come for his grace's writing to Lord Wellesley, to find, that so far from the interval having been employed by Lord Castlereagh's friends in preparing Lord Castlereagh for the

change, the same reserve had been continued towards him, against which Mr Canning had before so earnestly remonstrated. Being informed of this circumstance by the duke of Portland, and learning at the same time from his grace, that there were other difficulties attending the promised arrangement, of which Mr Canning had not before been apprized; and that the duke of Portland had himself come to a determination to retire from office, Mr Canning instantly, and before any step whatever had been taken towards carrying the promised arrangement into effect, withdrew his claim, and requested the duke of Portland to tender his (Mr Canning's) resignation, at the same time with his grace's, to the king. This was on Wednesday, the 6th of September, previously to the levee of that day. All question of the performance of the promise made to Mr Canning being thus at an end, the reserve which Lord Castlereagh's friends had hitherto so perseveringly practised towards Lord Castlereagh appears to have been laid aside. Lord Castlereagh was now made acquainted with the nature of the arrangement which had been intended to have been proposed to him. What may have been the reasons which prevented Lord Castlereagh's friends from fulfilling the assurances given to Mr Canning, that Lord Castlereagh's mind should be prepared by their communications for the arrangement intended to be carried into effect; and what the motives for the disclosure to Lord Castlereagh, after that arrangement had ceased to be in contemplation, it is not for Mr Canning to explain."

The following is Earl Camden's statement, in answer to Mr Canning's foregoing explanation, respecting the charges brought against him by Lord Castlereagh: "As it may be inferred, from a statement which has appeared in the public papers, that Lord Camden withheld from Lord Castlereagh a communication which he had been desired to make to him, it is necessary that it should be understood, that however Mr Canning might have conceived the communication alluded to, to have been made, to Lord Camden, it never was stated to Lord Camden that the communication was made at the desire of Mr Canning; and that, so far from Lord Camden having been authorized to make the communication to Lord Castlereagh, he was absolutely restricted from so doing. As it may also be inferred, that Lord Camden was expected to prepare Lord Castlereagh's mind for any proposed change, it is necessary that it should be understood, that Lord Camden never engaged to communicate to Lord Castlereagh any circumstances respecting it, before the termination of the expedition."

The two ministers, with their respective seconds, met on Putney Heath, and, at the second exchange of shots, Canning was wounded in the right thigh, and Castlereagh had one of the buttons shot off his coat. The parties then quitted the ground without explanation, and both immediately afterwards tendered their resignations.

In 1812, on the death of Perceval, Lord Castlereagh became secretary of state for foreign affairs, which post he held during the remainder of his life, remaining virtually, though not nominally, at the head of the administration

On the downfall of Napoleon, Lord Castlereagh attended as British plenipotentiary at the congress of Vienna. Never had an English minister a more glorious opportunity afforded him of advancing the interests and honours of his country, and securing himself an immortal name in

her annals; and never did a minister act a weaker part. While he totally neglected the interests, and above all, the commercial relations of Britain, he allowed the allied sovereigns to annihilate some of the most ancient and liberal constitutions of Europe, to break their most solemn pledges, and to share amongst themselves the Lion's part in the new settlement of affairs. "So silly a treaty as that made by your ministers for their own country," said Napoleon in his conversations with O'Meara, "was never known before. You give up every thing, and gain nothing. All the other powers gained acquisitions of country and millions of souls, but you give up colonies. For example, you give up the isle of Bourbon to the French. A more impolitic act you could not have committed. You ought to endeavour to make the French forget the way to India, and all Indian policy, instead of placing them half-way there. Why did you give up Java? Why Surinam, or Martinique, or the other French colonies? To avoid doing so, you had nothing more to say than that you would retain them for the five years the allied powers were to remain in France. Why not demand Hamburgh for Hanover? Then you would have an entrepôt for your manufactures. In treaties, an ambassador ought to take advantage of every thing for the benefit of his own country. All your miseries I maintain to be owing to the imbecility and ignorance of Lord Castlereagh, and his inattention to the real prosperity of his own country. Had Lords Grenville or Wellesley been ambassadors, I am convinced that the interests of England would have been consulted. What would those Englishmen, who lived one hundred years ago, say, if they could rise from their graves, be informed of your glorious successes, cast their eyes upon England, witness her distress, and be informed, that, in the treaty of peace, not a single article for the benefit of England had been stipulated! that, on the contrary, you had given up conquests and commercial rights necessary to your existence? When Austria gained ten millions of inhabitants, Russia eight, Prussia ten, Holland, Bavaria, Sardinia, and every other power, obtained an increase of territory, why not England, who was the main organ of all the success? Instead of establishing a number of independent maritime states, such as Hamburgh, Stralsund, Dantzic, Genoa, to serve as entrepôts for your manufactures, with conditions, either secret or otherwise, favourable to your commerce, you have basely given up Genoa to the king of Sardinia, and united Belgium to Holland. You have rendered yourselves hated by the Italians and Belgians, and have done irreparable injury to your trade. For, although it is a great point for you that Belgium should be separated from France, it is a serious disadvantage to you that she should be united to Holland. Holland has no manufactories, and consequently would have become a depôt for yours, from whence a prodigious influx would be kept up in the Continent. Now, however, that Belgium has been made a part of Holland, this last will naturally prefer taking the manufactures of her subjects to those of a stranger, and all Belgium may be called a manufacturing town. Independent of this, in case of any future war with France, Holland must join the latter through fear of losing the provinces of Belgium. People always consider the danger that is most imminent." In the same book we find Napoleon affirming that Lord Castlereagh offered him an asylum in England, before he went to Elba, saying, he should be "very well

treated there, and much better off than in Elba." "The real fact," said Napoleon, "is, that he first proposed it. Before I went to Elba, Lord Castlereagh said to Caulaincourt, 'Why does Napoleon think of going to Elba? Let him come to England. He will be received in London with the greatest pleasure, and will experience the best possible treatment. He must not, however, ask permission to come, because that would take up too much time; but let him give himself up to us, without making any conditions, and he will be received with the greatest joy, and be much better than at Elba." "This," added he, "had much influence with me afterwards." Another passage throws some light on the minister's character: "At Chatillon with the ambassadors of the allied powers, after some successes of mine, and when I had in a manner invested the town, he (Lord C.) was greatly alarmed lest I might seize and make him a prisoner; as, not being accredited as an ambassador, nor invested with any diplomatic character to France, I might have taken him as an enemy. He went to Caulaincourt, to whom he mentioned that he 'laboured under considerable apprehensions that I should cause violent hands to be laid upon him,' as he acknowledged I had a right to do. It was impossible for him to get away without falling in with my troops. Caulaincourt replied, that as far as his own opinion went, he would say that I would not meddle with him, but that he could not answer for what I might do. Immediately after, Caulaincourt wrote to me what Castlereagh had said, and his own answer. I signified to him in reply, that he was to tell Lord Castlereagh to make his mind easy and stay where he was; that I would consider him as an ambassador. At Chatillon," continued he, "when speaking about the liberty enjoyed in England, Castlereagh observed, in a contemptuous manner, that it was not the thing most to be esteemed in your country, that it was an usage which they were obliged to put up with; but had become an abuse, and would not answer for other countries." Lord Castlereagh's conduct however in congress received the thanks of a venial parliament, and was further rewarded by a ribbon of the Garter.

On the assembling of parliament, in 1816, Brougham moved for a copy of a treaty concluded at Paris, on the 26th of September, between Russia, Austria, and Prussia, and which had received the name of the *Holy Alliance*. By this singular document, which, said the learned member, was couched in the most devout and solemn language, and consisted of three articles, the three potentates, members of different Christian churches, declared their resolution, both in their domestic administration and foreign relations, to take for their guide the precepts of the holy religion taught by our Saviour. They bound themselves in a fraternity of mutual assistance, regarding themselves as delegated by Providence to govern three branches of one and the same Christian nation, of which the Divine Being was the sole real Sovereign; and they declared that all such powers as should solemnly avow the sacred principles which had actuated them would be received with ardour into this 'holy alliance.' He observed, that there was something so singular in the language of the treaty as to warrant no little jealousy. He could not think that it referred to objects merely spiritual; the partition of Poland had been prefaced by language very similar to that now used; and the proclamation of the Empress Catherine, which wound up that

fatal tragedy, was couched in almost the same words. Lord Castlereagh vindicated the motives of the emperor of Russia, and stated that the prince-regent—whose accession to this alliance had been solicited—had expressed his satisfaction in its tendency; but he opposed the production of the document itself, on the ground that it was contrary to the practice of parliament to call for copies of treaties to which this country was no party.

In 1820, the Holy Alliance published its famous Circular,—a manifesto containing the avowal of principles so obnoxious that all parties in the British parliament, and none more loudly than the adherents of the minister, joined in expressing their abhorrence of it. It was remarked, however, that Lord Castlereagh spoke of this precious document in very guarded and courtier-like terms, contenting himself with the admission that "the principle (of interference) asserted in the Circular was carried further than was consistent with prudence and sound policy."

During the laborious session of 1822, his lordship was observed to betray occasional symptoms of mental irritation which his most intimate friends had never before observed in him. He had an interview with the king on Friday the 9th of August, 1822, immediately previous to his majesty's departure for Scotland. On this occasion, it is said, "his majesty was surprised and alarmed, at the incoherent manner in which Lord Londonderry conversed; and after the noble lord's departure, it is stated, that the king wrote to Lord Liverpool, mentioning that the marquess of Londonderry had just been with him, and that he had talked in a very remarkable manner; that his majesty felt alarmed on his lordship's account; and that it would be advisable to take becoming precautions to have the opportunity of watching his lordship's conduct. His majesty further urged the necessity of at once having medical advice; but if possible, without letting his lordship know that his demeanor had been the subject of any remark. On the marquess of Londonderry's arrival at his house in St James's square, his lady and several persons in his establishment noticed in his lordship a singular incoherence of look, and great agitation of mind. Dr Bankhead, who had been for many years his lordship's physician, was immediately sent for. He found his illustrious patient labouring under a considerable depression of spirits, and complaining of an oppressive sensation in the head. Dr Bankhead recommended that he should be cupped, and waited until the cupper arrived, by whom seven ounces of blood were taken from the back of his lordship's neck. This evidently relieved him; and Dr Bankhead suggested the propriety of his taking repose on the sofa for half an hour, before he set out for North Cray, whither he was on the eve of departure. With this advice the noble lord complied, and became much more composed. He was attended by his lady with the most affectionate solicitude, and by her persuasion took some tea. Dr Bankhead then gave him some aperient medicine, desiring that he would take it in the morning, and keep himself cool and quiet. His lordship, before he took his leave, stated that he felt himself extremely unwell; and stipulated that Dr Bankhead should go to North Cray the next day, and remain with him until he was better. To this Dr Bankhead agreed, and they parted, the marquess and his lady setting out for his seat. On Saturday evening Dr Bankhead, in pursuance of

his promise, proceeded to North Cray: he arrived about seven o'clock, and was immediately shown into the marquess's room. He found him in bed; but from the manner in which he addressed him on his approach, he at once saw that he was labouring under a serious nervous attack. He endeavoured to compose his mind, and remained with him the better part of the night, again giving him some cooling medicine, and confining his diet to food of the simplest character. The whole of the next day his lordship continued in bed; but again evinced such a waywardness of imagination, and seemed to be labouring under such extraordinary delusions, that it was deemed expedient to remove from his reach every thing by which he might do himself bodily mischief. His lordship frequently expressed apprehensions that he was the object of some dreadful conspiracy; and even when he saw Dr Bankhead and his amiable marchioness talking together, he exclaimed that he was sure they were plotting some mischief against him. His manner too, which had been usually kind and indulgent, became harsh and severe. He grew petulant and impatient; still the physician saw no ground for serious apprehension, and did not deem it necessary to call in additional advice. He attributed his lordship's disease to the great anxiety and fatigue incident to his very irksome office, and hoped that a little quiet would restore him to his accustomed vigour of mind and constitution. He remained with his lordship until a late hour on Sunday night, and observed with pleasure that his conversation became more rational; at length he left him with the marchioness, and retired to an adjoining room. In the morning the marquess, after having had some sleep, awoke suddenly and rang the bell; the marchioness's maid answered it; when he asked her what she wanted in the room, apparently forgetting that he had summoned her. The marchioness then said that his lordship wanted breakfast, and breakfast was accordingly brought. He found fault with it, and said it was not fit for him, although precisely the same as usual. At half-past seven he rang again, and desired that Dr Bankhead might be sent to him. The marchioness then quitted the room, and entered her own dressing-room. At this moment the servant retired, and went to apprize Dr B. of his lordship's desire. Dr B. said he was ready to attend immediately. The servant then went back to see that her mistress had retired; and at that moment, while she stood in the passage, the marquess opened the door, and rushed by her into his dressing-room. He was attired only in his dressing-gown. She was alarmed, and called for Dr B., who rushed to the spot. She said her lord had gone into his dressing-room, and Dr B. hastened forward; when, at the moment he reached the door, he saw the marquess with his front towards the window, and his face towards the ceiling; and his right arm also seemed to be raised. Without turning round, he exclaimed, as if conscious who was approaching, having in fact been apprized of it by the previous announcement of the servant, 'Bankhead, let me fall upon your arm: it is all over!' This was all he said. The doctor ran forward, and caught him on his arm; but, unable to sustain his weight, let him fall to the ground. Life, however, was almost instantaneously extinct, and a torrent of blood rushed from a wound in his neck. On further investigation, Dr B. found a small clasp-knife, with a white handle, and a curved blade of about two inches in length, clenched in his right hand, with which it appeared that he

had just inflicted the fatal wound. The carotid artery, or jugular vein, was completely divided, and with anatomical precision; for the extent of the external orifice did not exceed an inch in width, while the depth was two inches. The most expert surgeon, if endeavouring to extinguish human life with the utmost promptitude, could not have effected the object more scientifically."[1]

Lord Castlereagh, in private life, is said to have been uniformly bland, and unostentatious in his manners, and simple in his habits. His talents were inadequate to the duties of his public station, but he formed upon the whole a skilful debater. His administration was the most generally unpopular, perhaps, of any premier's of the Georgian era; it was opposed in its spirit to every thing free and liberal and enlightened, and marked by measures which no minister of the crown would now attempt to put in force.

David Ricardo.

BORN A.D. 1772.—DIED A.D. 1823.

THIS eminent political economist was the son of a Jew and stockbroker. His father had trained him to his own business; but, in consequence of his renouncing Judaism and marrying a Christian lady, while yet a young man, and dependent on his father's bounty, he was driven from his parent's house, and compelled to seek a livelihood for himself, which his industry and ability soon enabled him to do, and even to realize a very handsome fortune.

It was not until somewhat advanced in life that he seems to have directed his attention to political economy. His first speculations on this subject were occasioned by his intimate connexion with the bank, and the great depreciation of the currency about the year 1810, in which year he published a series of letters on the currency in the 'Morning Chronicle,' in which he gave a luminous exposition of the principles which regulate the distribution of the precious metals. His opinions were espoused by the Bullion committee, and ably vindicated by himself in his reply to Bosanquet's strictures on the report. His subsequent pamphlets 'On the Profits of Stock,' and 'On the Best Means of securing a safe and economical Currency,' were in every respect worthy of his previous reputation. In 1817 he published a work entitled 'Principles of Political Economy and Taxation,' in which he contends, in opposition to Dr Smith, "that the accumulation of capital, and the payment of rent, have no effect whatever in increasing the real price of commodities; and that, in every case, the exchangeable value of such as can be increased in quantity by the exertions of human industry, and on the production of which competition operates without restraint, can only be augmented by an augmentation of the quantity of labour necessarily required to bring them into market." His theory of Rent, or rather his exposition and correction of Mr Malthus's theory, is an extremely lucid and acute argument.

In 1819 Mr Ricardo was returned to parliament for the borough of

[1] Annual Obituary.

Portarlington in Ireland. As a senator he commanded the highest respect of both sides of the house on all financial questions. He died in September, 1823.

John, Earl St Vincent.

BORN A. D. 1736.—DIED A. D. 1823.

This celebrated and most meritorious naval officer was born at Meaford in Staffordshire. He was the second son of Swynfen Jervis, Esq., barrister, and auditor of Greenwich hospital. He received the rudiments of education at the grammar-school of Burton-upon-Trent, but evincing an almost uncontrollable propensity for the sea, he was allowed to enter the navy at the infantile age of ten years. After the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle he was sent to France, where he appears to have prosecuted his studies for a few months; but in 1749 he was entered on board the Gloucester as a midshipman.

In 1759 he served under Sir Charles Saunders in the expedition against Quebec. Sir Charles soon after advanced him to the rank of commander, and in 1760 he was posted to the Gosport of 60 guns. In 1769 he was honoured to bear the congratulations of the British court to the court of Naples on the marriage of the king. In 1774 he was appointed to the Foudroyant of 84 guns. In 1778 he captured the Pallas frigate of 32 guns; and soon after was present, and bore a distinguished part in the engagement betwixt the English and French fleets under the respective commands of Keppel and D'Orvilliers.

In the month of April, 1782, the Foudroyant, then attached to the squadron of Admiral Barrington, captured the Pégase of 74 guns, after a short but fierce conflict. For his able and gallant conduct on this occasion, Captain Jervis was knighted, and invested with the order of the Bath. Shortly afterwards Sir John was returned to parliament for Launceston in Cornwall, and at the general election in 1784 for the town of North Yarmouth. In 1787 he was advanced to the rank of rear-admiral; and on the 21st of September, 1790, was appointed rear-admiral of the White. He hoisted his flag on board the Prince of 98 guns. On the reduction of the armament which had been collected in consequence of the dispute with the court of Spain relative to Nootka sound, the lords of the admiralty gave permission to each flag-officer to recommend a lieutenant and midshipman for promotion. The quarter-deck of the Prince was at this time crowded with young gentlemen cadets connected with some of the first families in the kingdom; but Sir John selected a young man, the son of an old lieutenant, for his patronage on this occasion, and announced his intentions in the following brief, but admirable letter:—"Sir, I named you for the lieutenant I was allowed to promote, because you had merited the good opinion of your superiors, and that you were the son of an old officer and worthy man in no great affluence: a steady perseverance in that conduct which has caused you to be thus distinguished, is the most likely means to carry you forward in the profession; for I trust other officers of my rank will observe the maxim I do, to prefer the sons of brother-officers, when deserving, before any others."

In 1790 Sir John was chosen member for Chipping-Wycombe, but vacated his seat when war broke out, having accepted the command of a squadron destined to assist Sir Charles Grey in the reduction of the French West Indies. His health suffered considerably in this service; but he soon after accepted the arduous post of commander in the Mediterranean station where he hoisted his flag on board the Victory. A considerable Spanish fleet was at this time lying at Cadiz, awaiting an opportunity to join the French fleet; but Admiral Jervis kept up so watchful a blockade, that the Spanish admiral found it impossible to slip out unobserved. He at last ventured out on the 4th of February, 1797, and was instantly pursued by the English fleet. The force of the Spanish admiral consisted of 27 ships, 18 of which were seventy-fours, two carried 84 guns each, six were three-deckers, and one a four-decker. To oppose this powerful armament, Jervis had only 15 sail of the line, and most of these were vessels of inferior size. On the 5th the Spaniards passed Gibraltar, and left three line of battle ships in the bay. A few days after, they were discovered by one of the English frigates; and on the night of the thirteenth the two fleets were so close to each other that their signal guns were mutually heard. On the morning of the 14th the whole of the Spanish fleet was visible to the British off Cape St Vincent. Some of their ships appearing to be separated from the main body, Jervis immediately conceived the idea of cutting them off. He accordingly formed his squadron in line of battle ahead and astern, and, pushing through the enemy with a press of sail, completely attained his object. By this manœuvre his immediate opponents were reduced to eighteen sail of the line. About noon the Spanish admiral attempted to wear round, and join his ships to leeward, but being frustrated, he endeavoured to sheer off. His retreat was, however, effectually prevented by the tactics of Jervis, and the daring gallantry of his subordinates, amongst whom were Troubridge, Parker, Nelson, and Collingwood. The enemy being thus forced to a close action, suffered a signal defeat, losing four of their ships, and an immense number of their men.

For this splendid victory, Admiral Jervis received the thanks of both houses, and was promoted to the peerage by the title of Earl St Vincent and Baron Jervis of Meaford. On moving the votes, Earl Spencer said,—" Sir John Jervis's unremitting exertions, his indefatigable activity, and his judicious management, are as conspicuous as the glorious event with which they have been crowned is unparalleled. His conduct throughout the whole has been such as to stamp him one of the greatest commanders this country ever produced; while the superior force with which he had to contend marks the victory as an exploit unprecedented in the history of this country. I believe it is unparalleled, and I am sure it can never be surpassed."—The duke of Bedford said,—" It is impossible to expatiate upon the subject of the glorious victory obtained by Sir John Jervis, in such a manner as to add to the impression which every one feels that it is indeed an exploit unparalleled in the annals of this country."—The duke of Clarence said,—" I have examined into the naval history of this country, and find that at the battle of La Hogue the French fleet was inferior to ours in number. The circumstances of the present action, the disparity of force, fifteen sail against twenty-seven, speak for themselves. Admiral Boscawen in

1757 destroyed the French fleet; in 1759, Admiral Rodney—with whom I myself served in a very inferior situation—destroyed the Spanish fleet; but in this engagement the superiority of force was so greatly in favour of the enemy, that it is distinguished as the most brilliant victory in the naval history of this country, and the most decided proof of the courage and vigour of our seamen. On every occasion previous to this event, the conduct of Sir John Jervis has been conspicuous. In 1790, at the time of the Spanish armament, Lord Howe testified his high sense of the talents and activity of Sir John Jervis, and of the state and discipline of the fleet when he received it from his hands. I myself was on board the fleet at that time, and the discipline kept up was most exemplary, and tended greatly to the advantage of the service. Indeed, from the whole of his conduct, I do not hesitate to pronounce, without meaning to give offence to any other, that Sir John Jervis is the first naval officer in his majesty's service."—Lord Hood said,—"Neither the history of this country nor that of any other can produce an instance of greater magnanimity, or of more profound judgment and professional skill than was exhibited by Sir John Jervis in the late brilliant engagement."—Mr Fox said,—"In returning our thanks on this occasion, we cannot but feel with peculiar pride and satisfaction, that we express our gratitude and acknowledgments for the most brilliant and illustrious exploit recorded in the annals of this country."—Mr Pitt said,—"On the part of his majesty's ministers I can safely affirm, that before this last splendid instance of the good conduct and valour of the gallant admiral, we have not been remiss in watching the uniform tenor of his professional career. We have witnessed in the whole of his proceedings such instances of perseverance, of diligence, and of exertion in the public service, as though less brilliant and dazzling than this last exploit, are only less meritorious, as they are put in competition with the glory of a single day, which has produced such extensive and incalculable benefits to the British empire."[1]

[1] The following curious correspondence between the French ambassador and the Spanish minister took place, in consequence of the defeat of the Spanish fleet:—

MEMORIAL presented by the French ambassador, Citizen Perinon, to the Spanish minister at Madrid, Don Godoy, relative to the victory obtained by Earl St Vincent over the fleet of Spain, on the 14th of February, 1797.

"The French Directory having heard, with astonishment and surprise, the unexpected issue of the naval engagement between his Catholic majesty's squadron and the English, I am commanded, by an express just come to my hand, immediately to lay before his majesty the true motives that have contributed to the malign loss which, with remarkable disgrace to its honour, the Spanish flag has experienced.

"I, most excellent Sir, am well persuaded that your Excellency's justice and rectitude will not permit those false reports to reach the king's ears, by which a detestable policy would willingly disguise so shameful an action by confounding virtue and guilt with a view to impunity: but lest under this misfortune the king should incline to receive an impression from the false excuses which, in such circumstances, the culpable are industrious in framing, I shall not do justice to the confidence with which I am honoured by my nation if I do not refute, in his majesty's presence, as many as attempt to confound truth with falsehood. Before that moment arrives, the Executive Directory ordered me to give your Excellency this information, that you may carry it up to the king. The arms of Spain have at all times supported the character of distinguished valour, talent, and military skill, which is peculiar to them; only in the late days have they degenerated, causing all Europe to change its sentiments respecting that superiority which Spain was in possession of for ages. It is the infirmity of governments to be seized with certain cancers, which contaminate and corrupt the state.

During the alarming mutiny in the British navy, Earl St Vincent's resolution and prudence were of invaluable service to his country.

In 1800 he accepted the command of the Channel fleet on the resignation of Lord Bridport. In 1801 he was placed at the head of the

To save the body politic from perishing, caustics and the knife must extirpate the root of this pernicious weed. The navy, most excellent Sir, has given us an evident proof of this irrefragable truth. In place of humbling the English pride, which had begun to decline from the high opinion to which she was elevated by her natural haughtiness, it has raised her insolence to a height unparalleled. From this so powerful a cause, commerce, the basis of your monarchy, is going to suffer an irreparable loss. The whole nation detests the vile proceedings of the navy, and weeps with respectful apprehensions for the misfortunes that must ensue.

"The squadron would not fight (let us withdraw the veil from treason). They have bartered and compromised the national honour: so it has been made appear to the Directory, by authentic and sure documents. That Directory, ever watchful for the honour of her allies, cannot see with indifference such turpitude, tending to produce the most pernicious and fatal consequences.

"I, most excellent Sir, in the name of the Directory, entreat your Excellency to dispose the mind of the king with inflexible resolution to chastise this enormity, stifling for a moment the dictates of paternal affection.

"The undersigned entertains this hope, and that your Excellency will be pleased to give an answer to this Memorial, that it may be transmitted to the Directory.

(Signed) "PERINON."

ANSWER of the Spanish minister to the Memorial or Remonstrance, presented by Citizen Perinon, French ambassador at Madrid, upon the defeat of the Spanish fleet, off Cape St Vincent, by the British fleet.

"CITIZEN AMBASSADOR,

"I HAVE, with great reluctance, laid before the king the heads and purport of the Memorial presented by your Excellency, in the name of the Directory of the French republic. I say the heads of that Memorial, because the language it contained is couched in terms so offensive, so debasing, and so insolent to the ears of a free people, that I deemed it quite inconsistent with the dignity of my station to present it in the form it stands to an independent sovereign. The king, Sir, laments, with great sincerity, the unexpected and severe loss which has befallen his majesty's arms in the late engagement with the British fleet, and is naturally led, in support of his own honour, as well as the honour of the Spanish nation, to make becoming inquiry into the cause of that misfortune; but he will not suffer for a moment the Directory of the French republic, nor any foreign power whatever, to assume a privilege of interference, in the smallest degree, with the concerns of his kingdom.

"It is true, as stated in the Memorial of your master, that the naval arms of Spain have hitherto been eminently distinguished among nations; and on that account any humiliation at sea is felt with the greater force and mortification by his majesty; but it cannot but seem very extraordinary indeed to the king, and to his majesty's subjects in general, that the loss of one action should be viewed as a matter of surprise by the French nation. Surely, Sir, the Directory of the French republic are not unacquainted with the reproach of a naval defeat. They are pleased to observe, that the Spanish flag has suffered a remarkable disgrace to its honour; and that they, as the allies of his Catholic majesty, cannot, with indifference, behold such turpitude. Are these gentlemen the members of the same assembly who embarked on board your fleet on the three memorable days of the 30th and 31st of May, and the 1st of June, 1794? Are these gentlemen the commissioners who assumed the rank and station of naval field-marshals upon that occasion; who, before the commencement of the action with the British fleet, sent a frigate with an insolent message to each ship of your line, viz. that the commissioners gave positive orders to the separate captains, that they were to sink to the bottom every English man-of-war, only excepting the Queen Charlotte, who carried the British commander's flag; out of their mercy, that ship they were to spare —but they were to bring her safe into the harbour of Brest, in order to grace the triumph of the glorious new republic; but who, instead of performing this act of heroism, were in the end very happy to make their escape from the cowardly English, with the loss of nine capital ships? And are these the gentlemen who are prescribing to the

admiralty, in which station he effected various most beneficial amendments in the system of management adopted by the Board, and gave very general satisfaction throughout the service; but in the month of May, 1804, he was superseded in office by Viscount Melville. In the beginning of 1806, on the accession of Fox to office, his lordship was again appointed to the command of the Channel fleet.

On the 14th of May, 1806, Mr Jeffery, a member of the house of commons, preferred a charge against Earl St Vincent of gross neglect in the building and repairing of ships. He took a view of the state of the navy during the late war, and contended that the ships which were built during his lordship's administration were by no means equal to the annual destruction. The earl, he said, had not only neglected the usual means of recruiting the navy, but all other modes; for he had actually launched only ten ships of the line. Though his predecessors left him fifteen ships building, his lordship had only left to his successors nine in that state, and these requiring three years to finish them. Not half had been done which his predecessors had accomplished in a similar period. He condemned the earl's conduct respecting the building in merchants' yards, as capricious and dangerous; he had also, he said, at a time of necessity, wantonly discharged workmen, many of whom had gone to the enemy's yards; and by his illiberal conduct he had disgusted every body, at a period when the navy was running to destruction. The late victories of Lord Nelson, Sir R. Strachan, and Sir J. Duckworth, were, he concluded, all due to the exertions of Lords

king of Spain what punishment he is to inflict upon the commanders of the Spanish fleet, for the loss of a battle, while the English have in their possession, at this moment, the one half of their navy? We did not hear, Sir, of any punishment proposed by the Directory for the defeat of your impregnable fleet on the 1st of June. On the contrary, it was asserted, in that solemn assembly, that, for the arms of France even to meet the English in an action at sea, was of itself sufficient, and equal to a victory. I am stating here to your Excellency the history of three only of the naval exploits of your republic; but almost every day since its commencement might have accustomed the ears and eyes of your Directory to the turpitude of naval defeats; therefore, previous to your Excellency's approaching the presence of his majesty, where you threaten to speak your opinion of the guilt of the officers who commanded his fleet, I would advise you, as a friend and an ally, to balance the disgrace of the two nations—to take in one hand the single defeat of the arms of Spain off the cape of St Vincent, while in the other you carry the various defeats and disgraces that have befallen the navy of the French republic ever since the commencement of its career, and see which weighs heaviest.

"Your Directory will then be convinced that, for either of our two nations to attempt to bring reproach on the other for their inferiority to the English in naval skill and courage, is nothing less than to arraign the wisdom of the Almighty Power, who has thought it good and proper to grant the decided superiority, upon the wide and extended ocean, to that brave people.

"The king, my master, has, in the mean time, commanded me to signify to the members of the French republic, that, whether it be true or not that it is the infirmity of governments, as they say, to be seized with certain cancers, which contaminate, and corrupt the state, it is not his majesty's intention to follow the example of degenerated France, by applying caustics and the knife to remedy that evil; for which reason he has no occasion to suspend, even for a moment, the dictates of his parental affection towards the subjects of his own states, which he is more than ever determined to cherish and cultivate; being firmly persuaded, by his own observation, and which is confirmed to him by the historical experience of all nations, that no evil can be so great as to submit to the tyranny and oppression of a foreign government, nurtured and supported by the very dregs of the lower orders of society.

(Signed) "GODOY."

Barham and Melville. He next touched on the repairs which, in Oct. 18th, 1801, were required by 120 ships; but he asserted that, according to the system upon which repairing was then conducted, they would have taken twenty years to be got ready; and added, that though the earl found 102 sail of the line when he came into office, he was not entitled to the excess of 22 over that number, as he left only 88 when he resigned. He threw upon his lordship all the blame of deficiency of timber,—contended that, under his administration, the British navy was verging fast towards ruin, and deprecated the present great appointment of his lordship as one which he had by no means merited. He concluded with recapitulating his charges, and moving a resolution, "That his lordship had been guilty of gross negligence, misconduct, and dereliction of duty." M. Dent seconded the motion; but merely that the question might be put, as he was convinced, he said, that in a committee the conduct of the earl would be fully vindicated. After some remarks by the speaker and Lord Howick on the unparliamentary manner in which Mr Jeffery had proceeded—he having read his speech from a manuscript—Admiral Markham entered upon a refutation of the various statements of the mover. He observed that the number of ships of the line built in the eight years preceding Lord St Vincent's administration would be 24; and comparing with that the period of that lord's administration, from his accession to office in March, 1801, to his departure in May, 1804, the total number was 10 in a period of little better than three years, which so far proved no deficiency. It also appeared, that when he came into office he found upon the slips building but 16 sail of the line; whereas, on his departure from office, he left 18 in forwardness upon the stocks. Besides which, he added, that the Admiralty had nothing to do with the building of ships. The earl, who had done his part in ordering the building, was not to blame for tardiness in the execution. He insisted that the earl was entitled to great credit for many parts of his conduct while in office, particularly his arrangements for providing what the country then wanted more than ships, namely, seamen to man the Channel fleet. For this purpose, he had taken the men out of the first-rates and frigates, and thereby effected a purpose essential to the safety of the country; so that at the end of an eight years' war, he was thereby enabled to man 20 additional sail of the line; while he increased the number of frigates from 183 to 195, and the total of the navy from 295 to 371. With respect to the breaking up of ships, he added that this was done in pursuance of the directions of the Navy board. As to the Dock-yards, he insisted that the papers on the table proved that not a man was dismissed capable of doing duty; many of the men, who had long received the highest wages in the dock-yards, were actually blind, and others lame, disabled, and moving on crutches; these, to the amount of 327 men, to whom, in the year 1800, £28,024 wages were paid, were superannuated by Lord St Vincent. At Plymouth 76 were discharged of a similar description, to whom, in 1800 and 1801, £10,943 wages were paid. Now, some of those were put upon allowance greater than usual, amounting to £4,529, and others superannuated, upon allowances to the amount of £2,264 11s. The usual allowance of £20 per annum had, in these cases, been increased to £24; and the allowance of £24 to £28; while to the rope-makers and others discharged, to whom no such

allowance had ever been usual, £20 a-year had been allowed. He next combated the assertion, that no credit was due to Earl St Vincent for the late victories; as it was a fact that Lord Nelson, Sir J. Duckworth, and Sir R. Strachan, had all been selected by him for principal commands. Lord Howick went over the same grounds as Admiral Markham; and stated, that among the advantages of his lordship's administration, he had formed a plan for procuring a supply of timber from Dalmatia, and 40,000 trees had actually been felled in that country; but they had now fallen into the possession of the enemy. Messrs Fox, Markham, and Banks, severally spoke against the motion, and praised the conduct of Earl St Vincent; and Mr Jeffery's motion was negatived without a division. Mr Fox afterwards declared, that from a conviction of the charge being frivolous and groundless, he should move, "That it appears to this house, that the conduct of the earl of St Vincent, in his late naval administration, has given an additional lustre to his exalted character, and merits the approbation of the house." Messrs Yorke, S. Bourne, and Tierney, supported this motion; and Messrs Wilberforce, Banks, Perceval, and Canning, opposed it, on the ground of no notice having been given. Mr Fox's motion was agreed to without a division.

In March, 1807, the earl retired from the command of the Channel fleet. In 1809, and again in 1810, he supported amendments on the answer to the address at the opening of parliament. In 1814 he was appointed governor of marines; and, on the 19th of July, 1821, when in his 85th year, was named admiral of the fleet.

He died without issue on the 15th of March, 1823.

John, Earl of Hopetoun.

BORN A. D. 1766.—DIED A. D. 1823.

THIS gallant and highly esteemed nobleman was the son of John, second earl of Hopetoun, by his second marriage with Jane, daughter of Oliphant of Rossie in Perthshire. He was born on the 17th of August, 1766, and entered the army as a volunteer in his fifteenth year. After passing through the subordinate ranks in several different regiments, he was appointed lieutenant-colonel of the 25th foot, in April, 1793; and received the brevet of colonel on the 3d of May, 1796, in which year he was elected M. P. for his native county of Linlithgow. He accompanied the expedition to Holland in August, 1799; and was appointed adjutant-general to the duke of York's army. In the following year he attended the expedition to Egypt, and negotiated the convention for the surrender of Cairo. In May, 1802, he attained the rank of a major-general; and in April, 1808, was appointed a lieutenant-general.

In the last mentioned year he accompanied the British force to Portugal; and, on the death of Sir John Moore, the command in the battle of Corunna devolved upon him, Sir David Baird being severely wounded. The following admirable report of this celebrated action was made by General Hope to his superior in command, Sir David

Baird. It is one of the most luminous and able documents of the kind which our military annals can show:—

"*His Majesty's Ship Audacious, off Corunna, January 18th*, 1809.

"SIR,—In compliance with the desire contained in your communication of yesterday, I avail myself of the first moment I have been able to command, to detail to you the occurrences of the action which took place in front of Corunna on the 16th instant.

"It will be in your recollection, that about one in the afternoon of that day, the enemy, who had in the morning received reinforcements, and who had placed some guns in front of the right and left of his line, was observed to be moving troops towards his left flank, and forming various columns of attack at that extremity of the strong and commanding position, which, on the morning of the 15th, he had taken in our immediate front.

"This indication of his intention was immediately succeeded by the rapid and determined attack which he made upon your division, which occupied the right of our position. The events which occurred during that period of the action you are fully acquainted with. The first effort of the enemy was met by the commander of the forces and by yourself, at the head of the 42d regiment, and the brigade under Major-general Lord William Bentinck.

"The village on your right became an object of obstinate contest.

"I lament to say, that soon after the severe wound which deprived the army of your services, Lieutenant-general Sir John Moore, who had just directed the most able dispositions, fell by a cannon-shot. The troops, though not unacquainted with the irreparable loss they had sustained, were not dismayed, but, by the most determined bravery, not only repelled every attempt of the enemy to gain ground, but actually forced him to retire, although he had brought up fresh troops in support of those originally engaged.

"The enemy, finding himself foiled in every attempt to force the right of the position, endeavoured by numbers to turn it. A judicious and well-timed movement, which was made by Major-general Paget, with the reserve, which corps had moved out of its cantonments to support the right of the army by a vigorous attack, defeated this intention. The major-general having pushed forward the 95th rifle corps and 1st battalion 52d regiments, drove the enemy before him, and in his rapid and judicious advance, threatened the left of the enemy's position. This circumstance, with the position of Lieutenant-general Fraser's division, calculated to give still further security to the right of the line, induced the enemy to relax his efforts in that quarter.

"They were, however, more forcibly directed towards the centre, where they were again successfully resisted by the brigade under Major-general Manningham, forming the left of your division, and a part of that under Major-general Leith, forming the right of the division under my orders. Upon the left the enemy at first contented himself with an attack upon our piquets, which however in general maintained their ground. Finding, however, his efforts unavailing on the right and centre, he seemed determined to render the attack upon the left more serious, and had succeeded in obtaining possession of the village through which the great road to Madrid passes, and which was situated in front of that

part of the line. From this post, however, he was soon expelled with considerable loss, by a gallant attack of some companies of the 2d battalion of the 14th regiment, under Lieutenant-colonel Nicholls; before five in the evening we had not only successfully repelled every attack made upon the position, but had gained ground in almost all points, and occupied a more forward line than at the commencement of the action, whilst the enemy confined his operations to a cannonade and the fire of his light troops, with a view to draw off his other corps. At six the firing entirely ceased. The different brigades were reassembled on the ground they occupied in the morning, and the piquets and advanced posts resumed their original station.

"Notwithstanding the decided and marked superiority which at this moment the gallantry of the troops had given them over an enemy, who, from his number, and the commanding advantages of his position, no doubt expected an easy victory, I did not, on reviewing all circumstances, conceive that I should be warranted in departing from what I knew was the fixed and previous determination of the late commander of the forces, to withdraw the army on the evening of the 16th for the purpose of embarkation, the previous arrangements for which had already been made by his order, and were in fact far advanced at the commencement of the action. The troops quitted their position about ten at night, with a degree of order that did them credit. The whole of the artillery that remained unembarked having been withdrawn, the troops followed in the order prescribed, and marched to their respective points of embarkation in the town and neighbourhood of Corunna. The piquets remained at their posts until five on the morning of the 17th, when they were also withdrawn with similar orders, and without the enemy having discovered the movement.

"By the unremitted exertions of Captains, the Hon. H. Curzon, Gosselin, Boys, Rainier, Serrett, Hawkins, Digby, Carden, and Mackenzie, of the royal navy, who, in pursuance of the orders of Rear-admiral de Courcy, were intrusted with the service of embarking the army; and in consequence of the arrangements made by Commissioner Bowen, Captains Bowen and Shepherd, and the other agents for transports, the whole of the army were embarked with an expedition which has seldom been equalled. With the exception of the brigades under Major-generals Hill and Beresford, which were destined to remain on shore, until the movements of the enemy should become manifest, the whole was afloat before day-light.

"The brigade of Major-general Beresford, which was alternately to form our rear-guard, occupied the land front of the town of Corunna; that under Major-general Hill was stationed in reserve on the promontory in rear of the town.

"The enemy pushed his light troops towards the town soon after eight o'clock in the morning of the 17th, and shortly after occupied the heights of St Lucia, which command the harbour. But notwithstanding this circumstance, and the manifold defects of the place, there being no apprehension that the rear-guard could be forced, and the disposition of the Spaniards appearing to be good, the embarkation of Major-general Hill's brigade was commenced and completed by three in the afternoon; Major-general Beresford, with that zeal and ability which is so well-known to yourself and the whole army, having fully

explained, to the satisfaction of the Spanish governor, the nature of our movement, and having made every previous arrangement, withdrew his corps from the land front of the town soon after dark, and was, with all the wounded that had not been previously moved, embarked before one this morning.

"Circumstances forbid us to indulge the hope that the victory with which it has pleased Providence to crown the efforts of the army can be attended with any very brilliant consequences to Great Britain. It is clouded by the loss of one of her best soldiers. It has been achieved at the termination of a long and harassing service. The superior numbers and advantageous position of the enemy, not less than the actual situation of this army, did not admit of any advantage being reaped from success. It must be however to you, to the army, and to our country, the sweetest reflection that the lustre of the British arms has been maintained amidst many disadvantageous circumstances. The army which had entered Spain amidst the fairest prospects, had no sooner completed its junction, than, owing to the multiplied disasters that dispersed the native armies around us, it was left to its own resources. The advance of the British corps from the Duero, afforded the best hope that the south of Spain might be relieved, but this generous effort to save the unfortunate people, also afforded the enemy the opportunity of directing every effort of his numerous troops, and concentrating all his principal resources for the destruction of the only regular force in the north of Spain.

"You are well aware with what diligence this system has been pursued.

"These circumstances produced the necessity of rapid and harassing marches, which had diminished the numbers, exhausted the strength, and impaired the equipment of the army. Notwithstanding all these disadvantages, and those more immediately attached to a defensive position, which the imperious necessity of covering the harbour of Corunna for a time had rendered indispensable to assume, the native and undaunted valour of British troops was never more conspicuous, and must have exceeded what even your own experience of that invaluable quality, so inherent in them, may have taught you to expect. When every one that had an opportunity seemed to vie in improving it, it is difficult for me, in making this report, to select particular instances for your approbation. The corps chiefly engaged were the brigades under Major-generals Lord William Bentinck, Manningham, and Leith; and the brigade of guards under Major-general Warde.

"To these officers, and the troops under their immediate orders, the greatest praise is due. Major-general Hill and Colonel Catlin Crawford, with their brigades on the left of the position, ably supported their advanced posts. The brunt of the action fell upon the 4th, 42d, 50th, and 81st regiments, with parts of the brigade of guards and the 26th regiment. From Lieutenant-colonel Murray, quarter-master-general, and the officers of the general staff, I received the most marked assistance. I had reason to regret that the illness of Brigadier-general Clinton, adjutant-general, deprived me of his aid. I was indebted to Brigadier-general Slade during the action for a zealous offer of his personal services, although the cavalry were embarked.

"The greater part of the fleet having gone to sea yesterday evening,

the whole being under weigh, and the corps, in the embarkation, necessarily much mixed on board, it is impossible at present to lay before you a return of our casualties. I hope the loss in numbers is not so considerable as might have been expected. If I was obliged to form an estimate, I should say that I believe it did not exceed, in killed and wounded, from seven to eight hundred; that of the enemy must remain unknown; but many circumstances induce me to rate it at nearly double the above number. We have some prisoners, but I have not been able to obtain an account of the number; it is not, however, considerable. Several officers of rank have fallen, or been wounded, among whom I am only at present enabled to state the names of Lieutenant-colonel Napier, 92d regiment, Majors Napier and Stanhope, 50th regiment, killed;—Lieutenant-colonel Winch, 4th regiment,—Lieutenant-colonel Maxwell, 26th regiment,—Lieutenant-colonel Fane, 59th regiment,—Lieutenant-colonel Griffith, guards,—Majors Miller and Williams, 81st regiment, wounded.

"To you, who are well acquainted with the excellent qualities of Lieutenant-general Sir John Moore, I need not expatiate on the loss the army and his country have sustained by his death. His fall has deprived me of a valuable friend, to whom long experience of his worth had sincerely attached me. But it is chiefly on public grounds that I must lament the blow. It will be the conversation of every one who loved or respected his manly character, that, after conducting the army through an arduous retreat with consummate firmness, he has terminated a career of distinguished honour by a death that has given the enemy additional reason to respect the name of a British soldier. Like the immortal Wolfe, he is snatched from his country at an early period of a life spent in her service; like Wolfe, his last moments were gilded by the prospect of success, and cheered by the acclamation of victory; like Wolfe, also, his memory will for ever remain sacred in that country which he sincerely loved, and which he had so faithfully served.

"It remains for me only to express my hope, that you will speedily be restored to the service of your country, and to lament the unfortunate circumstance that removed you from your station in the field, and threw the momentary command into far less able hands.

"I have the honour to be, &c.,

"JOHN HOPE, Lieutenant-general.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL, SIR D. BAIRD, &c."

General Hope's eminent services on this occasion were acknowledged by his elder brother being created a baron of the United Kingdom, by the title of Baron Hopetoun of Hopetoun in Linlithgowshire, and by the conferring of the order of the Bath upon himself.

Sir John Hope's next military services were in the expedition to the Scheldt. In 1810 he was employed in Spain. His next appointment was that of commander-in-chief in Ireland; but in 1813 he rejoined the duke of Wellington, and became second in command. In all the duke's despatches the services of Sir John are noticed, and warmly acknowledged. In his very last encounter with the French, while repulsing a sortie made by them from Bayonne, Sir John was taken prisoner after receiving some severe wounds and bruises from his horse, which was shot in the conflict, and fell upon him. He of course did not long

remain a prisoner, but was for a considerable time incapacitated for active service.

On the 3d of May, 1814, he was created a peer of the United Kingdom, by the title of Baron Niddry of Niddry in the county of Linlithgow. He declined receiving any pecuniary recompense for the important services which he had rendered his country. On the death of his half-brother, James, third earl of Hopetoun, in May, 1816, Lord Niddry succeeded to the family-titles. He died at Paris on the 27th of August, 1823.

Few noblemen were more respected while living, or more generally lamented when dead, than the late earl of Hopetoun. His tenantry on his numerous estates evinced their gratitude and esteem towards him as a landlord, by erecting public monuments to his memory. In the higher circles of society also, he was universally esteemed; and by his brethren in arms, and the army in general, he was regarded with the highest affection and respect.

George, Lord Keith.

BORN A. D. 1747.—DIED A. D. 1823.

THE Hon. George Keith Elphinstone, fifth son of Charles Lord Elphinstone, by Clementina, only daughter of John, Earl of Wigton, was born in the year 1747. He was educated at Glasgow, and entered the navy in February, 1762. In 1767 he went on a voyage to China; in 1769 he proceeded to India, under Sir John Lindsay, who made him a lieutenant; and, in 1772, he was appointed commander of the Scorpion.

His appointment as post-captain bears date the 11th of May, 1775; in 1776 he was honoured with the command of the Pearl frigate of 32 guns, and served with her in America under Lord Howe. He had afterwards the Perseus frigate, under Admiral Arbuthnot, and assisted at the reduction of Charlestown; on which occasion he commanded a detachment of seamen on shore, and his brave and spirited efforts obtained him honourable mention in the official despatches of the commander-in-chief, General Sir Henry Clinton: Captain Elphinstone's ship, the Perseus, was also selected by Admiral Arbuthnot to bring home the despatches. On his return to England he was appointed to the Warwick, of 50 guns; in which vessel, being on a cruise in the Channel, he captured, on the 5th of January, 1781, the Rotterdam, a Dutch ship of 50 guns. During the remainder of the war Captain Elphinstone remained in the Warwick, and for the most part on the American station. While there, under the command of Admiral Digby, his royal highness, Prince William Henry, then a midshipman in the admiral's ship, being desirous of a more active life than he spent off shore at New York, requested permission to go to sea in order that he might get practical experience; and added to this reasonable request his wish to cruise in the Warwick. The admiral acquiesced; and Captain Elphinstone had the honour of the prince's company, we believe, till he was transferred from the care of Admiral Digby to that of Admiral Rowley. While on a cruise off the Delaware, on the 11th September,

1782, Captain Elphinstone, after a chase of several hours, captured a large French frigate, L'Aigle, of 40 guns on the main deck and 600 men.

The termination of the war in 1783 threw Captain Elphinstone out of employment, and he remained so for ten years. On the 9th of April, 1787, he married Jane, daughter and sole heiress of William Mercer, Esq., of Aldie in Perthshire, who died December 12th, 1789, leaving behind her one daughter, Margaret.

In 1793, soon after the war broke out with France, Captain Elphinstone was appointed to the Robust, of 74 guns, and under his direction the troops were landed at Toulon when Lord Hood captured that place. For his services on this occasion his lordship appointed Captain Elphinstone to act as governor of Fort la Malgue and its dependencies. His conduct in that post exhibited not only great personal intrepidity and exertion, but a consummate knowledge also of military tactics. When it was resolved to evacuate Toulon, the care of embarking the artillery, stores, and troops, was committed to Captain Elphinstone, who, although the enemy at that time commanded the town and ships by their shot and shells, brought off the whole of the troops, to the number of nearly 8000, without the loss of a man.

On his return to England, Captain Elphinstone's distinguished merits were rewarded by his majesty with the order of the Bath. On the 11th of April, 1794, he was made rear-admiral of the Blue; and on the 4th of July of the same year, rear-admiral of the White; in which capacity he hoisted his flag on board the Barfleur of 98 guns, Vice-captain Bowyer, who, having lost a leg in the glorious affair of the 1st of June, under Lord Howe, was obliged to retire for a time from the service. In the Channel fleet Admiral Elphinstone continued the remainder of that year.

Early in 1795, hostilities having commenced with the Dutch, the admiral shifted his flag to the Monarch of 74 guns, and sailed from Spithead for the Cape of Good Hope, having under his command the following squadron,—Monarch 74, Victorious 74, Arrogant 74, Sphynx 20, and Rattlesnake 15 guns. In Simon's bay, near the Cape, he was joined by the America 64, Stately 64, Echo sloop, and some Indiamen, with troops, and immediately sent proposals to the Dutch governor to surrender the Cape to his Britannic majesty's arms; which being refused, measures were taken by him, in conjunction with General Alured Clarke, for reducing it by force. On the 14th of July a landing was effected at Simon's-town, and possession obtained of that place which had been previously evacuated with the supposed intention of being burnt. The troops, advancing towards Cape-town, carried the strong post of Muysenberg, where General Craig waited for a reinforcement from St Salvador. After some weeks of inaction, an attempt to surprise the most considerable of the out-posts failed; and, though the English repelled a fierce attack, their efforts did not deter their adversaries from preparing for a general engagement. At this crisis the appearance of the expected reinforcement checked the eagerness of the enemy; the government proposed a cessation of hostilities, and terms of capitulation were adjusted on the 16th of September, by which it was agreed that the troops in garrison should be prisoners of war, and that the property of the Dutch East India company should be delivered

up to the captors of the settlement; but private possessions and civil rights were left inviolate.

The success of our admiral did not end here. The new Gallo-Batavian government resolved on making an attempt to regain possession of the settlement, and for that purpose a squadron of eight ships of war and a store-ship arrived off Saldanha bay early in August, 1796. Admiral Elphinstone was soon apprized of their approach, and prepared for battle; but, after anchoring within cannon-shot, with the humanity so natural to British officers, he sent a letter by a flag of truce to Admiral Lucas, the Dutch commander, requesting, that, to spare the effusion of human blood, he would surrender his squadron, which could have no chance of success in a contest with a British force superior to his own. The Dutch admiral yielded, and on the 17th of August surrendered his squadron, consisting of two ships of 66 guns, one 54, one 44, one 40, one 28, one 26, one 18, and a store-ship.

On account of these eminent services his majesty was pleased, on the 7th of March, 1797, to confer on Admiral Elphinstone the dignity of a baron of the kingdom of Ireland. In the month of May of the same year Lord Keith was sent to Sheerness to superintend the naval preparations against the mutineers, who at that time unhappily had the actual possession and command of several of his majesty's ships at the Nore. Subordination having been restored, his lordship had for a short time a command in the Channel fleet.

In the winter of 1798 Lord Keith hoisted his flag on board the Foudroyant of 80 guns, employed off Cadiz and in the Mediterranean, under the orders of the earl of St Vincent. On the 14th of February, 1799, he was promoted from vice-admiral of the Blue to be vice-admiral of the Red. On the 23d of June Lord St Vincent being about to return to England for the amendment of his health, resigned to Lord Keith the command of the Mediterranean fleet. Nothing very material occurred till the 17th of March, 1800, when his lordship had the misfortune to lose his noble flag-ship, the Queen Charlotte, by fire, in Leghorn roads. Of the crew, eleven were on shore with the admiral, one hundred and fifty were saved by boats; but the remainder, amounting to nearly seven hundred, unfortunately perished.

Lord Keith now hoisted his flag on board the Audacious, but afterwards shifted it to the Minotaur. He then proceeded with a part of his fleet to Genoa, which was in the possession of the French under Massena, and was besieged by the Austrian general, Melas. So closely did he blockade the port, that, at the end of about three months, the French, to avoid actual famine, capitulated. Malta shortly after surrendered to a detachment of his fleet; and, about October, in conjunction with Sir Ralph Abercromby, he made preparations for an attack on Cadiz, which, however, was abandoned, on account of the pitiable state of the inhabitants and garrison, among whom an epidemic disease, which very much resembled the plague, was, it appeared, making dreadful ravages.

On the 1st of January, 1801, Lord Keith was promoted to be admiral of the Blue; and he this year commanded, in the Foudroyant, the naval force employed against the French on the coast of Egypt. On the surrender of the enemy's army there his lordship was created, December 5th, 1801, a peer of Great Britain, by the title of Baron Keith

of Stonehaven-Marischal in Kincardineshire, and received the thanks of both houses of parliament. His services in Egypt were thus noticed in General Hutchinson's despatches: "During the course of the long service in which we have been engaged, Lord Keith has, at all times, given me the most able assistance and counsel. The labour and fatigue of the navy have been continued and excessive; it has not been of one day or of one week, but for months together. In the bay of Aboukir, on the New Inundation, and on the Nile, for 160 miles, they have been employed without intermission, and have submitted to many privations with a cheerfulness and patience highly creditable to them, and advantageous to the public service." In a subsequent despatch the general recurs to the "many obligations" that he was under to Lord Keith.

When hostilities recommenced with France, in 1803, Lord Keith was appointed to the chief naval command at Plymouth. In the beginning of October of that year his lordship made an experiment on a small scale, with a new mode of attack on the gun-vessels in Boulogne harbour, which to a certain degree succeeded, and without any loss being sustained on our part.

On the 9th of November, 1805, his lordship was raised to the rank of admiral of the White, and in 1812 he succeeded to the chief command of the Channel fleet. On the 14th of May, 1814, he was elevated to the dignity of a viscount of the United Kingdom; and about a year before his death, which took place in March, 1823, he obtained leave to accept a grand cross of the royal Sardinian order of St Maurice and St Lazare, for his services at Genoa, in 1809. In addition to his other distinctions, he was, at the time of his decease, admiral of the Red; marischal of Ireland; secretary, chamberlain, and keeper of the signet to the great steward of Scotland; treasurer and comptroller of the household of the duke of Clarence, and a fellow of the Royal society. Prior to his elevation to the British peerage, he had successively represented Dumbarton and Stirlingshire. He was twice married, and left two daughters; the eldest of whom succeeded to the barony, and became the wife of Count Flahault, one of Napoleon's aides-de-camp.

Thomas, Lord Erskine.

BORN A. D. 1750.—DIED A. D. 1823.

THOMAS ERSKINE was the third and youngest son of Henry, tenth earl of Buchan. Like his other gifted brother, a notice of whom has been presented to the reader within these few pages, he at first attempted to push his fortune in military life, but about the age of twenty-six his better genius directed his attention to the law. He had received an excellent education in early life, along with his brothers, at St Andrews and Edinburgh; but he now entered himself of Trinity college, where he took the honorary degree of M. A. in 1778. He was called to the bar in Trinity term of that year.

Almost immediately after his appearance at the bar an opportunity of distinguishing himself was afforded in the defence of Captain Baillie for a libel on the earl of Sandwich. In the course of his speech, the young advocate hesitated not to attack the noble earl in very indignant

terms: "The defendant," he said, "is not a disappointed malicious informer, prying into official abuses because without office himself, but himself a man in office;—not troublesomely inquisitive into other men's departments, but conscientiously correcting his own;—doing it pursuant to the rules of law, and, what heightens the character, doing it at the risk of his office, from which the effrontery of power has already suspended him without proof of his guilt;—a conduct not only unjust and illiberal, but highly disrespectful to this court, whose judges sit in the double capacity of ministers of the law, and governors of this sacred and abused institution. Indeed, Lord Sandwich has, in my mind, acted such a part . . ." Here Lord Mansfield, observing the counsel heated with his subject, and growing personal on the first lord of the admiralty, told him that Lord Sandwich was not before the court. "I know that he is not formally before the court," resumed Erskine, "but for that very reason I will bring him before the court. He has placed these men in the front of the battle, in hopes to escape under their shelter; but I will not join in battle with them: their vices, though screwed up to the highest pitch of human depravity, are not of dignity enough to vindicate the combat with me. I will drag him to light who is the dark mover behind this scene of iniquity. I assert that the earl of Sandwich has but one road to escape out of this business without pollution and disgrace; and that is, by publicly disavowing the acts of the prosecutors, and restoring Captain Baillie to his command. If he does this, then his offence will be no more than the too common one of having suffered his own personal interest to prevail over his public duty, in placing his voters in the hospital. But if, on the contrary, he continues to protect the prosecutors, in spite of the evidence of their guilt, which has excited the abhorrence of the numerous audience that crowd this court; if he keeps this injured man suspended, or dares to turn that suspension into a removal, I shall then not scruple to declare him an accomplice in their guilt,—a shameless oppressor, a disgrace to his rank, and a traitor to his trust." Such was the impression made by him on this his first appearance at the bar, that before he left the court nearly thirty briefs were presented to him by different attorneys; and from this date, for a period of five-and-twenty years, he was retained in almost every important cause. His defence of Lord George Gordon, in which he completely overthrew the doctrine of Constructive treason, placed him immeasurably above all the law-orators of the day. Its effect on the audience who heard it, and the tribunal to which it was addressed, was overwhelming. The following is the close of this splendid oration:

"What, then, has produced this trial for high treason; or given it, when produced, the seriousness and solemnity it wears? What, but the inversion of all justice, by judging from consequences, instead of from causes and designs?—what, but the artful manner in which the crown has endeavoured to blend the petitioning in a body, and the zeal with which an animated disposition conducted it, with the melancholy crimes that followed?—crimes, which the shameful indolence of our magistrates,—which the total extinction of all police and government suffered to be committed in broad day, and in the delirium of drunkenness, by an unarmed banditti—without a head—without plan or object—and without a refuge from the instant gripe of justice;—a banditti, with whom the associated Protestants and their president had no man-

ner of connection, and whose cause they overturned, dishonoured, and ruined. How unchristian then is it to attempt, without evidence, to infect the imaginations of men who are sworn dispassionately and disinterestedly to try the trivial offence, of assembling a multitude with a petition to repeal a law (which has happened so often in all our memories), by blending it with the fatal catastrophe, on which every man's mind may be supposed to retain some degree of irritation?—O fie! O fie! Is the intellectual seat of justice to be thus impiously shaken? Are your benevolent propensities to be thus disappointed and abused? Do they wish you, while you are listening to the evidence, to connect it with unforeseen consequences, in spite of reason and truth? Is it their object to hang the millstone of prejudice around his innocent neck to sink him?—If there be such men, may Heaven forgive them for the attempt, and inspire you with fortitude and wisdom to discharge your duty with calm, steady, and reflecting minds. Gentlemen, I have no manner of doubt that you will.—I am sure you cannot but see, notwithstanding my great inability, increased by a perturbation of mind, (arising, thank God! from no dishonest cause,) that there has been not only no evidence on the part of the crown, to fix the guilt of the late commotions upon the prisoner, but that, on the contrary, we have been able to resist the probability—I might almost say, the possibility—of the charge, not only by living witnesses, whom we only ceased to call because the trial would never have ended, but by the evidence of all the blood that has paid the forfeit of that guilt already;—an evidence that, I will take upon me to say, is the strongest, and most unanswerable, which the combination of natural events ever brought together since the beginning of the world for the deliverance of the oppressed;—since, in the late numerous trials for acts of violence and depredation, though conducted by the ablest servants of the crown, with a laudable eye to the investigation of the subject which now engages us, no one fact appeared which showed any plan, any object, any leader;—since, out of forty-four thousand persons who signed the petition of the Protestants, not one was to be found among those who were convicted, tried, or even apprehended on suspicion;—and since, out of all the felons who were let loose from prisons, and who assisted in the destruction of our property, not a single wretch was to be found, who could even attempt to save his own life by the plausible promise of giving evidence to-day. What can overturn such a proof as this! Surely a good man might, without superstition, believe, that such an union of events was something more than natural, and that the Divine Providence was watchful for the protection of innocence and truth. I may now, therefore, relieve you from the pain of hearing me any longer, and be myself relieved from speaking on a subject which agitates and distresses me. Since Lord George Gordon stands clear of every hostile act or purpose against the legislature of his country, or the properties of his fellow-subjects,—since the whole tenor of his conduct repels the belief of the traitorous intention charged by the indictment,—my task is finished. I shall make no address to your passions;—I will not remind you of the long and rigorous imprisonment he has suffered;—I will not speak to you of his great youth, of his illustrious birth, and of his uniformly animated and generous zeal in parliament for the constitution of his country. Such topics might be useful in the balance of a doubtful

case; yet, even then, I should have trusted to the honest hearts of Englishmen to have felt them without excitation. At present, the plain and rigid rules of justice and truth are sufficient to entitle me to your verdict." A singular passage to be found in this speech, says the reviewer of Erskine's speeches in the 16th volume of the 'Edinburgh Review,' "affords a great contrast to the calm and even mild tone of its peroration. It is indeed, as far as we know, the only instance of the kind in the history of modern eloquence; and we might justly have doubted, if even Mr Erskine's skill, and well-known discretion as a public speaker, had not forsaken him, and allowed his heat and fancy to hurry him somewhat too far, had we not, in the traditional account of the perfect success which attended this passage, the most unequivocal evidence in his favour. After reciting a variety of circumstances in Lord George's conduct, and quoting the language which he used, the orator suddenly, abruptly, and violently breaks out with this exclamation—'I say, by God, that man is a ruffian, who shall, after this, presume to build upon such honest, artless conduct, as an evidence of guilt!' The sensation produced by these words, and by the magic of the voice, the eye, the face, the figure, and all we call the manner, with which they were uttered, is related, by those present on this great occasion, to have been quite electrical, and to baffle all power of description. The feeling of the moment alone,—that sort of sympathy which subsists between an observant speaker and his audience,—which communicates to him, as he goes on, their feelings under what he is saying, —deciphers the language of their looks,—and even teaches him, without regarding what he sees, to adapt his words to the state of their minds, by merely attending to his own. This intuitive and momentary impulse could alone have prompted a flight, which it alone could sustain; and, as its failure would indeed have been fatal, so its eminent success must be allowed to rank it among the most famous feats of oratory."

In 1783 Mr Erskine received a silk gown, although he had not been at the bar quite five years. In the same year he was elected member for Portsmouth, for which borough he was unanimously re-chosen on every succeeding election until he obtained a seat in the house of lords. In 1784 he made a most able defence of the dean of St Asaph in a charge of libel, and afterwards in moving for a new trial. But his most celebrated argument on the law of libel was that delivered in Percival Stockdale's case in 1789. Mr Stockdale, a bookseller in London, had published a pamphlet written by Mr Logan, a clergyman of the church of Scotland, in defence of Warren Hastings, in the course of which he had ventured to animadvert very unguardedly on the conduct of the managers of the impeachment then carrying on against the ex-governor of India. The managers complained of this, and the publisher was tried on an information filed by the attorney-general. The fact of publication was admitted, and Mr Erskine then delivered what his Edinburgh critic has pronounced to be "the finest of all his orations,—whether we regard the wonderful skill with which the argument is conducted,—the soundness of the principles laid down, and their happy application to the case,—or the exquisite fancy with which they are embellished and illustrated,—and the powerful and touching language in which they are conveyed. It is justly regarded, by all English law-

yers, as a consummate specimen of the art of addressing a jury;—as a standard, a sort of precedent for treating cases of libel, by keeping which in his eye, a man may hope to succeed in special pleading his client's case within its principle, who is destitute of the talent required even to comprehend the other and higher merits of his original. By those merits, it is recommended to lovers of pure diction,—of copious and animated description,—of lively, picturesque, and fanciful illustration, —of all that constitutes, if we may so speak, the poetry of eloquence, —all for which we admire it, when prevented from enjoying its music and its statuary. We shall venture to recommend this exquisite specimen of Mr Erskine's powers, by extracting a few passages almost at random.

"He thus introduces his audience to a striking view of the grand trial in Westminster Hall,—not for the sake of making fine sentences, or of adorning his speech with a beautiful description,—for the speeches of this great advocate may be searched through by the most crafty special pleader, from beginning to end, and no one instance of such useless ornament will be found,—but for the solid and important purpose of interesting his hearers in the situation of Mr Hastings, and of his defender the author of the pamphlet,—of leading the mind to view the prisoner as an oppressed man, overwhelmed by the weight of parliamentary resentment, and ready to be crushed, in the face of the country, by the very forms and solemnities of his trial,—of insinuating that the pamphlet only ventures to say something in defence of this unhappy person,—and that, in such an unequal contest, an English jury may well excuse a little intemperance in the language of such a generous and almost hopeless defence. 'Gentlemen, before I venture to lay the book before you, it must be yet further remembered (for the fact is equally notorious), that, under these inauspicious circumstances, the trial of Mr Hastings at the bar of the lords had actually commenced long before its publication. There, the most august and striking spectacle was daily exhibited which the world ever witnessed. A vast stage of justice was erected, awful from its high authority, splendid from its illustrious dignity, venerable from the learning and wisdom of its judges, captivating and affecting from the mighty concourse of all ranks and conditions which daily flocked to it, as into a theatre of pleasure;—there, when the whole public mind was at once awed and softened to the impression of every human affection, there appeared, day after day, one after another, men of the most powerful and exalted talents, eclipsing by their accusing eloquence the most boasted harangues of antiquity,—rousing the pride of national resentment by the boldest invectives against broken faith and violated treaties,—and shaking the bosom with alternate pity and horror by the most glowing pictures of insulted nature and humanity;—ever animated and energetic, from the love of fame, which is the inherent passion of genius;—firm and indefatigable, from a strong prepossession of the justice of their cause. Gentlemen, when the author sat down to write the book now before you, all this terrible, unceasing, exhaustless artillery of warm zeal, matchless vigour of understanding, consuming and devouring eloquence, united with the highest dignity, was daily, and without prospect of conclusion, pouring forth upon one private unprotected man, who was bound to hear it, in the face of the whole people of England, with reverential submission

and silence.—I do not complain of this as I did of the publication of the charges, because it is what the law allowed and sanctioned in the course of a public trial; but when it is remembered that we are not angels, but weak fallible men, and that even the noble judges of that high tribunal are clothed beneath their ermines with the common infirmities of man's nature, it will bring us all to a proper temper for considering the book itself, which will in a few moments be laid before you. But first, let me once more remind you, that it was under all these circumstances, and amidst the blaze of passion and prejudice, which the scene I have been endeavouring faintly to describe to you might be supposed likely to produce, that the author, whose name I will now give to you, sat down to compose the book which is prosecuted to-day as a libel.'

"He now brings the author more immediately before the audience, thus skilfully prepared to give him a favourable reception; and he proceeds to put to them at once the chief question they have to decide,—but in a striking shape: 'He felt for the situation of a fellow-citizen, exposed to a trial which, whether right or wrong, is undoubtedly a severe one;—a trial, certainly not confined to a few criminal acts like those we are accustomed to, but comprehending the transactions of a whole life, and the complicated policies of numerous and distant nations;—a trial, which had neither visible limits to its duration, bounds to its expense, nor circumscribed compass for the grasp of memory or understanding;—a trial, which had therefore broke loose from the common form of decision, and had become the universal topic of discussion in the world, superseding not only every other grave pursuit, but every fashionable dissipation. Gentlemen, the question you have therefore to try upon all this matter is extremely simple.—It is neither more nor less than this.—At a time when the charges against Mr Hastings were, by the implied consent of the commons, in every hand, and on every table;—when, by their managers, the lightning of eloquence was incessantly consuming him, and flashing in the eyes of the public;—when every man was with perfect impunity saying, and writing, and publishing just what he pleased of the supposed plunderer and devastator of nations—would it have been criminal in Mr Hastings himself to have reminded the public that he was a native of this free land, entitled to the common protection of her justice, and that he had a defence in his turn to offer to them, the outlines of which he implored them in the mean time to receive, as an antidote to the unlimited and unpunished poison in circulation against him?—This is, without colour or exaggeration, the true question you are to decide. Because I assert, without the hazard of contradiction, that if Mr Hastings himself could have stood justified or excused in your eyes for publishing this volume in his own defence, the author, if he wrote it bona fide to defend him, must stand equally excused and justified; and if the author be justified, the publisher cannot be criminal, unless you had evidence that it was published by him with a different spirit and intention from those in which it was written. The question therefore is correctly what I just now stated it to be: could Mr Hastings have been condemned to infamy for writing this book? Gentlemen, I tremble with indignation to be driven to put such a question in England. Shall it be endured, that a subject of this country (instead of being arraigned and tried for some single act in her ordinary courts, where the accusation, as soon at least

as it is made public, is followed within a few hours by the decision) may be impeached by the commons for the transactions of twenty years, —that the accusation shall spread as wide as the region of letters,—that the accused shall stand, day after day, and year after year, as a spectacle before the public, which shall be kept in a perpetual state of inflammation against him; yet that he shall not, without the severest penalties, be permitted to submit any thing to the judgment of mankind in his defence? If this be law (which it is for you to-day to decide), such a man has no trial: that great hall, built by our fathers for English justice, is no longer a court, but an altar;—and an Englishman, instead of being judged in it by God and his country, is a victim and a sacrifice.' "

In 1792 he supported Grey's motion for reform in parliament. In the same year he undertook the defence of Thomas Paine, the author of the 'Rights of Man,' against a charge of libel, and was in consequence deprived of his office of attorney-general to the prince of Wales, who, however, restored him to this office in 1802, and revived, in his favour, a long-dormant office, that of his chancellor. In 1794 he exerted himself prodigiously and with proportionate success in the defence of the various parties indicted in the course of that year of high treason. "Then it was that his consummate talents shone in their full lustre. His indefatigable patience—his eternal watchfulness—his unceasing labour of body and of mind—the strength of an Herculean constitution —his untameable spirit—a subtlety which the merest pleader might envy—a quickness of intellect which made up for the host he was opposed to:—these were the great powers of the man; and the wonderful eloquence of his speeches is only to be spoken of as second to these. Amidst all the struggles of the constitution, in parliament, in the council, and in the field,—there is no one man, certainly, to whose individual exertions it owes so much, as to this celebrated advocate; and if ever a single patriot saved his country from the horrors of a proscription, this man did this deed for us, in stemming the tide of state prosecutions."

It is somewhat remarkable that this consummate and unmatched pleader at the bar of courts of justice proved himself but a second-rate orator in the houses of parliament. On the death of Pitt, Mr Erskine was raised to the chancellorship, having been previously created a baron by the title of Lord Erskine of Restormel castle in Cornwall; he exercised his high professional functions only during the brief administration of Lord Grenville, and his public life may be said to have closed with his retirement from the woolsack.

A few desultory speeches, and the publication of a few pamphlets on passing topics, constituted the amount of the ex-chancellor's exertions after this period. His closing years were also shaded by a domestic mesalliance. Lord Erskine died on the 17th of November, 1823.

Charles Grant.

BORN A. D. 1746.—DIED A. D. 1823.

If high talents, Christian worth, and the truest patriotism, entitle a name to commemoration, that of Charles Grant will long maintain a

high place in the estimation of the public. This distinguished senator was a native of Scotland. His father fell in the battle of Culloden, a few hours after the birth of this son. By his uncle his education was superintended, and he obtained for him a military appointment in India, whither he proceeded in 1767. In 1772 he obtained a writership on the Bengal establishment, and in the following year was appointed secretary to the Board of Trade at Calcutta. In 1784 he obtained the rank of senior merchant, and in 1787 was appointed by Lord Cornwallis a member of the Board of Trade.

After a residence in India of altogether nearly twenty years, he returned to England in the year 1790, and soon after drew up his 'Observations on the State of society among the Asiatic subjects of Great Britain with respect to Morals, and on the Means of improving it.' This production was for some years only circulated in private; but in 1813 it was ordered to be printed for the use of the house of commons, and proved of eminent service in effecting an amelioration on the system and tone of our Indian policy. In 1794 he was elected a director of the East India company. In 1804 he was elected deputy-chairman of the court of directors. While in this situation he did not hesitate to reprobate Lord Wellesley's Indian policy, and supported the motion of Sir Philip Francis, "that to pursue schemes of conquest and extension of dominion in India are measures repugnant to the wish, the honour, and the policy of Britain." In 1808 he zealously opposed the measure for deposing the nabobs of the Carnatic, declaring it to be his decided opinion "that not only was there nothing like legal evidence of the offences imputed to the nabobs, but even no such presumption as an individual or a nation could act upon with any regard to justice."

On the passing of the Charter act in July, 1813, Mr Grant obtained the introduction of various provisions for the supply of India with the institutions of Christianity and elementary schools,—objects which had hitherto been almost entirely overlooked, and which, but for his exertions, would probably have remained so for many years. In 1819 Mr Grant retired from public life, after having sat for about seventeen years in the house of commons, during fifteen of which he represented the county of Inverness. No man, perhaps, ever enjoyed more of the esteem and confidence of all parties than Charles Grant. In the religious world also his name stood very high. He was an active, liberal, and intelligent supporter of Missionary, Bible, and Educational societies; and readily lent his services and influence to the promotion of their objects.

His death took place on the 31st of October, 1823. Mr Daniel Wilson, now bishop of Calcutta, thus depicted Mr Grant's character in a sermon which he preached on the occasion of his death: "This distinguished person, in point of natural endowments, was highly gifted. He had a vigorous understanding, a clear and sound judgment, a sagacity and penetration, particularly in the discernment of character, which were seldom deceived or eluded, a singular faculty of patient, impartial, and comprehensive investigation, an activity of spirit, and a power of continued and persevering application, which difficulties could not damp, nor labour exhaust. These qualities, united with quick sensibility of feeling, delicacy of sentiment, and a strong sense of moral rectitude, constituted, even independently of religion, that which is generally understood by the term greatness of character. It was not, however, the

possession, but the direction and the improvement of these endowments and qualifications; it was the use which he made of his powers and faculties; it was the sincere and honest dedication of every talent and acquirement to the service and glory of God, which constituted him, in the proper sense of the term, a Christian. He did not, indeed, learn this lesson easily, or at small cost. At an early stage of his Indian career, it pleased God to visit him with a succession of severe domestic afflictions, painfully illustrative of the vanity of human hopes, the precariousness of earthly enjoyments, and the awful nearness of the things which are unseen and eternal. He was in circumstances very unfavourable to religious instruction and improvement; heathenism and false religion prevailing all around; the partial intermixture of Christianity which existed, possessing little of that divine religion beyond the name; his situation ill allowing of seclusion from worldly occupation and society. Yet that season of heavy calamity was blessed to his mind. It led him to the only true source of felicity. He derived, on this occasion, much useful spiritual counsel from a friend, who afterwards became his near connection, and who was himself the friend and disciple of the celebrated missionary Schwartz. Thus, in a soil prepared by the means of grief and trouble, it pleased God that the good seed should be sown; it was subsequently cherished amidst the silence and comparative solitude of one of the remoter stations in our Indian dominions: and it produced blessed fruit to the praise and glory of God. The deep persuasion of the importance of religion which now possessed itself of his whole soul, did not slacken his attention to his proper duties. On the contrary, he laboured, if possible, only the more abundantly. A new principle of action governed him; a profound and abiding sense of his obligation as a Christian; a grateful and affecting remembrance of the mercies of God in Jesus Christ; a solemn and exciting anticipation of the awful account which he must one day give of the talents committed to his charge. He now sought to please, not men, but God, the judge of all. Let it not, however, be thought that these, his good deeds, formed, in any degree, the ground of his hopes before God. His reliance was on the meritorious cross and the mediation of Christ. It was, indeed, a remarkable feature of his character, through his whole life, that, while no man entertained a stronger sense of the obligation of duty as such, or more assiduously strove to discharge with fidelity the trusts reposed in him; none ever avoided more carefully the ascription of merit to his own good works, or watched with more jealousy against the delusions of that self-righteousness to which the human heart is so lamentably prone, and which is apt to mingle with, and tarnish, even the graces of the most confirmed Christian."

Howard, Earl of Carlisle.

BORN A. D. 1748.—DIED A. D. 1825

Frederick Howard, Earl of Carlisle, Viscount Howard of Morpeth, Baron Dacres, and a knight of the Garter, was born May 28th, 1748. As he was intended for public life, his lordship was sent early to Eton college, where he was the contemporary of Hare, whose verses

were appended to the school-room on account of their excellence; of Fox whom he was fated to admire 'ere yet in manhood's bloom,' and to differ from at a riper age; and of the duke of Leinster, with whom he ever lived in habits of familiarity.

On the expiration of his minority, and after having visited the continent, the earl of Carlisle returned to England, and, his father being dead, took his seat in the house of peers in 1769. Mr Fox and the earl were at this period considered as two of the best-dressed men of their times! "The latter," says a writer of contemporary date, "is still singularly neat and appropriate in his appearance; but whoever surveys his present morning's attire, consisting of a plain drab or mixed-coloured coat, with his horseman's boots and round hat—for the duke of Grafton alone retains the triangular one—or beholds his old school-fellow, Charles, with his honest shining countenance, unpowdered, 'unanointed, unannealed,' will be apt to doubt that they were at one period the Castor and Pollux of the gay world, and endeavoured long, but ineffectually, to introduce the foreign foppery of red-heels!"[1]

During the transactions connected with the American revolution, the earl of Carlisle, who now began to distinguish himself by his speeches in the house of peers, was nominated treasurer of the household in 1777; and when it was found that measures of coercion had become unproductive of concession, and a different plan was at length recurred to, this nobleman was selected, on account of his acknowledged moderation, to act a conspicuous part during the disputes between the mother-country and the insurgent colonists. In 1778, the house having failed as negotiators,[2] the earl of Carlisle repaired to America in the character of one of his majesty's commissioners, for the purpose of restoring peace. He was accompanied upon this occasion by Governor Johnstone, and also by Mr Eden, afterwards Lord Auckland. The joint efforts of these new commissioners were unattended with success; but it is acknowledged by all that the nobleman at the head of this embassy executed the office intrusted to his care in a manner that redounded greatly to his honour.

Soon after their return, in 1780, the earl of Carlisle, who had been nominated lord-lieutenant of the East Riding of Yorkshire, was appointed viceroy of Ireland; on this occasion he was accompanied by his friend Mr Eden, who, in the capacity of secretary, managed the interests of England in the parliament of the sister-kingdom. "The period at which his lordship was called upon to preside over the affairs of that nation was peculiarly arduous and critical. The administration of Lord North had become odious; and while America had boldly thrown off her allegiance, other portions of the empire evinced a marked disinclination to his administration. Ireland having been drained of all the veteran troops for the purpose of carrying on a hopeless combat on the transatlantic continent, the inhabitants had associated for their own defence and protection, and an army of volunteers, headed by the earl of Charlemont, and officered by gentlemen of large fortunes, was in complete possession of the country. The situation of a viceroy was,

[1] 'Public Characters of 1803-4.'

[2] See Notice of William, Viscount Howe, p. 137 of this volume.

therefore, extremely delicate: more especially as a formidable and increasing party in opposition tended not a little to embarrass those intrusted with the government, and obliged them at times to deviate from that course which had been chalked out for their conduct. Yet, notwithstanding these adverse circumstances, the administration of the nobleman in question was accompanied with many circumstances calculated to conciliate favour, and meliorate the condition of an unhappy people. It was during his lordship's administration that a national bank was established, and many excellent plans formed, and bills passed, for increasing the trade of a portion of the empire which had not hitherto, perhaps, enjoyed all the privileges and immunities to which it was so justly entitled."[3] In 1782, at a period when the earl was negotiating the repeal of so much of the statute of George I., a sudden change in the British cabinet ended the vice-regal government of Lord Carlisle in Ireland.

During the disputes that took place relative to the regency, in consequence of the severe illness with which his majesty was at this time afflicted, Lord Carlisle took an active part in favour of the claims of the heir-apparent. "It was his lordship's opinion, that, as a deficiency in one branch of the legislature had been proved, it was expedient that this deficiency should be supplied; and the circumstances of the present times were fully sufficient to direct the wisdom of parliament how that was to be done, without having recourse to times dissimilar in all circumstances. He deprecated the idea of searching for precedents to influence their proceedings; and as to the 'phantom of right,' which had been so much contended for, 'he considered it as a false light, meant to bewilder, and lead their lordships from the way of their duty, while the whole nation pointed direct to the heir-apparent.' His lordship concluded by warning the peers not to deviate from the true line of their duty, and by hinting that if they swerved they would not be followed by Ireland."[4]

In 1791 we find his lordship once more acting in opposition to Mr Pitt's administration. The Turks and Russians were still at war, and the successes of Catherine II. were such as seemed to indicate the speedy downfall of the Ottoman empire. By the ministers who now presided in the English cabinet, it was determined that Great Britain should arm, on purpose to oppose the claims of Russia, and vindicate the cause of the Turks. A message from the king was accordingly brought down to both houses of parliament, on Monday, March 28th, stating: "That the endeavours which his majesty had used, in conjunction with his allies, to effect a pacification between Russia and the Porte, having been hitherto unsuccessful, and the consequences which may arise from the further progress of the war being highly important to the interests of his majesty and his allies, and to those of Europe in general, his majesty judges it requisite, in order to add weight to his representation, to make some further augmentation of his naval force; and his majesty relies on the zeal and attention of the house of commons, that they will be ready to make good such additional expense as may be incurred by those preparations for the purpose of supporting the interests of his majesty's kingdoms, and of contributing

[3] 'Public Characters of 1803-4.' [4] Ibid.

to the restoration of general tranquillity, on a secure and lasting foundation."

Many respectable noblemen and gentlemen, in both houses of parliament, were averse from a new war at this particular period, and loudly condemned the impolicy of a contest with a power which the great Lord Chatham had forcibly designated as 'the natural ally of this country.' In the house of lords the earl of Carlisle objected to the original address. He said that, in the course of his parliamentary attendance he had often witnessed the contemptuous behaviour of the ministry, but never in so insulting a manner as on this occasion. As the matter stood at present, his lordship contended, "that it was impossible for that house to know whether they were then called upon to assist Russia in any of her schemes, or to support the Turks. They could not vote the address but upon confidence, and confidence merely; and he begged to know upon what ground ministers called for such confidence. Did they rest their claim upon their conduct last year? By that conduct, and by the subsequent measures, he could not tell whether the armament which had then been raised had really been intended to act against Spain, or to assist Sweden. If the present arrangement was in contemplation when the king's speech was delivered, why did they disarm? Why not use the force they had then afloat? As it was, the fleet had only served to pillage the public, and to make a show between the Isle of Wight and Portsmouth. If we were resolved," added his lordship, "to enter into continental alliances, we should have made such as would have been most likely to have proved serviceable to us, and have considered that Russia was the natural ally of this country. We had neglected to cultivate the friendship of the empress, and now we were going to provoke her still further. If we were entering into a war from necessity, the country would willingly strain every nerve to carry it on, and bring it to a speedy and successful conclusion. No other war would be justifiable; and whether this was a war of necessity, a war in consequence of existing continental alliances, or a war occasioned by the haughtiness and arrogance of ministers, by pursuing a blundering system, the house was as yet unable to determine."

We find Lord Carlisle still continuing in opposition to the ministers at this period at the head of affairs, and even joining in a vote for their censure. When Lord Grenville, June 5th, 1792, moved the order of the day, on the bill "for the further increase and preservation of timber within the New Forest, in the county of Southampton, and for the sale of rents, and the enfranchisement of copyhold tenements in the said forests," this was openly and ably disapproved of by the earl of Carlisle, who said he "regarded the present bill as a measure that could fairly be said to be neither more nor less than a job, in favour of a clerk at their table, who was at the same time secretary to the treasury, under the pretence of buying timber for the royal navy; it was under that impression that his majesty—the readiest of princes to give up advantages of his own for the benefit of his people—had been prevailed on to assent to this measure, but his goodness and paternal affection had been abused in this instance."

On the commencement of the French revolution the earl became an alarmist, and ranged himself on the side of his majesty's ministers, for which, in 1793, he was rewarded with the insignia of the Garter. His

leisure-hours, from this period, were chiefly devoted to literature; but he continued to take a part in politics during the remainder of his life, which closed on the 4th of September, 1825.

It now remains to speak of Lord Carlisle as a votary of the Muse. Four poems, written by his lordship, were published in 1773, in a quarto edition. The first of these consisted of an ode on the death of Gray, the second and third of verses destined for the monument of a favourite spaniel, and the fourth of a translation from Dante. In 1801 appeared a splendid edition, from the press of Bulmer, of 'The Tragedies and Poems of Frederick, Earl of Carlisle, Knight of the Garter.' The 'Ode on the Death of Gray' appears to have been written in 1771, at a period when the noble author had scarcely attained his twenty-third year. In it the youthful poet has endeavoured at once to commemorate the merits of the bard and also to imitate his numbers. The following is a specimen of his lordship's juvenile verses:

I.

"What spirit's that which mounts on high,
Borne on the arms of every tuneful Muse?
His white robes flutter to the gale:
They wing their way to yonder opening sky;
In glorious state through yielding clouds they sail,
And scents of heavenly flowers on earth diffuse.

II.

"What avails the Poet's art?
What avails his magic hand?
Can he arrest Death's pointed dart,
Or charm to sleep his murderous band?
Well I know thee, gentle shade,
That tuneful voice, that eagle eye—
Quick bring me flowers that ne'er shall fade,
The laurel-wreath that ne'er shall die;
With every honour deck his funeral bier,
For he to every Grace and every Muse was dear!

III.

"The listening Dryad, with attention still,
On tiptoe oft would near the Poet steal,
To hear him sing, upon the lonely hill,
Of all the wonders of the expanded vale;
The distant hamlet, and the winding stream,
The steeple shaded by the friendly yew,
Sunk in the wood, the sun's departing gleam,
The gray-robed landscape stealing from the view.
Or, wrapt in solemn thought, and pleasing wo,
O'er each low tomb he breath'd his pious strain,
A lesson to the village swain,
And taught the tears of rustic grief to flow!
But soon, with bolder note and wilder flight,
O'er the loud strings his rapid hand would run;—
Mars has lit his torch of war,
Ranks of heroes fill the sight!
Hark! the carnage is begun!
And see the Furies through the fiery air,
O'er Cambria's frighten'd land, the screams of horror bear!"

The following extract is from a poem inscribed to Sir Joshua Reynolds, on his resignation of the president's chair of the Royal academy

After a compliment to the painter who had first 'pierced the gloom where England's Genius slept,' the poet proceeds thus:

"Dark was the hour, the age an age of stone,
When Hudson claim'd an empire of his own;
And, from the time, when, darting rival light,
Vandyke and Rubens cheer'd our northern night,
Those twin-stars set, the Graces all had fled,
Yet paused to hover o'er a Lely's head;
And sometimes bent, when urged with earnest prayer,
To make the gentle Kneller all their care:
But ne'er with smiles to gaudy Verrio turn'd;
No happy incense on his altars burn'd.
" O witness, Windsor, thy too passive walls,
Thy tortur'd ceilings, thy insulted halls!
Lo! England's glory, Edward's conquering son,
Cover'd with spoils from Poictiers bravely won;
Yet no white plumes, no arms of sable hue,
Mark the young hero to our ravish'd view;
In buskin trim, and laurell'd helmet bright,
A well-dress'd Roman meets our puzzled sight.
And Gallia's captive king, how strange his doom,
A Roman, too, perceives himself become!"

Lord Carlisle was the author of two tragedies,—'The Stepmother,' and 'The Father's Revenge.' Dr Johnson observes of the latter, in a communication to Mrs Chapone: "Of the sentiments, I remember not one that I wished omitted. In the imagery, I cannot forbear to distinguish the comparison of joy succeeding grief, to light rushing on the eye accustomed to darkness. It seems to have all that can be desired to make it please. It is new, just, and delightful."[5] Lord Byron, whom the earl had bitterly offended, notices him as a tragic writer in the following terms:—

"So dull in youth, so drivelling in age,
His scenes alone might damn our sinking stage;
But managers, for once, cried, 'Hold! Enough!'
Nor drugg'd their audience with the tragic stuff."

We shall select two or three quotations from 'The Father's Revenge.' The first is from the speech of Monforti, in which, before the failure of his conspiracy, he thus characterizes the populace:—

"——— The gull'd fools
Believe I love them. They are indeed the waves,
And while they bear us, we must court their favour,
Until we gain the port; unheeded then,
To the wide ocean they again may flow;
Lost and forgotten midst their kindred waters."

On being detected, he mourns 'the stings of conscious guilt,' and exclaims:—

"——————— O, Raimond, had I
Been never born, Salorno's realms had known

[5] The following is the passage here referred to:—

"I could have borne my woes: that stranger joy
Wounds while it smiles:—the long-imprison'd wretch
Emerging from the night of his damp cell,
Shrinks from the sun's bright beams; and that which flings
Gladness o'er all, to him is agony."

A milder sway. I poison'd Tancred's nature,
Dash'd the fair scale of Justice on the ground,
Scourg'd Mercy from his throne, and placed about it
The weakest sentinels a prince can trust to,—
Hate, Fear, and Pride. I was that envious shade,
Through which the sun-beams never pierc'd,—the night,
In whose thick damp all the foul passions gendered,
That with the adder's venom'd tooth, crept forth
And stung an injur'd people into madness.
I was that wizard, conjuring up all ill,
Myself invisible, while Tancred drew
On his less guilty head his people's hatred.
But now I fall, in my own wiles insnared,
The victim of my guilt."

The last passage is taken from an interview between the king and his relative, the prelate:—

"TANC.—Know, brother,
These taunts but ill become you. Must I kneel
'Fore a monk's consist'ry? Is that the bar
Where I must plead, and justify my actions?"
"ARCHB.—No, Tancred, no; yet there's a judgment-seat
Where purple kings, high as their full-blown pride
Or flattery can set them, must be summon'd;
'Tis in their subjects' rigorous inquisition
They may forestall the more tremendous process
That waits beyond the grave. Thinkst thou thy people,
Because they bear, don't feel their injuries?"

John Cartwright.

BORN A. D. 1740.—DIED A. D. 1825.

THIS celebrated and sturdy reformer was the third son of William Cartwright, Esq. of Marnham, Nottinghamshire, and was born on the 28th of September, 1740.

He was considered somewhat of a dunce at school, but this appears to have been the result of bad management on the part of his tutors, for his mind was an active and powerful one, when fully engaged upon any subject or inquiry. He spent several years in the naval service, in which he always acquitted himself with gallantry; but he declined to bear arms in the American war.

In 1776 he produced his first pamphlet on parliamentary reform,—the great object to which his pen and future life were to be dedicated. It was entitled, 'Take your Choice,' and advocated equal representation and annual parliaments. He had, previously to the publication of this pamphlet, written two others: one 'On the Rights and Interests of Fishing companies,' and the other consisting of a series of 'Letters on American Independence.' In 1780 he took a very active part in the formation of a society for constitutional information, and drew up their Declaration of Rights, of which Sir William Jones was heard to say that it ought to be written in letters of gold. This was followed by a brochure, entitled 'The People's Barrier against undue Influence and Corruption.' His last publication appeared in 1823. It is entitled 'The Constitution Produced and Illustrated,' and is a surprisingly vigorous work for a man of eighty-four years of age. Between the years

1800 and 1821 his exertions in the cause of reform were incessant, and gave to him a kind of ubiquity at political meetings all over the country. He died in September, 1824.

"Major Cartwright," says one of his party, "was not only a sturdy parliamentary reformer, but an honest, upright, and amiable man; one of those truly estimable patriots, who, while they love their country, and spend their lives in unremitted efforts to improve the political condition of their fellow-citizens, stretch forth their thoughts, at the same time, to the interests and happiness of the whole human race, and do something, do much, in their day and generation, to make future ages better than the present or the past. In his domestic relations he appears the model of all that is good, gentle, and gentlemanly; beloved with no common affection, served with no common zeal, and honoured with no common esteem. It is impossible to follow him into his daily walk of existence, without admiring the many excellencies of his character, and without wondering at that strange and vicious perversity which, on account of honest political opinions, would load so good a man with obloquy during his life, and even pour forth its vials of contempt and bitterness upon his grave. Whether the course he pursued for the furtherance of his political views was always the best possible, will be hereafter considered; but that he thought it the best, and that he acted from this persuasion, is evident from the whole course and tenor of his conduct through his long and eventful career. Major Cartwright has been rather erroneously considered the father of modern parliamentary reformers; since long before the Major wrote his first pamphlet, viz. in 1776, many works had appeared, in which it was contended, that the holding a new parliament at least once in the year had been for many ages the law of the land. An universality of suffrage for all who had attained the age of twenty-one, and the protection of the ballot, had been frequently advocated; and Burgh, in the 'Conclusion' to his 'Political Disquisitions,' had recently suggested the propriety of 'a general association for restoring the constitution,' which he imagined might be effected 'by petitions to the king and parliament, signed by a clear majority of the people of property, for obtaining the necessary acts of parliament, and by raising and having in readiness the strength of the nation, in order to influence government and prevent mischief.' Major Cartwright brought all these propositions together. He contended that annual parliaments and universal suffrage were the ancient unalienable and indefeasible rights of the people, were derived from nature, recognised and adopted by our Saxon ancestors, and not to be abrogated by any act or acts of parliament. He proposed a plan for the equal division of the people, whose votes were to be taken at the same hour on a certain day in every year, in their respective parishes, and all voting to be by ballot. To attain these objects, he quoted Burgh's suggestions of 'a Grand National Association,' called upon every man of intelligence and influence to promote such an association, and concluded his work with these words:—'I hope there lives not a man upon our isle so unworthy of the society of men, who, if need were, would not subscribe it with his blood.' The creed of the Major thus early settled was religiously adhered to by him to the hour of his death."

The following is a list of Major Cartwright's publications:—'Ameri-

can Independence the Interest and Glory of Great Britain,' 1774, 8vo; —' A Letter to Edmund Burke, Esq., controverting the Principles of Government, laid down in his Speech of April 9th, 1774,' 1775, 8vo; —' Take your Choice, &c. &c.' 1776, 8vo; reprinted 1777 under the title of ' The Legislative Rights of the Commonalty Vindicated,' 8vo; —' A Letter to the Earl of Abingdon, discussing a Position relative to a fundamental Right of the Constitution, contained in his Lordship's Thoughts on the Letter of Edmund Burke, Esq.' 1777, 8vo;—' The People's Barrier,' 1780, 8vo;—' Letter to the Deputies of the Associated Counties, Cities, and Towns, on the Means necessary to a Reformation of Parliament,' 1781, 8vo;—' Give us our Rights,' 1782, 8vo;— ' Internal Evidence, or an Inquiry how far Truth and the Christian Religion have been consulted by the Author of Thoughts on a Parliamentary Reform, (Soame Jenyns)' 1784, 8vo;—' Letter to the Duke of Newcastle,' 1792, 8vo;—' A Plan for providing the Navy with Timber, 1793, 8vo;—' Letter to a Friend at Boston,' 1793, 8vo;— ' The Commonwealth in Danger,' 1795, 8vo;—' Letter to the High Sheriff of the County of Lincoln,' 1795, 8vo;—' The Constitutional Defence of England,' 1796, 8vo;—' An Appeal on the Subject of the English Constitution,' 1797, 8vo; 2d edition greatly enlarged, 1799; —' The Trident,' 1800, 4to;—' Letter to the Electors of Nottingham,' 1803, 8vo;—' The State of the Nation,' 1805, 8vo;—' England's Ægis,' 1806, 8vo;—' Reasons for Reformation,' 1809, 8vo;—' The Comparison,' 1810, 8vo;—' Six Letters to the Marquess of Tavistock,' 1812, 8vo;—' A Bill of Rights and Liberties, 1817, 8vo;—' The English Constitution produced,' 1823, 8vo. Major Cartwright was also the author of several papers in Young's Annals of Agriculture.

Richard, Earl of Donoughmore.

BORN A. D. 1756.—DIED A. D. 1825.

This nobleman was the eldest son of the Right Hon. John Hely Hutchinson. He was educated at Eton and Oxford, but graduated at Dublin. As soon as qualified by age, he obtained a seat in the Irish house of commons. The tone of his politics, and the estimation in which he was held by the great portion of the Irish community, may be best gathered from the following address, which was presented to him in 1795 by a delegation from the Roman Catholics in Dublin :—

" To the Right Hon. Lord Donoughmore.

" My Lord,—The Catholics of Dublin have instructed us to express to your lordship the sentiments of sincere and ardent gratitude which they feel to you and your family; and in discharging this duty we assume to ourselves no small degree of pride, because we know that in addressing your lordship we address the hereditary advocate of Catholic emancipation.

" Your late illustrious father had attentively considered the whole [illegible] ry laws, not only as far as they related to the persons who [illegible] were the victims of their severity, but also as far as they [illegible] terests of this kingdom in general; and never was the

Catholic question the subject of parliamentary discussion that he did not forcibly reprobate the impolicy of imposing penalties on opinions, and classifying people according to their creeds.

"He was too great a statesman to think that four-fifths of a nation could be politically degraded, without the degradation, in a great measure, of the remaining part of its inhabitants; and that civil disabilities could be added to political restraints, without the ruin of many of the arts that are useful to life, and the total extinction of all those sentiments of national honour and pride which give rank and dignity to one country in the mind of another.

"You, my lord, are heir not only to the fortunes, but to the talents and opinions of your father; and in conjunction with your liberal and enlightened brothers, are endeavouring to complete the work which he was among the first to begin.

"You feel in common with the reflecting and disinterested part of the community, that the slavery of Catholics is not necessary to the freedom of Protestants. The genius and character of the times in which you live have not escaped your observation. You know that neither superstition nor enthusiasm, in matters of religion, are among the maladies of the present day; and that, whatever might have been the delusions of former ages, nothing is now less likely than contests among sectaries to procure legal and temporal preferences for their clergy and their respective creeds. You are sensible that a change of circumstances will produce a change of tastes and opinions; that bigotry in one age may be succeeded by liberality in another; and you have too much penetration not to perceive that Catholics, instead of being fixed to an immoveable anchor of prejudice and passion, have floated with the times, and caught the manners of their contemporaries.

"Influenced by these considerations, your lordship has uniformly laboured to purify the statute-book from the taint of penal laws, and to unite all descriptions of your countrymen in a bond of common interest. Animated by the recollection of your father's example, and aided by that immortal man who restored to Ireland its constitution, your lordship cannot fail of success; and it is with the highest satisfaction we anticipate the day when there shall be no distinctions in this country, but those of subjects and rulers; and when churches, dedicated to different modes of worship, shall give rise to as little popular animosity and contention, as academies instituted for teaching the different branches of human learning.

"As soon as this auspicious event shall obtain, several abuses, now existing, will be removed, and an end will be put to the insults which Ireland now receives, and is forced to bear in silence, from sordid and unworthy men who have not candour enough to make allowances for the causes of her depression, nor virtue and patriotism enough to assist in removing them. The ingenuity of the people will be called forth; in the place of religious discord and its folly, a spirit of emulation will arise in arts, in commerce, and in manufactures; habits of sobriety and industry will gradually introduce themselves; the pride and haughtiness of wealth and station will be softened; a peasantry of bold and manly feelings, more disposed to labour, and less disposed to riot, will grow up; each rank in society will acquire the character and manners suited to it; an easy gradation, together with a connexion and sympathy, will

be felt through all the walks of life, from the palace to the cottage; no man will be so independent as to presume to act the tyrant, and few will be so dependent as to be completely servile and abject.

"In a system of this kind, where relations and dependencies are all ascertained and established, the duties which one man owes to another will be better practised than where all is disconnected and disjointed. Statesmen will cease to be intemperate, ferocious, and inquisitorial; and the obedience of the people will be prompt and cheerful in proportion as their interests are consulted, their prejudices indulged, and their opinions respected, if not altogether satisfied.

"To you, my lord, the merit of opening such fair and flattering prospects, in a great degree, belongs; and as they increase and ripen, your glory, and the gratitude of your countrymen, will increase together.

"THOMAS BRAUGHALL, *Chairman*,
JOHN SWEETMAN, *Secretary*."

To which his lordship was pleased to return the following answer:

"GENTLEMEN,—I am truly thankful to you for your affectionate address. You have placed me in the situation in which I am most proud to stand, by connecting me with the exertions of my family; and you have touched the master feeling of my heart, by honouring that integrity, and those talents which are unhappily lost to your cause and to that of the public. You state the opinions and conduct of my late father upon the great question of your emancipation, truly as they were. Amongst the various objects which engaged his attention during the course of a long parliamentary life, there was nothing which he considered so essential to the prosperity of Ireland, as the union of all her inhabitants. He had been taught, by his experience and observation, that the misfortunes of his country had proceeded from her political dissensions. He had, therefore, turned his attention to the absolute necessity of healing those animosities, and of repealing that fatal system of laws, in which he saw nothing but national calamity; in which he has been able to trace the decay of arts, agriculture, and manufactures; the ruin of your commerce, the extinguishment of the public mind, the oppression of the Catholic, the weakness of the Protestant, and the degradation of both.

"Impressed with this conviction, he was the uniform and zealous asserter of your rights for a period of more than thirty years. He has bequeathed me his opinions and his example, and I cherish them as the most valued part of my inheritance. You have adopted my family and myself as your hereditary advocates. It is the post of honour, and we will not desert it. We will continue to support you in whatever situation you may be placed, unattracted by the fashion as unwarped by the prejudice of the moment. We will assert the justice of your claims, whether you are dignified again by royal recommendation, or driven a second time from the doors of the parliament.

"When I supported your bill in 1792, it was 'not for the privileges only which it conferred, but for the principle which it established,—a growing principle of legitimate claim on the one hand, and liberal concession on the other.' I would have freely given you every thing

at that moment, for you know my principle has ever been general comprehension. It cannot be more my feeling now than it has ever been since the claims of the Catholic body have begun to awaken the public mind. But to those who resisted in the outset, or who hesitated as they advanced in the great work of your adoption into the state; to such I would urge what they have given already, as the surest earnest to the Catholic of that which remains behind; to them I would answer, that the victory of 1793, which gave you the franchise, has insured all you claim now, as included in the same political equity, as a link of the same great national chain. 'It is vain to imagine that admission to the elective franchise does not draw with it the right of representation, for upon what ground can it be said, that men are fit to be electors, and unfit to be elected, and giving them a seat in one house, upon what principle can it be refused to them in the other. The next step to the offices of civil and military power inevitably follows; for it cannot be said that men who are allowed to be qualified for legislation are unfit to be trusted with the execution of those laws which they join in forming.'

"I adopt the argument of the ablest of your opponents, though I rejoice that we have effectually resisted the conclusion which he would have drawn; and I support your complete emancipation now, as the necessary consequence of the privileges of 1793; to crown that system of justice and of liberality, which has nearly united us into one people; —to strengthen the Protestant cause by quieting the Catholic mind;—to shut up, till time shall be no more, every angry discussion;—to make every man, verily and indeed, a neighbour to his fellow-citizen;—and to secure to the state the allegiance of every member of the community, by giving to all those motives to action which influence all mankind, —their own interest and happiness.

"But we are told by those who would separate the body of your people from those who have led them on to the rank they now hold as regenerated members of a free state, that they are already in full possession of all that was interesting to the Catholic community;—that this is the question of your aristocracy; and that the people feel that they have nothing embarked in the event of the contest. But shut your ears against such arguments as tend only to weaken and to disunite. I tell you you are all interested alike, from the peer to the peasant. Give the enemies of your emancipation but the principle of one exclusion upon which to take their stand, and the whole fabric of your liberties will totter to its foundation.

"It is not, therefore, so much for the value of what remains to be given, which to the Protestant is nothing, as against the principle of the exception, which may be every thing to the Catholic. It is not only that your property and talents may be excluded from that parliament, to which you have regained your constitutional privilege of becoming electors; it is not only that your ancient nobility may not be thrust from the seats of their forefathers;—it is not the admission into the few excepted offices of the state for which you are contending at the present moment;—it is for the security of all your acquisitions of the last seventeen years, within which auspicious period you have become freemen, and Ireland an independent nation. You are contending against that spirit of exclusion, which if you are not enabled to resist with reason and with effect in its fullest extent, you are entitled to no political ca-

pacity whatsoever; that spirit of exclusion which must be melted down in the acknowledged justice of your claims, opening wide the arms of the legislature to embrace all the members of the state, or it will rise against you in some more questionable shape; and the same principle may reclaim in other times your glorious acquisitions of 1793, which would now withhold the remnant of privilege that is left.

"But whatever shape it may assume, I will speak to the troubled spirit in the firm tone of truth and of consistency. I will uphold the real interests of the Protestant community against the prejudices of the few, for we have seen a new light, and the mist of error is dissolving away apace. To the Catholic I need not preach patience and moderation, for I remember the merits and the sufferings of a century; his dutiful obedience to the law, his affectionate loyalty to the king, and his experienced devotion to the constitution of his country.

"But I anticipate your success. I see it in the justice of your claims, in the firmness and unanimity of the Catholic body,—in the zeal and the eloquence of those who are its conductors,—in the general concurrence of your Protestant brethren,—in the distinguishing propensity of the royal mind to abrogate penalties, and to confer privileges upon all his subjects,—in the exigency of the times, and the necessity of uniting the nation in a moment awful as the present,—in the energy of your great supporter,—in those gigantic talents, before which resistance retires, and difficulties vanish into air,—in that enthusiasm which led us on to honour and independence,—that spirit of peace, which would conciliate all our jarring interests, and unite all our people.

"DONOUGHMORE."

In November, 1797, his lordship was created Viscount Suirdale, and in 1800 was advanced to the dignity of an earldom. His conduct during the rebellion was wise, firm, and conciliating. On the 6th of June, 1810, Lord Donoughmore, in his place in the house of lords, supported the Irish Catholic petition for relief from disabilities in a very able speech. "Where is there now," he asked, "any insolent pretender to the British crown? Is there a British subject who does not know and feel with conscious security, that it is irrevocably seated on the brows of his majesty's illustrious house? Where are we now to find the principle of that formidable confederacy with which our ancestors had to contend; the assertion of the rights of exiled royalty, and the repudiated Catholic faith? Where are now the thunders of the once all-powerful head of that church, with which he was accustomed to shake the monarch on his throne, and to convulse the Christian world? If all these dangers have so entirely ceased, that for the proof of their ever having had any existence at any period we can only look to the history of times long gone by—I call upon those who still cling to those exclusions which they can no longer defend, for one justifiable argument, one plea of even colourable expediency, for the continuance of these degrading badges of distinction on this important class of our community,—numerous, loyal, and energetic." After a powerful and detailed course of reasoning, to prove the justice and necessity of granting the relief for which the petitioners prayed, the noble earl thus concluded:—"What is it of which I complain on the part of his majesty's Catholic subjects? an injurious system of laws, refusing equal benefits, and

imposing unequal restraints. And what do I demand on their behalf? An exemption from unequal restriction; the enjoyment of their birthright as citizens of a free state; and a full and complete participation in every right, privilege, and immunity of the British constitution. Like the quality of that endearing attribute of Omnipotent power, your merciful dispensations would be twice blessed, in him that gives, and him that takes; in the deliverance of your enfranchised Catholic millions from unmerited insult and degradation, and in the increased and assured security of the Protestant state; presenting to every insolent menace of the implacable foe to the British name and greatness a wall of adamant, in the unconquerable energies of an united people." On the 20th of April, 1812, he again presented the general petition of the Irish Catholics, on which occasion he made a most eloquent and impressive appeal to the justice and policy of their lordships:—"Simple and uncomplicated in all its native dignity and importance," exclaimed the noble lord, "the cause of your Catholic fellow-subjects now approaches your lordships. The known removal of that obstacle which has so long stood in the way of its accomplishment, leaves every man at liberty to take up the question now on its own peculiar grounds. And though there should be some little deviation from former opinions and former votes, no one need be ashamed of such a change of sentiment, or of turning, however late, out of the road in which he has been travelling too long into that path which leads to national conciliation and national strength."—"Having at all times, whenever it has fallen to my lot to address your lordships on this subject, put the question on the strong ground of constitutional right, I will not now degrade its magnitude and importance by condescending to enter into a detailed consideration of the particular impolicy and mischief of each existing disability, or to argue every separate head of exclusion as a distinct grievance in itself on its own peculiar constitutional demerits. It is the principle of exclusion against which I raise my voice, that principle which would draw a line of perpetual demarcation between the citizens of the same commonwealth, the subjects of the same king, which would brand upon the foreheads of our Catholic countrymen the foul imputation of unassured fidelity to the parent state, which would claim for the Protestant part of the community the British constitution as their exclusive inheritance, and cut up by the roots every prospect of uniting those conflicting interests by that complete and useful adjustment which can be expected to stand on no foundation less firm than this,—the enjoyment of the same constitutional privileges, the acknowledgment of the same constitutional rights."—"On the act of 1793 I take my stand, containing, as it does, a long catalogue of grievous disabilities. I produce it to your lordships as sufficient evidence to prove the case of my Catholic countrymen, in the existence of those exclusions from constitutional privileges, the removal of which is the ground of their present appeal to the justice and wisdom of this house. I produce the same statute to your lordships, as a most important document in favour of the petitioner's claims in another point of view; inasmuch as, by the great importance of the privileges which it restores, it enacts the most authentic proof of the conviction of the legislature, that that class of persons on whom it had conferred already so great a portion of political power, were worthy of perfect and complete confidence as members of

the Protestant state. On that foundation, so ably and so broadly laid in the statesman-like and weighty argument of a noble marquess (Wellesley) on a late occasion, I lay the corner-stone of my argument. I say with him, that every restraint, excluding a particular description of the subjects of any state from the enjoyment of advantages possessed by the community, is in itself a positive evil." Adverting to an observation which had fallen on a recent occasion from one of his majesty's ministers (Lord Mulgrave) who had said, that although the Catholics had declared they would be satisfied with the concessions of 1793, they again came, like the beggar in Gil Blas, asking alms with a pistol pointed to their lordships' breasts, Lord Donoughmore indignantly asked, "Are my Catholic countrymen then to be characterized as beggars by his majesty's mild, conciliating, and temperate ministers? If they are beggars, who made them so? They have, unhappily, had the full benefits of your instruction and fraternity for the last six hundred years. You complain of your own acts. It was your own barbarizing code which forcibly wrested from the Catholic the constitution of his country, his inheritance and birthright, which made him, as it were, an alien in his native land. It was the all-devouring spirit of your commercial monopoly which stripped my countrymen of their manufactures, their commerce, and their industry. It was your insatiate lust of power that degraded the parliament and the nation by the arrogant assumption of binding by your laws another legislature as independent as your own. But when, and under what circumstances, did the Catholic, and the Protestant, and the parliament, reclaim and recover their invaded right? In times of British weakness and apprehension. When did these invasions of their rights fall upon my countrymen with the greatest weight? In the most triumphant moments of British strength, pride, and prosperity. Under such impressions as these, I feel it to be my bounden duty, earnestly to recommend to your lordships' prompt and favourable consideration, the manifold grievances of your Catholic fellow-subjects, whilst the grant may still preserve somewhat of the dignity and the grace of unforced concession." The disappointment of the expectations which the Catholics founded on the presumed favourable opinion towards them of his present majesty, then recently invested with the regency, Lord Donoughmore thus elegantly described:—"To no event have my Catholic countrymen ever looked with so much confident and anxious hope as to that auspicious moment, when, in the fulness of time, the present heir-apparent to the crown, should assume the government of these his realms. In him, they thought they saw the messenger of peace with healing on his wing, the promised guardian of the people's rights,—of the fomented discord of his father's Irish subjects the indignant spectator, of their interests the avowed and zealous assertor, to Catholic privilege an assured and plighted friend. When the exercise of the executive functions was suspended, for the first time, by the same awful visitation, Ireland successfully maintained the cause of the prince, not equally triumphant in this more favoured nation; committing to him, the legitimate heir to all the royal authorities, the administration of his own inheritance, until returning health should restore his sceptre to the suffering king. The heart of the illustrious person overflowed with affectionate and just feelings; and my confiding countrymen fondly trusted that they had bound their future monarch to

them by a double tie. How sanguine were their hopes! How strong and firmly-rooted the foundations on which they seemed to rest! But they are gone,—blasted at the moment of full maturity; and instead of that rich and abundant harvest of national union and prosperity which we were prepared to gather, as the first-fruits of the promised conciliation of the illustrious person, the sharpened edge of a slumbering statute which had never been awakened before for the annoyance of the people, called for the first time into mischievous activity, and turned against the Catholics, assembled for the lawful purpose of remonstrating for the redress of grievances; and those desperate men who dared thus to intercept, in their constitutional and legitimate progress to the parliament and to the throne, the petitions of an oppressed community of four millions of their fellow-subjects, confirmed in the full possession of all their former power, in the full exercise of all their former intolerance, as the ministers of his own peculiar choice, by the first act of the unlimited regent."—"The ministers have drawn, as it were, a magic circle round the throne, into which none are permitted to enter on whom the confidence of the illustrious person has been accustomed to repose. Within its range the artificers of mischief have not ceased to work with too successful industry. What phantoms have they not conjured up to warp the judgment, excite the feelings, and appal the firmness of the royal mind! But though the evil genius should assume a mitred, nay, more than noble form, the sainted aspect which political bigotry delights to wear, or the lineaments of that softer sex which first beguiled man to his destruction, though to the allurements of Calypso's court were joined the magic and the charms of that matured enchantress; should the spirit of darkness take the human shape, and, issuing forth from the inmost recesses of the gaming-house and the brothel, presume to place itself near the royal ear; what though the potent spell should not have worked in vain, and that the boasted recantation of all encumbering prepossessions and inconvenient prejudices had already marked the triumph of its course; though from the royal side they should have torn the chosen friend of his youth, and faithful counsellor of his maturer years, the boast of his own gallant profession, the pride, the hope, the refuge of my distracted country, and a high and conspicuous ornament of yours; though they should have banished from the royal councils talents, integrity, honour, and high-mindedness like his, and should have selected for the illustrious person an associate and an adviser from 'Change-alley and from the stews; though they should thus have filled up to its full measure the disgusting catalogue of their enormities, we must still cling to the foundering vessel, and call to our aid those characteristic British energies by which the ancestors of those whom I have now the honour to address, have so often and so nobly saved the sinking state."

The emancipation of his Catholic fellow-subjects was the great object of Lord Donoughmore's political life; but he was uniformly found opposing the illiberal policy of the ministers of the day on other questions of importance, such as the suspension of the Habeas corpus act, the Irish grand jury presentments bill, and the Seditious meetings bill.

On the 19th of July, 1821, he was created a peer of the United Kingdom by the title of Viscount Hutchinson. At the opening of the session of 1825, his lordship, though now in a very feeble state of

health, hastened to London to present once more the petition of the Roman Catholics of Ireland. He was afterwards mainly instrumental in bringing together the sixty-nine peers, whose resolutions to support this great measure of public justice and political expediency materially hastened its consummation. He died in the month of August, 1825.

Charles, Earl Whitworth.

BORN A. D. 1754.—DIED A. D. 1825.

THIS nobleman was of an ancient Staffordshire family, which, in the beginning of last century, was represented by Lord Whitworth, a diplomatist of some celebrity. He was the eldest son of Sir Charles Whitworth, who was knighted in 1768. After having held a commission in the Guards for a short time, he resolved on trying his fortune in political life, and obtained the appointment of plenipotentiary to the court of Stanislaus Augustus of Poland. He resided two years in Poland, after which the scene of his diplomacy was transferred to St Petersburg, where he acquitted himself with considerable dexterity. On his return to England in 1800, he was created an Irish peer by the title of Baron Whitworth of Newport Pratt in Galway.

His next mission was to Copenhagen. Towards the latter end of 1802 he went to Paris as ambassador extraordinary; but demanded his passports on the 13th of May in the following year. On the 14th of June, 1814, he was created a peer of Great Britain by the title of Viscount Whitworth of Adbaston in Stafford, and in the following year was raised to the dignity of an earl. He succeeded the duke of Richmond as viceroy of Ireland in 1814; but resigned in 1817.

Earl Whitworth died on the 13th of May, 1825.

Sir David Ochterlony.

BORN A. D. 1758.—DIED A. D. 1825.

THIS distinguished officer went out to India as a cadet in the year 1776. His first campaign was made under Sir Eyre Coote. His gallantry and good conduct procured him steady and early advancement. Immediately after the decisive battle of Delhi he was nominated envoy, or British resident, at the Shah's court.

In January, 1812, he received a colonelcy; and on the 4th of June, 1814, was promoted to the rank of major-general. His vigorous and successful campaign against the Nepaulese, in 1815, procured him the thanks of the East India company, and a Grand cross of the order of the Bath.

On the 14th of January, 1817, the Gazette bore the following announcement relative to Sir David: "His royal highness the prince regent, in the name and on the behalf of his majesty, taking into consideration the highly-distinguished services rendered by Sir David Ochterlony, Bart., a major-general in the army in the East Indies, and knight Grand cross of the most honourable military order of the Bath,

on divers important occasions, during a period of thirty-nine years, particularly in the course of those arduous operations of the Mahratta war, which conduced to the decisive victory gained by the British forces under the command of the late General Viscount Lake, in the memorable conflict before Delhi, on the 11th September, 1803; to the consequent surrender of that capital; and to the restoration of his majesty, Shah Alum, to the throne of his ancestors; as also the proofs of wisdom and military talent afforded by this officer during the subsequent defence of the said city against the whole force of Jeswunt Rao Holkar; his prudent arrangement and disposition of the comparatively few troops under his orders; his judicious conduct at so difficult a crisis, in the discharge of the high and important functions of British resident at the court of Delhi, combined with his great energy and animated personal exertions, to which were chiefly attributed the safety of that capital, and of the person of Shah Alum, at a time when the loss of either might have proved highly prejudicial to the public interests in Hindostan; and further, the unremitting zeal, foresight, and decision, manifested by the said major-general, under circumstances of great difficulty, during the late contest with the state of Nepaul, especially in that series of combined movements, during the nights of the 14th and 15th of April, 1815, against the fortified positions of the Gorkah army on the heights of Mullown, which led to the establishment of the British troops on that range of mountains, theretofore deemed to be impregnable; to the evacuation by the enemy of the fortresses of Mallown and Jytuck; to the defeat and surrender of Umar Sing Thappa, the chief commander of the hostile force; and to the successful and glorious termination of that campaign; and, lastly, the judgment, perseverance, and vigour, displayed by the said major-general, as commander of the British forces, upon the renewal of the contest with the aforesaid state, the happy and triumphant results of which have been consolidated by a treaty of peace between the East India company and the rajah of Nepaul, highly beneficial to the interests of the British empire in India:—His royal highness, desirous, in addition to other marks of his royal approbation, of commemorating the faithful and important services of the said major-general, by granting unto him certain armorial augmentations, has been pleased to give and grant his majesty's royal license and permission, that he, the said Sir David Ochterlony, and his descendants, may bear to the armorial ensigns of Ochterlony the honourable augmentations following, viz.—'On an embattled chief two banners in saltire, the one of the Mahratta states, inscribed Delhi, the other of the state of Nepaul, inscribed Nepaul, the staves broken and encircled by a wreath of laurel,' with this motto to the arms, viz.—'Prudentia et animo;' and the crest of honourable augmentation following, viz.—'Out of an eastern crown, inscribed Nepaul, an arm issuant, the hand grasping a baton of command entwined by an olive branch;' provided the said armorial ensigns be first duly exemplified according to the laws of arms, otherwise the said royal license to be void and of none effect."

In 1817 he received the thanks of both houses of parliament for "the skill, valour, and perseverance displayed by him in the late war with Nepaul." In the Mahratta and Pindary wars of 1817 and 1818, Sir David had a principal command. In 1822 he was intrusted with the

superintendence of the affairs of Central India, as resident in Malwah and Rajpootana.

After nearly fifty years' service in India, Sir David died at Meerut in July, 1825, when on the eve of embarking for England.

Robert, Lord Gifford.

BORN A. D. 1779.—DIED A. D. 1826.

THIS eminent lawyer was the son of a merchant in Exeter. He was originally articled to an attorney, but entered himself as a student at the Middle Temple in 1800, and in 1808 was called to the bar. In May, 1817, he became solicitor-general, and shortly after took his seat in parliament for the borough of Eye. In July, 1819, he succeeded Sir Samuel Shepherd as attorney-general. In this situation the arduous duty of arranging the Queen's trial fell upon him and the solicitor-general, Sir John Copley. He managed his part with firmness and moderation. The following is the peroration of his reply which occupied in its delivery the greater part of two days:

"I congratulate your lordships that I have just arrived at the conclusion of my address to you; because I am sure your patience must be exhausted, and your attention fatigued. My lords, my duty has been an anxious one; it has been to bring before your lordships the evidence in the case. I have strictly confined myself to that duty. I trust your lordships will at least acquit me of having, in the course of my observations, made any unnecessary appeals to your feelings, or your passions. I have done that which was the only duty your lordships imposed upon me, and which I was anxious to discharge to the best of my ability. I have fairly commented, as I trust, upon the evidence produced. That, my lords, was my duty. But it seems there is another code of duty for advocates of the accused, that has just been discovered by my learned friend, Mr Brougham. The duty of the advocate of the accused is to protect his client at all hazards; nay, 'separating even,' Mr Brougham says, 'the duty of a patriot from that of an advocate, he must go on, reckless of consequences, if his fate should unhappily be to involve his country in confusion for his client.' Such is the text! Your lordships have had the speeches for a comment. My lords, what duty was imposed upon my learned friends? To lay before you the case of the queen, to establish her innocence of the charges against her; that was the duty imposed upon them, and that they have attempted to do by the evidence they have produced. My lords, have they confined themselves to that duty? No, my lords. To them it is permitted to launch out into invectives against all the constituted authorities of the realm. Even the monarch is not to be spared. Modern history is to be ransacked; the annals of corrupt Rome are to be searched, in order to find out some quotation by which the feelings of the monarch may be wounded, by which the monarchy may be brought into disrespect in the country. The cruellest tyrant, the man the most detested in antiquity, is to be brought forward as a supposed parallel in this case. Nay, the monarch is not the only one to suffer

from their imputations. Your lordships are not spared, no one concerned in this proceeding is spared, in the observations of my learned friends. My lords, I will not say I pardon them; although, perhaps, some excuse is to be alleged for them under such a trying situation. But, if the queen was innocent, those topics were perfectly irrelevant and unnecessary. The queen's innocence cannot be established by hurling envenomed darts against other persons. No, my lords; innocence stands secure in its own defence; innocence wants not to find motives for revenge. It is time enough when the queen's innocence is established, if ever that period shall arrive, to give vent to such feelings; but, during the time of its being established, I cannot help thinking that the path of duty was clear before her advocates. But it appears, from the conclusion of my learned friend Mr Brougham's eloquent speech, that the public have pronounced a verdict upon this occasion. The public, my lords, have pronounced no verdict. There is a part of the community, undoubtedly, who have attempted to do so; who have, by the most base, by the worst, and the most insidious means, endeavoured to deceive the well-meaning, and the loyal, and the good part of the community; who have, by every means in their power, attempted, during this investigation, to blacken the characters of all concerned in it, and of the witnesses who were produced on the occasion. My lords, while they had the cause of the queen in their mouths, they had another object in their hearts—that of change and revolution. That is their object. To further that object this has been done. It pains me, as it must pain every one,—it will pain persons in future who may read the annals of the present period,—to find that any countenance has been given to such attempts. I trust it has not been given by the illustrious person accused; and that the historian will draw a veil over this part of the transaction. But, my lords, it has not only been brought before your lordships as a ground on which you are to pronounce your decision, but you have been told,—undoubtedly in magnificent language, in a manner I have rarely seen surpassed, in effect great and considerable,—you have been told in the peroration of my learned friend, Mr Brougham, that your lordships are to pause; that you are standing upon the brink of a precipice; that it will go forth, your judgment, if it goes forth against the queen, but that it will be the only judgment you will ever pronounce which will fail of its object, and return upon those who give it. Nay, my lords, you were called upon afterwards, as the only means of saving the honour of the crown, and protecting the purity of the altar, you were called upon at all hazards, at all risks whatever; you were called upon to pronounce a verdict of acquittal; because, forsooth, such is the judgment of what my learned friends choose to call the country, and because your lordships are to be actuated by such intimidations! My lords, God forbid that the time should ever arrive when such threats should have any weight in this assembly! I address persons of high honour, of character unstained, whose decisions hitherto have commanded the respect of the country; and why? because they have been founded in justice. My lords, the throne will be best protected, the altar best preserved, by a judgment pronounced by your lordships according to the evidence which has been produced before you. Upon that evidence I rest the conclusion, having commented upon it as it was my duty to do. The result to which

I think it inevitably leads, is a verdict of guilty. If your lordships shall be of that opinion, I am sure you will pronounce it with firmness. It will be satisfactory to your own conscience,—it will, sooner or later, be satisfactory to the country."

In 1824 Sir Robert was, on the resignation of Sir Robert Dallas, appointed chief-justice of the court of Common pleas, and deputy-speaker of the house of lords, into which he was introduced by the title of Baron Gifford of St Leonard's, Devon.

On the 5th of April, 1824, he was made Master of the Rolls. His lordship died on the 23d of August, 1826.

The following tribute was paid to his memory by a political opponent: "Few men will be more deeply deplored by their family, or more tenderly remembered by their friends. His own affectionate nature secured for him the warm regard of those who were near enough to see into his character. His mind, unstained by vice, had no need of concealment, and was at liberty to indulge its native frankness. He was unassuming, unaffected, mild, friendly, indulgent, and, in intimate society, gently playful. His attachments were constant, his resentment (for he had no enmity) was hard to provoke, and easily subsided. In his last moments he was sustained by the domestic affection and religious hope which had cheered his life. His natural simplicity and modesty were unspoiled by rapid elevation and splendid prospects of ambition; and if these retiring virtues could, without losing their nature, be generally known, they must have softened many of those ungentle feelings which such an elevation is apt to excite. It may with truth be said of him, that he rose by 'fair means,' and in a high station bore his faculties meekly. By the very diligent application of an uncommonly quick, clear, and distinguishing mind, he became so learned in his profession, that the late Lord-chief-justice Gibbs (himself one of the greatest lawyers of his age) assured the present writer, that, since the death of Dunning, he had known no man equal as a general lawyer to Gifford. He had the gift of conveying the subtle distinctions and abstruse learning of the law with a very rare union of perspicuity and brevity. He was soon distinguished on the Western Circuit, where the friendship of two such admirable persons as Horner and Lens was an earnest of the esteem of wise and good men. He was sought out by ministers, to all of whom he was personally unknown, to fill the office of solicitor-general. Sir Samuel Romilly, a severe but most upright judge, in the house of commons declared his satisfaction that the appointment had been made on the fair principle of professional merit. It was his lot to hold office in a stormy season; but all who knew him will bear a testimony, now unsuspected, that the performance of rigorous duties was uncongenial to his nature. The most remarkable display of his talents was made on a splendid theatre, but on an occasion so painful, that to revive the remembrance of it more distinctly would not be in unison with his amiable temper. He was appointed, with universal approbation, Lord-chief-justice of the court of Common pleas, with a title of honour which seemed to be the pledge of higher advancement. When the immense accumulation of Scotch appeals was thought to require some alteration in the Appellate jurisdiction, Lord Gifford was chosen, for his unequalled knowledge of Scotch law, to carry the new measure into effect, and for that purpose was appointed to the

newly-created office of deputy-speaker of the house of lords. Various opinions existed about the necessity of the office, but there was no diversity of opinion about the fitness of the man, and it was universally owned that he was selected for his fitness. The journals of parliament will attest the speed with which he removed the mass of undecided appeals, and the unanimous applause of Scotch lawyers is the best evidence of the wisdom, learning, and justice with which he accomplished that arduous task. Among the numerous body who have risen from the middle classes to the highest stations of the law, it will be hard to name any individual who owed his preferment more certainly to a belief of his merit than Lord Gifford, or who possessed more of those virtues which are most fitted to disarm the jealousy naturally attendant on great and sudden advancement."

Sir Stamford Raffles.

BORN A. D. 1781.—DIED A. D. 1826.

SIR STAMFORD RAFFLES was born at sea, in the West Indies, in 1781. Having obtained a situation in early life in the India House, his good conduct recommended him to the notice of his superiors, and in 1805 he was sent out as assistant-secretary in the Pulo-Penang establishment. Ardent, laborious, and inquisitive, young Raffles soon acquired a more complete knowledge of the languages, customs, and feelings, of the Malay tribes than any other European possessed, and rendered invaluable service to Lord Minto in the reduction of Java in 1810. So great was the confidence which his lordship placed in Mr Raffles, that he appointed him lieutenant-governor of this immense island and its dependencies.

"In order," says his amiable biographer, "to appreciate the difficulties of the situation in which Mr Raffles was placed, the extent of the changes which it was requisite to introduce, and the views which he formed of the principles of government, it will be necessary to advert very briefly to one or two leading principles of the Dutch rule. One of the chief sources of the Dutch revenue was the monopoly by government of the grain and other produce of the land, which the cultivators were required to deliver at an inadequate and arbitrary rate, which articles were afterwards dealt out to the consumer at a far higher price, so that, in fact, the whole body of the people depended on the government for their very subsistence. The principle of encouraging industry in the cultivation and improvement of the country, by creating an interest in the effort and fruits of that industry, was wholly unknown. The mode of collecting this revenue in kind remained with the regent of the district, leaving the cultivators no security beyond the claims of usage and custom; and although custom prescribed a certain portion only of the crop to be delivered, there were no positive means of preventing a greater levy. Thus, while the power and influence of authority could be successfully exerted to stifle complaints, the peasant, though suffering the greatest injustice, despairing of relief, would endure almost any privation and suffering, rather than quit the land of his forefathers, to which he felt himself attached by the strongest ties

of religion, of habit, and of affection. Feudal service was another of the grievances and oppressions under which the natives groaned. No means existed of affording a direct control on the demands for labour. The public officers of the Dutch government universally employed the services of the people without regular hire. Their demands were unlimited. The native chiefs followed the same system. No check existed; and thus the energies of the people were crushed, and their labour frittered away, becoming productive neither to themselves nor to the state. In short, they were reduced to the lowest state of vassalage and subjection. To this ruinous system was to be added the pressure arising from the failure of external commerce. The Dutch government, forced to look within itself for relief, discovered the embarrassments to be daily increasing. Under this exigency, the funds of public societies were appropriated to the government treasury; and the private property of individuals was forcibly borrowed in the same manner. An arbitrary increase of paper-currency was issued, to provide for the daily expenses of the state; and this being found inadequate, the government were compelled to deliver a proportion of colonial produce in payment of these establishments, or, in other words, to pawn the produce in store, to satisfy the current demands upon the public treasury. Such was the financial state of the country at the period when the English assumed the administration of Java. It would be endless to notice the difficulties and obstacles which occurred in the establishment of a pure and upright administration. Not only was the whole system, previously pursued by the Dutch, to be subverted, but an entire new one substituted, as pure and liberal as the old one was vicious and contracted; and this was to be accomplished and carried into effect by the very persons who had so long fattened on the vices of the former policy. Some few were sufficiently enlightened to perceive the advantages of the new system: two of these, Mr Cransen and Mr Muntinghe, on this account, were regarded by Mr Raffles with the highest esteem. Those who know how difficult it is to carry on a government, even where the choice of agents is great, where each well knows the duty which he has to perform, and where the state of society is such, that every man acts as a check upon his neighbour, will be able to appreciate the labour and the anxiety which devolved on Mr Raffles, when Lord Minto left him to arrange the details of that system of which they had together formed the outline. Buoyant in spirit and firm in courage, when once he had adopted a right principle of action, Mr Raffles was keenly alive to the difficult and arduous task which he had to perform; responsible for all, at a distance from any superior authority, without one individual with whose principles he was acquainted, and of whose abilities he had any experience; yet forced to set the wheel of government in motion, and to watch its progress with unceasing attention, whilst all the details of every department were to be formed by himself; nothing but the facility of arrangement which he possessed could have accomplished so much with so little assistance, and in so short a time. The manner and time of bringing about this change, however, required the most serious consideration; and before he took any decided step in the new organization, he instituted statistical inquiries in every district, and collected the most detailed information in every department; the result of which convinced him that a thorough change in system was not only advisable

and practicable, but indispensable, no less for the interests and honour of the British government, than for the happiness and prosperity of the country at large. He examined minutely every department; drew up himself every detail and instruction for the agents which he employed, and with all the courage of a pure and ardent mind, commenced that thorough reform, which with unwearied assiduity he laboured to establish during the whole period of his administration."

The success of Mr Raffles's administration could be only feebly judged of from the fact that he raised its revenue from half-a-million to four millions sterling. He effectually gained the good-will and confidence of the natives; he established a vigilant and effective magistracy; he disseminated the blessings of education throughout the island; he explored its natural history and resources; and he gave to the world an admirable natural and political history of this most important and interesting island. Our miserable negotiations at the close of the war deprived us of this most valuable acquisition, and replaced the Javanese under their brutal masters the Dutch. Sir Stamford—who had been knighted while on a visit to England in 1817—now addressed himself to the organization of a central station within the Archipelago, such as might secure a free passage to China through the straits of Malacca. With this view he fixed upon the island of Singapore, which soon became a valuable and flourishing settlement under his governorship.

Sir Stamford returned to England in bad health in 1824, and died in 1826.

Francis Rawdon-Hastings, Earl of Moira.

BORN A. D. 1754.—DIED A. D. 1826.

THE house of Rawdon is of very great antiquity. It is not certain whether it was settled in England before the Conquest, but the family possesses the title-deed of their estate, granted by William the Conqueror; a part of which estate the present earl still enjoys. The following lines, taken from the original deed, have been preserved by John Weever, in his 'Funeral Monuments:'

> I Wyllyam, king, the thurd yere of my reigne,
> Give to thee Paulyn Roydon, Hope and Ropetowne,
> Wyth al the landes up and downe,
> From heven to yerth, from yerth to hel,
> For thee and thyne ther to dwel,
> As truly as thys kyng ryght is myne,
> For a crosse-bow and an arrow
> When I sal come to hunt on Yarrow:
> And in token that thys thyng is sooth,
> I bit the whyt wax with my tooth,
> Before Meg, Mawd, and Margery,
> And my thurd son, Henry.

The family appears to have given name to a town in Yorkshire, about three miles from Leeds. Sir Marmaduke Rawdon, Knt., was a staunch royalist, and a most active and intrepid commander in the unfortunate

reign of Charles I. Sir George Rawdon also, the first baronet, went to Ireland with Strafford, and was famous for his loyalty and eminent services in Ireland during the great rebellion. As a mark of the royal favour, he was, in May, 1665, created baronet of Moira, in the county of Down. Sir John Rawdon, in March, 1717, married Dorothy, daughter of Sir Richard Levinge, speaker of the Irish house of commons, and afterwards chief-justice of Common pleas in that kingdom. By this marriage he had four sons and a daughter; and, dying February 2d, 1724, in the 34th year of his age, he was succeeded by his son John, who was created Lord Rawdon in 1750, and earl of Moira in 1761. He married in 1741, Helena Percival, youngest sister of the earl of Egmont, by whom he had two daughters. On her death, in 1746, he married Anne, daughter of Trevor, Viscount Hillsborough, who, dying without issue in 1751, he married the following year Elizabeth Hastings, eldest daughter of Theophilus, earl of Huntingdon, by whom he had seven sons and four daughters. The present earl was born December 9th, 1754, at his family-seat in Down.

His education was liberal, and on quitting school he made a short tour on the continent; but the war with America breaking out, his lordship immediately embraced the opportunity of indulging his passion for a military life, and embarked for that country. He was lieutenant in the fifth regiment of grenadiers, at the memorable battle of Bunker's-hill, where he received two shots in his cap, and was one out of seven, only, of his company who escaped unhurt. The conduct of our young soldier on this occasion was so conspicuous as to make a strong impression upon the mind of General Burgoyne, who, in his despatches to the British government, observed, "Lord Rawdon has this day stamped his fame for life." He was, afterwards, present at the storming of Fort Clinton.

In 1778, before he was four-and-twenty, he was advanced to the rank of lieutenant-colonel in the army, and General Howe having resigned, he was appointed adjutant-general to the British forces commanded by Sir Henry Clinton. In this capacity he proved himself not only brave, but active and judicious; and rendered most essential service in the hazardous retreat of the British army through the Jerseys, from Philadelphia to New York, and also in the action of Monmouth. He afterwards embarked with his troops for Charlestown, and served during the siege of that place. On this occasion he conducted himself with so much judgment, and exhibited so many proofs of distinguished valour, that he was appointed to the command of a separate corps in the province of South Carolina. The American general, Gates, had invaded this province, and Lord Rawdon's object was to maintain his position there till the arrival of Lord Cornwallis, in which he completely succeeded. Soon after, the battle of Camden was fought, in which Lord Rawdon by his intrepidity and promptitude of resolution acquired new laurels. Lord Cornwallis marching northward with a considerable force, Lord Rawdon was left with a very small division in South Carolina, where he had occasion, in February, 1781, to oppose two American generals who possessed independent commands. By the activity and skill of his manœuvres, however, the efforts of the enemy were baffled, and in a few days they were obliged to retreat. In April following, another American army, under General Greene, advanced

British troops. While Greene kept his army encamped on waiting for reinforcements, his lordship determined upon hostile camp, though with an inferior force. The superular discipline and military skill was never more conspicuon this occasion. The choice of a circuitous line of march he approach of the British from the enemy. His lordship most accessible side of the hill on which they lay before aware of an assault; Greene, however, with great alertness, his forces; and when he perceived with what narrowness of British advanced to the attack, he confidently expected a detory. Lord Rawdon instantly discerned the intentions of the n general, and at once formed such a plan of arrangement as to defeat them. The Americans came down the hill under tection of a very heavy fire of grape-shot from their artillery; sudden extension of the British front line utterly disconcerted and, after a sharp action, they were totally routed.

affairs of the English in America now began to decline, and it emed necessary to retreat from Carolina. The conduct of this ess devolved upon Lord Rawdon, on account of the severe illness ord Cornwallis. He retired first to Camden, which he was soon ed to evacuate. He next pursued the route to Charlestown. Durhis command at this place, an unpleasing act of public justice was cuted, which made a considerable noise. Isaac Haynes, an Ameri, had been taken prisoner when Charlestown fell into the hands of e British troops. This man voluntarily took the oath of allegiance to e British government, and was set at liberty; but, in violation of his aths, he soon after began to intrigue, and obtained the rank of a colonel of militia in the enemy's army. He corrupted a battalion of our militia which had been enrolled and attested, and was detected carrying them off at the very moment when the enemy were coming down upon us. He was tried by a court of inquiry, and executed. Lord Rawdon endeavoured privately to procure the pardon of Haynes, and encouraged Mr Alexander Wright and Mr Powell, two eminent loyalists, to get a petition from their body in his favour; but his humane efforts were over-ruled. Yet, with singular injustice, the execution of this man was not only represented at home as a wanton act of military despotism, but the whole of it was ascribed to his lordship. A methodist preacher at Plymouth, who carried on a secret correspondence with the Americans, wrote an exaggerated account of this affair to the duke of Richmond; and his grace, believing the narrative, was so imprudent as to animadvert upon the transaction in the house of lords. For this he was called to account in a spirited manner by Lord Rawdon, after his lordship's return, and at length his grace made an apology for what he had thus rashly advanced. When it had become necessary to remove the troops, his lordship was severely affected through the excessive heat of the climate; but, sacrificing all personal convenience, he gave orders to march. His weakness, however, was so great, that he was under the necessity of being conveyed in a cart, and from thence issued his orders to the troops. Finding that the disorder increased upon him, he embarked for England; but, on his passage, the vessel was captured by the Glorieuse, and carried into Brest. Shortly after he recovered his liberty, and landed in England, where, in acknowledg-

ment of his meritorious services, he was created a British peer, by the title of Baron Rawdon of Rawdon, in the county of York, and appointed aid-de-camp to the king.

On the death of his uncle, the earl of Huntingdon, he succeeded to the estates of that ancient and noble family, and, by permission of the king, he assumed the name and arms of that house. By the death of his father, June 20th, 1793, his lordship succeeded to the title of earl of Moira.

About this time he was appointed commanding-officer of a body of troops encamped near Southampton. These troops were originally intended to assist the royalists in Brittany; but the situation of the allied forces in Flanders rendered it necessary to send a reinforcement thither. This was an enterprise of considerable hazard, for the whole country was in the possession of the French. His lordship, however, landed at Ostend, and in the face of a formidable foe succeeded in effecting a junction with the duke of York. Had it not been for the error in which the enemy remained for some time, respecting the strength and number of his troops, and for the celerity and dexterous address with which all his movements were conducted, the French must easily have overpowered him. His quarter-master-general, Doyle, seconding him with the greatest activity, happily seized the town of Bruges, at a time when, but for this achievement, the enemy might easily have hindered him from proceeding farther. In the vicinity of Ghent, this small band was again in danger of being cut off. But, from the town of Alost, they gallantly repulsed the French, who had already entered it. For three days subsequent, his lordship remained master of this place; nor did the French dare to attempt any vigorous efforts to dislodge him. All these masterly movements so checked and embarrassed the enemy, as effectually to cover the retreat of the main British army.

His lordship soon after returned to England, and resumed his nominal command at Southampton, and his seat in the house of lords, where he took part with the minority. In the year 1796, in a most able and eloquent speech, he exhibited a clear discussion upon the revenue taxes, imports and exports, with other financial circumstances, both at the close of the American war and at the present period, and displaying, perhaps, too mournful a picture of the then state of the country. His speech was greatly enlarged upon, and formed in that debate the text to the other members of opposition. We do not again meet with his lordship's name in the list of public occurrences till the year 1801; when, in the first session of the united parliament, as a peer of both realms, with his usual benevolence, he moved for, and at length succeeded in procuring, an act for the relief of all such insolvent debtors as had, without fraud, incurred debts not exceeding £1500, and demonstrated their willingness to do justice to their creditors by a complete surrender of their effects. The general principle reflected the highest honour on the promoter and supporters of the motion, as it was to relieve the debtor from a tedious imprisonment, and to surrender to the creditor the debtor's funds.

When the union of the kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland was first agitated in the English parliament, the earl of Moira was strenuous in his opposition to the measure, which at that time he conceived was adopted and persisted in by the British ministry, contrary to the wishes

and in opposition to the remonstrances of a majority of the Irish nation. He declared in his place in the house of lords, "That no one could more heartily concur in the proposed measure than himself, if it should meet the approbation of the greater part of the Hibernian community; but as it had excited general disgust and vigorous opposition, he was convinced of the danger of prosecuting the scheme, even if the Irish parliament should be disposed to adopt it, otherwise we might nourish in delusive security a secret fire, which might ultimately consume the vitals of the empire. If he should admit the probability of a change in the disposition of the people, he must contend, as the measure was to be suspended, that it was at least imprudent to pledge the British parliament to specific resolutions, which might be superseded by the future relative situation of the countries." No sooner, however, was he convinced that the union had become equally desirable and necessary to Ireland, than he embraced the opportunity of expressing that opinion with the same manly candour that had marked his first declaration on the subject. In conformity with his sentiments on the necessity of completing the important undertaking after it had been once begun, we find him opposing every delay which the enemies of the measure attempted to introduce in the progress of the act of union through the house of lords.

In a subsequent debate he declared, "That the objections he had urged against the union were in a great measure superseded by the late determination of the Irish parliament, and he was ready to admit that the points of detail were founded for the most part on just and equitable principles."

His lordship was under Addington's administration appointed commander-in-chief of his majesty's forces in Scotland, and greatly endeared himself to all ranks of the people in that part of the kingdom.

On the 12th of July, 1804, he married Flora Campbell, countess of Loudon. In 1808 he succeeded on the death of his mother to the ancient English baronies which had descended to her. On the death of Perceval, Lord Moira was employed to form an extended administration, but failed in the negotiation. He was soon after nominated to the government of Bengal, and in 1816 was created Viscount Loudon, earl of Rawdon, and marquess of Hastings. In 1822 he returned to England, and was appointed governor of Malta, his pecuniary embarrassments not allowing him to seek the repose due to age in retirement from public service. A fall from his horse accelerated his death, which took place in 1826. He was succeeded in his titles by his second son, George Augustus Francis, born in 1808.

A contemporary writer, speaking of his lordship, says,—"He is amiable in private no less than great in public life. His manners are marked by that dignified, yet gracious and winning politeness, which is adapted to bespeak to any person, even at first sight, the true nobleman. Delicacy of sentiment, gallant intrepidity, high honour, and unbounded generosity, have seldom been more conspicuous in any other character than in that of Lord Moira. His liberality, in some signal instances, was not long since upon the occasion of a suit at law—in which, however, his lordship had no concern—declared by a judge from the bench, no doubt, upon good information, absolutely to exceed all bounds. His courage and fortitude are not barely the armour of the mind to b

put on only for the perils of warfare, and the darings of battle; they easily, and without affectation, accompany him in all the incidents of ordinary life. The tenor of his lordship's familiar life has in it much unaffected dignity. He is an early riser; and his mornings, before the hour for breakfast, are allotted to the despatch of business, to the care of answering letters, as he receives them, and to the benign task of paying the most gracious attention to those numberless applications for patronage or relief, which the reputation of his benevolence naturally invites. His forenoons are in the country chiefly dedicated to the amusements of agriculture, into all the details of which he enters with great eagerness and intelligence. Formerly when he used to take more frequently the diversion of hunting, he was distinguished as a singularly fearless rider, and used to outstrip all the country gentlemen in the chase. He keeps house with the liberal hospitality becoming an English nobleman. His table is splendidly and sumptuously served; but he himself partakes of its pleasures with extraordinary temperance. His company usually withdraw from the dining-room to the library, and the evening is then given either to conversation, such as unites the feast of reason and the flow of soul, or perhaps by every different person to private study. Lord Moira himself has, by reading, by converse, by an extensive observation of nature and society, acquired a store of knowledge so various, so just, and so profound, as to have been very rarely equalled among men of his rank and habits of life. He is remarkable as a voracious reader. A new book, falling into his hands, seldom fails to engross and absorb his attention, till he has thoroughly mastered its contents, and, as it were, has torn the heart out of it. In conversation he displays a mingled pride and modesty; willing to express his sentiments, but scorning to obtrude, and rarely deigning to defend them; never dictatorial nor pertinaciously disputative; but shunning, with a dignity which sometimes borders on haughtiness, to descend to the level of common conversational discussions. Into the details of business of all sorts, he is capable of entering with uncommon patience, discernment, and perseverance. If interrupted, however often, by the calls of friendship or of other business, he is ever ready to leave his unfinished task to enter with the most obliging and entire attention into the new avocation, while it presents itself; and then, when this interruption has ceased, to return to that from which he had been called, with a mind as completely in possession of its former part, as if nothing had interposed to divert him from it. Even his enemies have never been able to withhold their reluctant homage from his talents and public virtues."

George Canning.

BORN A. D. 1770.—DIED A. D. 1827.

MR CANNING was born in London on the 11th of April, 1770. Descended from honourable ancestry, an imprudent marriage had separated his father from the protection and countenance of his immediate ancestor, who left him to struggle as he might, with his disastrous and sinking fortunes. Disappointment and chagrin sent him to a prema-

ture grave on the first birth-day of his son, and necessity drove his mother to seek a precarious subsistence from the stage, where she soon contracted a second marriage. The tardy justice of his grandfather secured the proper education of the young orphan, by the settlement upon him of a small Irish estate, the application of which to that purpose was superintended, up to the period of his entering the university, by his guardian and uncle, an eminent merchant of London. At twelve years of age Mr Canning was sent to Eton, where he at once became distinguished as a sedulous scholar, and where his ready apprehension and refined taste were early indicated in the extreme correctness and polish of his Latin and English exercises, both in prose and verse. Hi contributions to the Microcosm,—a periodical then in existence at Eton, are characterized by much facility of expression, purity if not brilliancy of style, and frequently by a vein of well-sustained irony; literary qualities seldom united in the productions of a schoolboy. At seventeen he was transferred to Oxford, where he more than sustained the reputation he had acquired at Eton. His course through the university was equally marked by severe study and honourable distinction, and few statesmen have gathered from books so much actual, practical, and available knowledge of men. His connections at the university were formed with much prescience and sagacity, and were for the most part both durable and valuable. Many of his intimates were subsequently distinguished in the counsels of the nation, and a friendship alike honourable and advantageous to both, was excited and cherished by kindred associations and pursuits between him and the late Lord Liverpool, which, through a long career, survived, on the one side, the disparity of rank, fortune and influence, and on the other, the jealousy of political rivalry:—

> ——————" memor
> Actæ non alio rege puertiæ,
> Mutatæque simul togæ."

On receiving a bachelor's degree, Mr Canning left the university, and entered himself a member of the society of Lincoln's inn. It is not believed that he applied himself to the study of the law with any view to make it his profession, since there is not a single passage in his numerous speeches which indicates a course of technical study. The flights of his mind were never trammelled by the fetters of the bar. Doubtless the opportunity was improved to acquire a knowledge of the principles of the constitution, and of the history of English jurisprudence. But Lord Lansdowne's prediction to Bentham, that Canning would one day be prime minister, was founded upon other prognostics than his assiduous attention to the glosses of Coke or Hale. His academic reputation had preceded him to London, and was confirmed and extended by the impression he soon began to make in some of the private circles of the metropolis, and in the debating societies to which he resorted for the purpose of acquiring fluency and readiness as a speaker, and which were then in high fashion and dignity. He had been previously introduced to the leading whigs of the period at the house of his uncle, where he had attracted the particular notice of Sheridan, with whom he now became intimate. There can be little doubt, that if at this time he had not actually received overtures from the opposi-

tion, his origin, most of his associates, and the apparent bias of his previous opinions led very naturally to the belief that he would readily consent to enter parliament under the auspices of that party. That such was the impression of some, at least of the friends of Mr Canning, is obvious from the allusion of Mr Sheridan to him, on the first appearance of Lord Liverpool, then Mr Charles Jenkinson, in a debate in the house of commons. Mr Sheridan, on that occasion, referred to him as likely, however great might be the promise of the gentleman, whose adhesion to the minister had just been declared, to afford to the opposition an antagonist power of surpassing weight and gravity. That power, however, was destined for the opposite scale; and in 1793, at the age of three-and-twenty, Mr Canning, having relinquished his legal studies, was brought into parliament by Mr Pitt, and took his seat on the ministerial benches for the borough of Newport, in the Isle of Wight.

Mr Canning's first speech in the house of commons was delivered on the 31st of January, 1794, upon the Sardinian subsidy. From this speech we shall make a short extract, in order to enable our readers to judge of the first effort of a distinguished debater, rather than because the occasion demanded or furnished any unusual display of the pomp of oratory. The speech in question is rather characterized by a clear arrangement and a pellucid transparency of language, than by splendid diction or peculiar vehemence or cogency of argument. In reply to Mr Gray, among other topics, Mr Canning urged the following:—

"But when neither our reason nor our prudence can be set against the war, an attempt is made to alarm our apprehensions. The French are stated to be an invincible people: inflamed to a degree of madness with the holy enthusiasm of freedom, there is nothing that they will not undertake,—there is nothing that they cannot accomplish. I am as ready as any man to allow that the French are enthusiastically animated, be it how it may, to a state of absolute insanity. I desire no better proof of their being mad, than to see them hugging themselves in a system of slavery so gross and grinding as their present, and calling at the same time upon all Europe to admire and envy their freedom. But before their plea of madness can be admitted as conclusive against our right to be at war with them, gentlemen would do well to recollect that of madness there are several kinds. If theirs had been a harmless idiot lunacy, which had contented itself with playing its tricks, and practising its fooleries at home; with dressing up strumpets in oak-leaves, and inventing nick-names for the calendar, I should have been far from desiring to interrupt their innocent amusement; we might have looked on with hearty contempt, indeed, but with contempt not wholly unmixed with commiseration.

"But if theirs be a madness of a different kind, a moody, mischievous insanity,—if not contented with tearing and wounding themselves, they proceed to exert their unnatural strength for the annoyance of their neighbours,—if not satisfied with weaving straws and wearing fetters at home, they attempt to carry their systems and their slavery abroad, and to impose them upon the nations of Europe; it becomes necessary then that those nations should be roused to resistance. Such a disposition must, for the safety and peace of the world, be repelled, and, if possible, eradicated."[1]

[1] Speeches, vol. i. pp. 17, 18.

It has been remarked that Mr Pitt, unlike Sir Robert Walpole, with whom he has been compared, was not content merely to sustain himself in his elevated position, but that he constantly created occasions for widening the circle of his influence, and conjured up the spirits of war and debt and prerogative, that he might, as the only potent magician, be called upon to lay them. Hence it happened that the exigencies of his administration required not only ardent and arduous personal exertion, but capable and resolute auxiliaries. We do not feel called upon to adopt the theory; but it is certain, that from some cause, the minister enlisted in the service of the government much of the rising talent of the country. The ministerial boroughs returned eloquent voices as well as excellent votes, and the treasury benches furnished room for the expanding promise of the obscure and unconnected. Men indeed were sought by both parties in a manner which is rather characteristic of an ancient or an ideal society, than the artificial and complex principles of modern politics, and merit was frequently discovered in the clubs and universities, to be introduced to parliament and placed in the career of honourable ambition. Mr Canning, himself a signal instance of the success of such a system, did not belie the reputation which had rendered him an object of attention to the sagacity of the minister, and which, in 1796, occasioned his appointment as one of the under secretaries of state. As he began to feel his ground more firmly, and as the progress of events, though it added little brilliancy to the cause of the European coalition, created a stronger and deeper distrust in the motives, and disgust at the measures of France, his flights became more sustained, and his eloquence more ardent and rapid. His speech in 1798 upon Mr Tierney's motion respecting peace with France, was a splendid philippic, in which the whole history and policy of the war, and its antagonists, were developed with a vigour of argument and severity of satire, only equalled by its graceful wit, and pure and harmonious language. If not so comprehensive in its historical details, nor so close in its logical deductions, as the celebrated effort of Mr Pitt upon the same subject, delivered fourteen months later, and said to be his master-piece, it certainly reached a point of more glowing and genial beauty. We very freely admit that the war was a topic not only peculiarly adapted to Mr Canning's style of oratory, but that its principal outlines lay in bold relief, and were easily appreciable. The theme was a great one, and its elements, for the most part, were grand. It was the art of uniting those elements and blending those outlines,—of filling up the picture, or concealing its deficiencies,—of supplying the proper fuel to feed the flame of national pride,—of working upon ambition by success, and stimulating despondency by victory,—of keeping out of sight the original principles of the revolution, and only bringing into view its monstrous abuses,—of grouping, so to speak, in one black and threatening mass, all the degradation and despotism of the present, and hiding by its means the tyranny and slavery of the past, which distinguished this fine oration. At the risk of some injustice to its author, by the quotation of detached portions of an extended argument, we must indulge our readers with the following selections:—

"There is, however, another and a more general argument, comprehending alike these and the other powers of Europe; which, but that it has been stated by the honourable gentleman, I should really have

thought scarcely worth confutation. We, it seems—a wise, prudent, reflecting people—are much struck with all the outrages that France has committed upon the continent; but on the powers of the continent itself, no lasting impression has been made. Is this probable? Is it possible? Is it in the nature of things that the contemplation of the wrongs and miseries which others have endured, should have worked a deeper impression upon our minds than the suffering of those miseries and wrongs has left on the minds of those upon whom they were actually inflicted?

> 'Segnius irritant animos demissa per aures,
> Quam quæ sunt oculis subjecta fidelibus.'

Yet the echo and report of the blows by which other countries have fallen, are supposed to have had more effect upon us than the blows themselves produced upon the miserable victims who sunk beneath them.

"The pillage and bloody devastation of Italy strike us with horror; but Italy, we are to believe, is contented with what has befallen her. The insults which are hurled by the French garrison from the walls of the citadel of Turin rouse resentment in our breasts; but have no effect on the feelings of the Piedmontese. We read with indignation of the flag of Bernadotte displayed in mockery and insult to the emperor and his subjects; but it flaunted in the eyes of the people of Vienna without exciting any emotions of hatred or resentment. The invasion of a province of a friendly power, with whom they had no cause nor pretext for hostility, has created in us a decided detestation for the unprincipled hypocrisy and ambition of the Directory; but the Ottoman Porte sits down contented with the loss of Egypt; feels no injury, and desires neither reparation nor revenge.

"And then, Sir, the wrongs of Switzerland! They, too, are calculated to excite an interest here; but the Swiss no doubt endure them with quiet resignation and contented humility. If, after the taking of Soleure, the venerable magistrates of that place were first paraded round the town in barbarous triumph, and afterwards, contrary to all the laws of war, of nations, and of nature, were inhumanly put to death; if, when the unoffending town of Sion capitulated to the French, the troops were let loose to revel in every species of licentiousness and cruelty;—if the women, after having been brutally violated, were thrown alive into the flames; if, more recently, when Stantz was carried, after a short but vigorous and honourable resistance, such as would have conciliated the esteem of any but a French conqueror, the whole town was burnt to the ground, and the ashes quenched with the blood of the inhabitants:—the bare recital of these horrors and atrocities awakens in British bosoms, I trust it does awaken, I trust it will long keep alive, an abhorrence of the nation and name of that people by whom such execrable cruelties have been practised, and such terrible calamities inflicted: but on the Swiss (we are to understand,) these cruelties and calamities have left no lasting impression: the inhabitants of Soleure, who followed, with tears of anguish and indignation, their venerated magistrates to a death of terror and ignominy; the husbands and fathers, and sons of those wretched victims who expired in torture and in shame beneath the brutality of a savage soldiery at Sion; the wretched survivors of those who perished in the ruins of their country at Stantz·

they all felt but a transient pang: their tears by this time are dried; their rage is hushed; their resentment silenced; there is nothing in their feelings which can be stimulated into honourable and effectual action: there is no motive for their exertions, upon which we can safely and permanently rely! Sir, I should be ashamed to waste your time by arguing such a question."

* * * * * *

"There is yet another point of view, in which this argument may be considered. Let us compare the expectations which we may be allowed to form of our allies, with the character and situation of the several allies of France. If we, in renewing the great confederacy of the powers of the continent, are weaving a rope of sand;—let us examine whether the connections of France are bound to her by a chain which nothing can loosen. If the ground upon which we stand is false and hollow, let us see whether the alliances of France rest upon a more stable and solid foundation. If the only sure foundation of permanent alliance between nations must be laid in community of interest and of sentiment, in the sense of mutual benefits, or in the interchange of protection on the one side, and attachment on the other;—let us look round, Sir, among the states which are immediately connected with France;—let us examine the benefits which they derive from her friendship, and it will not be difficult to estimate the affection which they must owe to her in return. Is it in the Cisalpine, the Roman, the Ligurian republics, those deformed and rickety children, upon whom the mother republic has lavished so much of her care; is it in these, however they may bear the precious resemblance of their parent, that we are to look for the fondness of filial duty and attachment? Are we to look for it in the Cisalpine republic, whom, in preference to the others, she appears to have selected as a living subject for her experiments in political anatomy; whom she has delivered up tied and bound to a series of butchering, bungling, philosophical professors, to distort, and mangle, and lop, and stretch its limbs into all sorts of fantastical shapes, and to hunt through its palpitating frame the vital principle of republicanism? Is the infant Roman republic so gratified by the present which France has made to it of five consuls instead of two, as to forget all the miseries, the robbery, the confiscation, and the blood, by which this invaluable acquisition has been purchased? Does the protection which she has afforded to the Ligurian republic, entitle her to their affectionate acknowledgment and pious devotion? Observe, I beg of you, in what a situation those unfortunate Ligurians have been placed by her. They are forced into acts of outrage and hostility against England. We declare war against them; and such is their confidence in the protection of France, that no sooner has that war been declared, than they come crawling upon their knees to implore our pity and forbearance! Unnatural Ligurians! if they are not thankful for such an instance of the parental solicitude of France for their welfare!

"But, perhaps, with more powerful and more respected allies, with those whose names were brought forward with such display and ostentation in the negotiation at Lisle, as inseparably connected with the honour and interests of the French republic; perhaps with Holland and with Spain a greater degree of forbearance has been observed; a more

friendly and liberal intercourse has been established; a more honourable and independent system of communication has been maintained.

"The friendship of Holland! The independence of Spain! Is there a man so besotted as to suppose that there is one hour of peace with France preserved by either of these unhappy countries; that there is one syllable of friendship uttered by them towards France, but what is extorted by the immediate pressure, or by the dread and terror of French arms?

> ——————' mouth-honour, breath
> Which the poor heart would fain refuse, but dare not!'

"Have the regenerated republic of Holland, or the degraded monarchy of Spain, such reason to rejoice in the protection of the French republic, that they would voluntarily throw themselves between her and any blow which might menace her existence? Holland once had wealth, had industry, had commerce. Where are they now? Gone; swallowed up in the all-devouring gulf of French bankruptcy. Holland once had flourishing colonies; them, perhaps, France has preserved for her. The flag of the enemies of France is flying at Ceylon and at the Cape of Good Hope. Holland had once a navy,—a navy of strength, and gallantry, and reputation,—a navy which has often contended even with our own, and contended, with no mean exertion, for the mastery of the sea. Where is it now? Where is the skill which directed,—the promptness, courage, and vigour, which manned it? All utterly destroyed and gone. The baneful touch of French fraternity has blasted the reputation, has unmanned the strength, has bowed the spirit of the people, in the same proportion as it has exhausted the resources of the country. The spirit of the people is bowed, it is true; but let us trust that it is not broken; let us hope that, if an opening should be presented, it may yet spring up with sudden and irresistible violence, to the astonishment and overthrow of its oppressors."[2]

We have alluded more particularly to this speech, because, while it embodies most of the particular characteristics of the orator, it furnishes, in a satisfactory form, the prominent reasons why, as a politician, he defended the leading measure of Mr Pitt's foreign policy. We could wish that his advocation had been as successful when he attempted to vindicate the suspension of the *habeas corpus*, and the direction of the whole battery of the state against the expression of free opinions, and the formation of liberal societies. The prosecutions of Horne and Hardy, and the judicial murders in Ireland, would have disgraced the worst days of the star-chamber. State necessity, that universal favourite of tyrants, seems to have been divorced from the Bourbons, only to be taken into keeping by the Brunswicks; and it is with regret that we must add, that the illicit union received the full approbation of the secretary.

To the promotion of that darling measure of Mr Pitt, the Irish Union, Mr Canning lent the full force and weight of his abilities. He argued it, it is true, upon broad and general grounds; but, connected as he was with the government, it was his duty to know, as the minister certainly did know, that the Union could only be effected by promising

[2] Speeches, vol. i. pp. 85, 90, 93.

to Ireland what George the Third would never consent to grant her. Anticipating that faith must necessarily be broken with that country, ought he not also to have anticipated for her a repetition and reduplication of all the ills which she had suffered from England, since Richard Strongbow first landed his myrmidons in Wexford? Would it console her for violated faith and bartered independence, that the meanest of her titled sons should reap, in the British cabinet, the reward of her prostration, and after battening, like the young pelican, on the blood of his parent, should carry his George and his garter to the congress of the Holy Alliance! Take away that religious emancipation which she had so long craved, and for which she stood ready to yield the dearest secular right and honour of freemen, that of self-government; and what had Ireland to gain by the Union? She had already obtained from the Henries, the Richards, and the Edwards, shackles on her liberties, restrictions on her commerce, and fetters on her conscience; and from the Charleses, the Williams, and the Annes, a licentious court, a debased currency, and a hostile priesthood. It needed but a continuance of the fostering solicitude of the Georges, alternately stimulating her to rebellion, and dragooning her into submission, to attract from her her gentry and her capital, and to chain down her starving peasantry to pauperism and crime at home, or to drive them into hopeless Helotry abroad, and the circle of benign influences would be complete. Emancipation has since been granted, or we should more correctly say, extorted; but the long arrear of wrong is not to be effaced by such tardy and limping justice; right is not to be propitiated by a sacrifice to necessity, and Ireland still stands towards England in the same attitude of offended majesty, and indignant and insulted justice.

It is quite true that Mr Pitt, and of course Mr Canning along with him, resigned his office in 1801, upon the express ground, as was alleged by his friends, of inability to keep the terms of his treaty with the Irish Catholics. But it is also true that both Mr Pitt and Mr Canning again took office in 1804, with all the prejudices of the king subsisting in undiminished force, and not only without stipulations in favour of the Catholics, but to the express exclusion of that part of the former administration and their adherents, known as the Grenville party, who manfully preserved their consistency upon this question. It is further true, that, in the same year, he voted with the new minister against the Catholic petition; that in 1806, during Mr Fox's brief term of office, he joined the opposition to that minister's measures for their relief; that in 1807, when the Grenville ministry was superseded upon this very ground, he took office under the duke of Portland, and that, in 1808, he spoke against Mr Grattan's motion for a committee. Up to the civil demise of the king, indeed, and the appointment of the regent in 1812, there is no evidence that Mr Canning is to be considered otherwise than hostile to emancipation, and so far he must undergo his share of the censure for its postponement, and the consequent sufferings of Ireland, which history will divide among the ministers and statesmen of England. How far his subsequent efforts in her cause, which, from the regency to the end of his life, were uniform, consistent, and strenuous, may serve to rescue his character, posterity alone can determine. The chagrin which he certainly experienced on repeated occasions, at not being able to carry what had become a favourite measure,

and the zeal with which he prosecuted his purpose, may serve to show the sincerity of his repentance, if it cannot redeem and renew the splendour of his fame.

We have overleaped the order of events, for the purpose of placing before our readers, in a connected view, the means of forming a judgment upon this important portion of Mr Canning's history. If they, like us, find it necessary to insinuate blame in regard to it, like us they will probably rejoice that the change from a narrow to a liberal policy, instead of being checked by the pride of early opinion, was cherished and consummated throughout the latter years of the statesman, and that his new faith grew and flourished most when he himself acquired the fullest possession of his matured and ripened faculties.

The renewal of the war, of which he was the author and sponsor, soon brought Mr Pitt back to power, and Mr Canning into the cabinet, as treasurer of the navy. The duties and responsibilities of an important office, seem, at this period, to have engrossed most of his attention, as the collection before us furnishes but a single parliamentary effort during his whole connection with it, and that, in some measure, arose out of its peculiar character, being a speech upon the proposed impeachment of one of his predecessors, Lord Melville, for malversation in office.

The death of the minister, and the consequent dissolution of the cabinet, gives occasion to inquire how far the devotion of Mr Canning to his political model and master may have influenced his fame with posterity.

Had Pitt never lived, Canning's career might have been more consistently and uniformly admirable; but it would scarcely have been so brilliant and dazzling; he would have secured a more temperate level, but he might not have attained the summit. His birth and connections, and the whole course and aspect of his early fortunes, seemed to mark him for a whig, and it needed a great power and example to countervail their influence. Office, to which he was introduced, and in which he was continued by the aid of his early patron, assisted much to mould him into greatness by giving scope and object to the faculties of his mind. As a whig, he would have been a great Englishman: as a tory, he was a great man. On the other hand, had Pitt lived ten years longer, though Canning might sooner have approached the maturity of greatness, it would scarce have been by so straight a path of honour. The grander and nobler aspirations of his nature would have remained too long under the shadowy influences, and within the straitened boundaries, of power and place ever to find their proper height and expansion. He would have "given up to party what was meant for mankind," and instead of standing out, as he did in the latter and better half of his life, the champion of a liberal and advancing policy, he would have shrunk and withered into the toryism of Eldon and Londonderry,—that narrow and bigotted system which would fain keep down the elastic spirit of the age, by the pressure of antiquated names and venerable rubbish. Had it not been for Pitt, England might have seen another consummate orator, like Fox, waging a desperate, and sometimes a Quixotic war against drilled and disciplined majorities; the "junctas umbone phalanges" of the minister; but the nations would not have beheld the statesman, whose foreign policy checked the march

of despotism, and advanced, if it did not establish, the freedom of the continent.

Canning buried, as he himself expressed it, his political allegiance in the grave of Pitt. He certainly burned at his funeral pyre some of the chords which had hitherto bound and manacled his personal freedom. His great creditor was no more, and his debts and duties were cancelled. Yet there were duties which he owed to the fame of that extraordinary man, which no lapse of time, nor peculiarity of conjuncture, could bar or extinguish. His tributes to the memory of Pitt are accordingly among the best, as they are among the sincerest, effusions of eloquent eulogy which the language affords. We select the following from his speeches in the debate on the Regency Resolutions in 1811:

"Sir, I have heard these things from my right honourable friend, Mr Sheridan, with peculiar pain: but he is not the first that has resorted to this singular species of reasoning. What advantage any man, or any set of men, can propose to themselves from substituting for argument upon the question now actually under discussion, attacks upon the characters of persons now no more, and particularly (what from my right honourable friend I should have expected less than from any other) upon the memory of that great man, who bore a principal part in the proceedings of that period, I am utterly at a loss to imagine. Can it be necessary in our present difficult and distressing situation,—a situation sufficiently full of divisions and distractions, to rake up the ashes of the dead, for the purpose of kindling new flames amongst the living? For my own part, I have the satisfaction to feel, that such is neither my opinion nor my practice. No man can accuse me of having ever gone out of my way, in any discussion in this house, to speak with disrespect of those who differed from Mr Pitt when living, and who are now gathered together with him in the peace and shelter of the grave. For myself, and I hope for all those who have imbibed their political sentiments from the same master, I can confidently say, that we do not desire to erect an altar to the object of our veneration, with materials picked from the sepulchral monuments of his rival. The character of him whom we reverence and regret, we are satisfied, may safely be suffered to rest upon its positive merits. It shines without contrast;—its lustre is all its own, and requires not the extinction of the reputations of others to make it blaze with a brighter flame.

"I cannot—I own I cannot—conceive the feelings and policy of those who pursue an opposite system. I cannot understand the wisdom of reviving, at this moment, those party heats, and political and personal animosities which the hand of death, one should have thought, might well be allowed to have closed; and which the progress of time might of itself be supposed to have obliterated. Is this the foretaste which the honourable and the right honourable gentlemen opposite think fit to give of the spirit in which their new government is to be conducted? Entering upon a new scene of things, in which, even if they could forget and cause to be forgotten every subsisting hostility, every partiality and prejudice, by which the political men now living are divided, they would still have difficulties enough to encounter; do they think their administration requires any additional embarrassment? Or do they think that it will be a facility to it that they should array against themselves the wishes and the feelings of every man in this house and in the

[illegible] country was [illegible] these sentiments. Which I [illegible] my mind and [illegible] to [illegible] not to avow for my [illegible] honourable and [illegible] friend? I know, Sir, if an [illegible] attack upon that great man can add any thing to the strength of their [illegible] government. I am sure it adds nothing to the force of their arguments on the question now before us.

"But my right honourable friend, Mr Sheridan, was not the first to introduce this invidious topic into our present deliberations. He has not followed the example of an honourable and learned member (Sir James Lumsby) who had not, might he merit, I merit it can be called, of entering the fray immediately on the question now at issue, by opening an attack, as unjust as unrelated to, and as singular as either, upon the memory of Mr Pitt. Sir, I then expressed my feelings strongly as they were at the moment, and resolved to abstain from any observations upon the honourable and learned gentleman's proceeding. My honourable friend, opposite to me (Mr Wilberforce) has exercised that duty in a way which left nothing to regret or to amend; and at the period of the debate, at which it was my fortune to rise, I was more anxious to bring back the attention of the house to the main subject of the debate, than to send it back to a time which I hoped would not be recurred to again, and the introduction of which into these discussions, while I condemned it in others, I would not willingly countenance by my own example. But when I find that the honourable and learned gentleman's example is contagious—that even my right honourable friend (Mr Sheridan) is infected by it—that it appears to be a measure of party to run down the fame of Mr Pitt, I could not answer it to my conscience or to my feelings if I had suffered repeated provocations to pass without notice. Mr Pitt, it seems, was not a great man. Is it then that we live in such heroic times,—that the present is a race of such gigantic talents and qualities as to render those of Mr Pitt, in the comparison, ordinary and contemptible? Who, then, is the man now living,—is there any man now sitting in this house, who, by taking the measure of his own mind, or of that of any of his contemporaries, can feel himself justified in pronouncing that Mr Pitt was not a great man? I admire, as much as any man, the abilities and ingenuity of the honourable and learned gentleman who promulgated this opinion. I do not deny to him many of the qualities which go to constitute the character which he has described. But I think I may defy all his ingenuity to frame any definition of that character, which shall not apply to Mr Pitt,—to trace any circle of greatness from which Mr Pitt shall be excluded.

"I have no manner of objection to see placed on the same pedestal with Mr Pitt, for the admiration of the present age and of posterity, other distinguished men, and amongst them his great rival, whose memory is, I have no doubt, as dear to the honourable gentlemen opposite, as that of Mr Pitt is to those who loved him living, and who revere him dead. But why should the admiration of one be incompatible with justice to the other? Why cannot we cherish the remembrance of the respective objects of our veneration, leaving to each other a similar freedom? For my own part, I disclaim such a spirit of intolerance. Be it the boast and characteristic of the school of Pitt, that however provoked by illiberal and unjust attacks upon his memory, whether in speeches in this house, or in calumnies out of it, they will never so far

forget the respect due to him or to themselves, as to be betrayed into reciprocal illiberality and injustice, that they disdain to retaliate upon the memory of Mr Pitt's great rival."[3]

Though he acknowledged no leader, Mr Canning opposed the measures of the new coalition, and joined most cordially in the hunt which drove the Grenville administration from office. The necessity of repelling his rapid and ardent attacks is said to have brought Mr Fox nightly to the house, even after his frame was enfeebled by disease. "He was dying," says one of the works before us, "but no tenderness was shown to him." If Mr Canning administered the deadly potion, "the ingredients of his poisoned chalice," at a subsequent period came fearfully back "to his own lips." We wish we could say that the warfare was confined to its legitimate theatre, the house of commons; but Mr Canning once more took up the pen, and stooped (we rejoice to add for the last time), to political lampoons. In parliament, the military measures of the ministry, and particularly the "limited service bill" of Mr Wyndham, called forth his best efforts. His attacks upon the injudicious system of that respectable minister and amiable man are in his highest vein of ironical argumentation, and are read with the more pleasure that they are directed against the measure, instead of its accomplished author.

With the Grenville administration departed for twenty years the political ascendency of the whigs. With the exception of the abolition of the slave-trade, which was hardly a party question, they had carried none of their great measures, and the spirits of peace, reform, and emancipation seemed to have left the earth with their great advocate, Mr Fox. The duke of Portland brought with him into office, in 1807, all the pledged ultras of toryism; and the names of Mr Perceval, Lord Eldon, the earl of Liverpool, and Lord Castlereagh were a sufficient guaranty for the prerogative. Mr Canning became foreign secretary, and found himself at length in a situation adequate to his talents, agreeable to his tastes, and promising an opportunity to establish his fame on a permanent foundation. It is here that his true official history may be said to have commenced. Hitherto he had been a subordinate, a brilliant satellite, it is true, but still acknowledging the influence of its planet. He was now called to office as a component and co-equal part of the administration; placed in one of the most important situations in the government; by far the first statesman in the cabinet; and viewed by the opposition as incomparably the most potent antagonist with whom they had to contend in parliament.

It was certainly unfortunate for the outset of such a career, that the first important measure of foreign policy, adopted by the new cabinet, should have been the bombardment of Copenhagen and the seizure of the Danish fleet. We say unfortunate, because it called upon the foreign secretary to avow and defend an act where honour was in an inverse proportion to interest. The avowal was frankly made, and the defence gallantly undertaken and brilliantly executed; but still the attack upon Denmark must appear to every unprejudiced mind as sheer an abuse of power as had been witnessed during the whole course of the war. If the unjust designs of one belligerent upon a

[3] Speeches, vol. iii. pp. 130—134.

neutral, (granting, what in this instance is denied, that such designs are shown to exist,) can enable the other to defeat them by unjustifiable acts, there is an end of all safety in neutrality, and Portugal, Holland, and Denmark must arm their fishing-smacks every time a gun is fired in Europe.

We turn with great pleasure from this history of unwarrantable assault and spoliation to a brighter and worthier scene—we allude to the part the British government took in the Peninsular war. The contest which continued to agitate the world was no where more gallantly and justifiably prosecuted by England, than in Spain and Portugal, because no where was it begun and carried on by France under circumstances of more damning infamy. The atrocious kidnapping of a whole dynasty, degraded and imbecile as that dynasty was, and the cold-blooded cruelties of the French generals in their progress of desolation and ruin, inspired some of the happiest flights of Mr Canning's eloquence, as they roused the strong indignation of every party in the British senate, and every free heart in the world. He was the earliest, as he became the most untiring and successful champion, both in and out of the cabinet, of the prosecution of that war by British means, through its whole course of disaster and success, and in its various phases of defeat and victory. And it is to his lasting honour that, as he undertook the war in favour of an unsettled and disordered government and a jealous ally, so he did not desert the cause, when, through the misconduct and distrust of that ally, France held the whole territory of Spain from Corunna to Cadiz. Had he remained in the cabinet, seconded by an efficient administration of the war department, it is probable that the contest in the Peninsula might have been earlier crowned with success, and that the expedition, which, under the auspices of that "dedecorum pretiosus emptor," Lord Castlereagh, so miserably failed in the Scheldt, would have added efficacy to the exertions of Spain.

The hostile meeting between Mr Canning and Lord Castlereagh in 1809, grew out of a cabinet misunderstanding, and terminated in the resignation of both ministers. The former was slightly wounded. A duel between ministers of state, despite the example of Mr Pitt, followed as it has been by the duke of Wellington, and a distinguished secretary in our own country, is wholly unjustifiable, and in the instance before us it was totally unnecessary, as the offence was eminently susceptible of explanation, and the reparation required might have been obtained by a milder appeal. At a subsequent period, in consequence of some taunts thrown out on the discussion of the Portuguese embassy, Mr Canning, who had derived that and his succeeding appointment from Lord Castlereagh, made the following allusions to the subject:

"It is made matter of accusation and reproach against me that I have accepted office with my noble friend (Lord Castlereagh) who sits beside me,—between whom and myself it is assumed that our former differences had placed an impassable barrier. First, from what quarter comes this reproach and accusation? From a bench, on which I do not see any two neighbours who have not differed from each other, and that within short memory too, much more essentially than myself and my noble friend. But it is insinuated that the differences between my noble friend and myself were of a sort which precluded reconciliation! Since when have such matters become topics of parliamentary discus-

sion? Since when has it been the practice of this house to take cognizance of the disagreements of individuals, and to indulge in such animadversions on the most delicate topics of personal conduct as in private society no gentleman would venture to hazard? Since when, I say, has this practice commenced? and how far is it to be carried? I know of no precedent for it. I know of no authority. It is not for my own sake, but for the sake of this house, that I protest against it; for, if this practice be permitted, our discussions must inevitably sink into grosser personalities than have disgraced the meetings of Palace Yard and of Spa Fields.

"The honourable baronet is entirely mistaken as to what he supposes me to have addressed to my constituents at Liverpool in 1812. Nothing that I then said was intended to convey, or did convey, the notion that I was precluded by any feeling, or (in my own judgment) by any principle, from acting in office with my noble friend. I had declared the directly contrary opinion some months before, in a correspondence respecting the formation of an administration, which the discussions of those times brought before the public, and which is now upon record. What is not publicly recorded is, that some time after those discussions had closed, but six or eight weeks before my election at Liverpool, other negotiations, which had for their object my return to office, had taken place; amongst the proposed arrangements of which, my noble friend, with a manliness and generosity which I hope I felt as they deserved, had voluntarily tendered to my acceptance the seals of the office which he now holds. Other reasons induced me to decline that tender; I might be right or wrong in my view of those reasons. One among them was, that I was at that time embarrassed with respect to a most important question (the discussion of which is now fixed for no distant day) by pledges which I could best hope to redeem with unquestioned fidelity and honour, by remaining out of office till I had redeemed them. But what would be thought of me, what should I deserve to be thought of by any liberal mind, if, after such a transaction as I have described, I could ever pause for a moment, to consider in what order with respect to each other my noble friend and I should march towards our common objects in the service of the country? In that transaction, any feelings which had previously separated my noble friend and myself were buried for ever. The very memory of them was effaced from our minds: nor can I compliment the good taste of those who would call them up from oblivion; surely not with the vain hope of exasperating differences anew, but with the purpose of making a reconcilement now of five years' standing, a subject of suspicion, taunt, and obloquy.

"What I have said, Sir, is, I hope, a sufficient comment upon the notable discovery that I accepted public employment not with, but under, my noble friend. This paltry distinction, I can assure those who are so vain of it, occasions me not the slightest uneasiness. When Lord Pembroke went out to Vienna, and the Marquess Wellesley to Spain, during (or under if you will) my administration of the Foreign Department, had I the ridiculous vanity to fancy that these distinguished noblemen acted under me, in any sense of degrading subordination? Or is it imagined that when the duke of Wellington undertook his mission to Paris, my noble friend conceived that he was therefore entitled to claim a pre-eminence over the deliverer of Europe? They know

little, Sir, of the spirit of our constitution, they are very ill acquainted with the duties that it imposes, and the privileges that it confers, who are not aware that, in whatever station a man may be called upon to serve his sovereign and his country, there is among statesmen, co-operating honestly for the public good, a real substantive equality which no mere official arrangement can either create or destroy; they, who are yet to learn, that in a free country like ours, it is for the man to dignify the office, not for the office to dignify the man."[4]

Mr Canning did not resume office until 1816, when he came into the cabinet of his early friend, Lord Liverpool, as president of the Board of Control. Except upon certain financial measures, the Regency question and Catholic emancipation, he had supported the ministry constantly and effectively, and he entered the cabinet with the express understanding, that in regard to the Catholics, he was free to advocate the most liberal propositions. In 1812 he had the satisfaction, in the most gratifying manner, to be chosen to represent the wealthy and populous city of Liverpool, after a severe contest with the present Lord Chancellor,—a compliment which was three times repeated in the space of the ensuing ten years. He continued to represent that city until his resignation in 1822, upon being appointed Governor-general of India.

At the close of the war in 1814—a war coeval with his political existence, and to the prosecution of which he had lent his best exertions—he had accepted the appointment of ambassador to Lisbon. Although this embassy was stigmatized by the opposition as "an outrageous job," and the ambassador denounced in no very measured terms for accepting it, he demonstrated, on his return, in a speech distinguished not less by convincing argument than by a strain of high and honourable sensibility, that the ministry as little deserved censure for offering, as he for receiving the appointment; and the eloquence which he manifested in combating the most unpleasant charge to which a high-minded man could be subjected, well deserved the compliment of Sir T. Ackland, who remarked in his place, that "he would have been proud to be so accused, in order so to have defended himself."

From Mr Canning's resumption of office after the peace, to the end of the reign of George the Third, in 1820, the course of domestic affairs in England was by no means prosperous. The body politic had relapsed from a state of extreme excitement, in which every nerve and muscle was strained to its severest tension, into the lassitude of exhaustion. England, for twenty years, had not only supplied the materials for a great military and naval establishment of her own, but she had been the workshop of Europe, and almost of the world. Her sister nations now began not only to supply themselves, but to rival her abroad. Hence the "cankers of a calm world" began to grow upon her. Her starving artisans, with many real misfortunes, and some real wrongs, became the prey of demagogues, who exasperated them into madness. Government, in its turn, became irritated—they prosecuted the leaders into saints, and bayonetted the followers into martyrs. The day for dragooning had gone by, but Castlereagh did not know it, and Canning, who learned his lesson in ninety-three, had forgotten it. The struggle went on, and the ministers believed that the storm, which at

[4] Speeches, vol. iii. pp. 538–542.

last was allayed by the extension of commerce and the hopes of a new reign, had been hushed by their conjurations. It was a bad lesson for their successors, for the hundred thousand voices of Birmingham obtained, in 1830, twice the amount of concession which would have satisfied the seventy thousand of Manchester in 1819; but it was a good one for Europe, for it taught the people their power. We deem it no reflection upon Mr Canning's purity to say that he was a strenuous opposer of reform, for we verily believe that he was so with conscientious views, and upon reasons, which, as he had studied the Constitution, were unanswerable. But he certainly ought to have remembered events enough on the opposite coast, to teach him that a starving people, with their tribunes at their head, if not nice casuists, are very potent antagonists, and that it is better to grant to their entreaty, than to surrender at their discretion.

In 1820, in consequence of the proceedings then meditated against the queen, to whom Mr Canning had formerly acted in the capacity of a confidential adviser, he saw fit again to retire from the cabinet, and even during the pendency of those proceedings to leave England. On his return he received very complimentary evidence of the esteem in which his services as president of the Board of Control were held by the East India directors, and in 1822, as we have before stated, he was appointed by the East India company Governor-general of India, for which situation he was on the eve of embarking, when the suicide of the marquess of Londonderry once more opened for him the doors of the foreign office.

The influences of the new secretary were exerted to free the government of his country from that Mezentian policy by which his predecessor had endeavoured to attach her still vigorous and active constitution to the corrupt and torpid principles of the Holy Alliance. That junto of despots, if not openly contemned, were made to comprehend that England would be no party to the invasion of free governments, as a propagandist of the divine right of kings. Could he have carried out his principle, when, in 1823, the Duc d'Angouleme thrust a Bourbon diadem across the Pyrenees on the point of his bayonets—could he have interfered, vigorously and manfully, against that first hostile endeavour to roll back the wave of legitimacy upon the liberties of the governed, with the arms as well as the voice of Great Britain, he might have restored that Spain which, in 1808, he had done so much to redeem, and at least given liberty to the peninsula, if not freedom to Europe. He felt this keenly, and when stimulated to the effort by some eloquent appeals, he expressed his envy of those, who, burdened by no responsibility, could give utterance to feelings which the interests of England compelled him to restrain. We have ever believed that the popular voice would have sanctioned a war, and that Canning nobly sacrificed a great opportunity to enhance his own fame to the peace which he deemed necessary for the regeneration of his country.

The recognition of the Spanish American republics in 1824, a measure which had been vehemently opposed by the marquess of Londonderry and Lord Eldon, likewise indicated the progress of liberal opinions. The merit of this step, however much it has been exaggerated, was admitted on all hands to belong to Mr Canning,—of its policy after the message of Mr Monroe to the American Congress in 1823, there

could not exist a doubt. It would have been monstrous in an English minister to leave the immense trade of a continent to the United States for the sake of gratifying the impotent pride of Spain,—to split hairs and weigh straws about *de facto* and *de jure* rights and the violation of paper blockades, when British interests were absolutely wailing for a market. Great Britain hazarded nothing to gain every thing. Spain was absolutely effete and paralyzed,—Portugal, had she possessed the power to enforce her remonstrances, was bound hand and foot to England. The mouth of France was stopped by the recollections of 1779, and the northern powers were too little interested in the question, or too well satisfied with the sway of absolutism at home to oppose the establishment of free institutions at the distance of a thousand leagues. Policy and safety therefore combined to promote Mr Canning's view of this subject, but the adoption of that view, opposed, as it was, by the ultras of his party, forms an interesting point in the history of his life, as it was a long step upon that diverging line, which finally led him from his old associates into the arms of the whigs.

In 1826 the engagements of England with Portugal enabled the cabinet to despatch an armament to the peninsula in defence of the constitution of that country against the designs of Spain. Mr Canning here availed himself of that opportunity, which, three years before, he was compelled to forego, and as it was the crowning test and earnest of his free policy, so his exposition of the measure proved the noblest effort of his eloquence. Standing upon high ground, and invoking the faith of ancient treaties, the promises and pledges of a long alliance, the best policy of the state, and the best principles of nature, he delivered a speech whose justness of historical argument is enforced in a style of uncommon purity and beauty, and illustrated by sentiments which frequently rise into grandeur, and sometimes approach sublimity.

In February, 1827, Lord Liverpool was rendered, by a sudden paralysis, incapable of longer discharging the duties of a station, which, for sixteen years, he had most worthily and honourably, if not greatly, occupied; and, after some negotiation, Mr Canning was, in the following April, appointed to succeed him. In forming an administration, his attention was naturally directed to that party he had so much adorned, and to those colleagues with whom he had so long co-operated. His correspondence with the duke of Wellington will serve to show how his overtures were received:

MR CANNING TO THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON.

"MY DEAR DUKE,—I am commanded by his majesty to form a new administration. It will be a great satisfaction to me if your grace will consent to become a member of it. I am, &c.

"G. CANNING."

THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON TO MR CANNING.

"MY DEAR MR CANNING,—Before I reply to your letter, I wish to be informed who is to be the head of the new ministry, and which of my former colleagues are to form a part of it. I am, &c.

"WELLINGTON."

MR CANNING TO THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON.

"MY LORD DUKE,—After I had informed your grace that I had received his majesty's commands to form an administration, I am surprised that it should be inquired from me who is to be the head of it. I am to be that person. I remain, &c.

"G. CANNING."

THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON TO MR CANNING.

"SIR,—I have only to say, in reply to your letter, that I cannot consent to become a member of the new administration. I remain, &c.

"WELLINGTON."[2]

The duke immediately resigned, as did six other ministers, comprising Mr Peel, and Lords Eldon, Bathurst, Melville, Westmoreland, and Bexley. Their places, with the exception of that of Lord Bexley, who returned to office, were filled at once with distinguished whigs.

The motives which led to this contemptuous and unprecedented step were of a mixed nature—partly personal, and partly political. It was intended to throw the new minister (where, had he lived, it doubtless would have thrown him) into a false position. A tory premier, pledged and pitted against reform, could not have retained the support of his whig colleagues six months after Sir Francis Burdett had chosen to blow his trumpet on that question. The whole course and current of English ministerial history is against coalitions. The parts are imperfectly welded, and fly asunder at a single stroke of the hammer. Lord Goderich accordingly was obliged to resign in 1828. Besides, it was deemed desirable by the narrower minds of Lord Liverpool's cabinet to abridge the advancement of Mr Canning's opinions upon the subject of emancipation, and to withdraw his influence from the sovereign. The duke of Wellington had discovered, as he afterwards said in his place, that "the right honourable gentleman was the most zealous, active, and able partizan of those changes with which the country was threatened," and which he made it his business (happily unsuccessfully) to oppose. But this was not all. A mean and pitiful jealousy of the man lurked under the opposition to the minister. There was an omen and a warning in the precedent which elevated "the adventurer" to be the first subject in the country, and concentrated honours, and influence, and office about a head which had not dreamed of a coronet

——————"Latuit plebeio tectus amictu
Omnis honos: nulla comitata est purpura fasces."

The commoner who had spent four-and-thirty years in the service of his country,—who had studied her interests and defended her cause in the society of such names as Burke, and Fox, and Pitt, and Mackintosh, —was deemed unfit to direct her councils, upon the authority of a peer, who, when that career began, was learning tactics in India as an ensign of foot. There was this peculiar hardship, too, in Lord Wellington's conduct to Canning, that it was characterized by gross ingratitude.

[2] Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 418.

No minister had more ardently and eloquently sustained his lordship's conduct in Spain, during the whole course of his military command there, and especially in that early part of it when the nation stood ready to doubt, and half-disposed to condemn. On discussing the vote of thanks after the battle of Vittoria, the soldier's sword was wreathed in its greenest laurels by the eloquence of Canning:

"It is not to Spain alone," said he, "that the effects of the late victory will be confined. Spain has been the theatre of Lord Wellington's glory, but it will not be the boundary of the beneficial result of his triumph. The same blow which has broken the talisman of the French power in Spain has disenchanted the North. How is the prospect changed! In those countries, where, at most, a short struggle has been terminated by a result disastrous to our wishes, if not altogether closing in despair, we have now to contemplate a very different aspect of affairs. Germany crouches no longer, trembling, at the feet of the tyrant, but maintains a balanced contest. The mighty deluge by which the continent has been overwhelmed begins to subside. The limits of nations are again visible, and the spires and turrets of ancient establishments begin to re-appear above the subsiding wave. It is this victory which has defined those objects so lately involved in inextricable confusion. To whom, under God, are we indebted for this? To the man to whom we are this day voting our thanks."[6]

The keen susceptibility of Mr Canning's temperament was, doubtless, deeply wounded by the defection of his former friends, whose conduct he could not but view in its true light. His frame, already enfeebled by disease, and fevered by excitement, gave way after a short time before the pressure of affairs, and the harassing attacks of a most unworthy and vexatious opposition. He defended, with his customary brilliancy and ability, his whole course in reference to the change which had placed him at the head of the government, but he had no opportunity to do more. He spoke last in parliament on the 29th June, 1827, and transacted business at intervals up to the 25th July. Soon after that period he became dangerously ill, and on the 8th August died, at the age of fifty-seven, having retained the prize of a long public life but four months.

In private life Canning was most exemplary. No hurry of business, no incident of official station, ever prevented him from addressing a weekly epistle to his mother, and the beautiful epitaph on his son, which his biographers have so properly preserved, displays the ardour of his parental affection. "No man," says an elegant writer, "was ever farther removed from presumption or vanity. He was unostentatious, accessible to the humblest individual. He loved simplicity, and was gentle and affable to those about him, and of a generous but sober disposition. At times, it is true, upon occasions of officious interruption, or on a sudden wounding of his feelings, he exhibited that irritability so constantly the attendant upon genius, for he was exquisitely sensitive; but on no occasion was the smallest unkindness ever wantonly inflicted by him upon others." . . . "In his person there were no extremes. His dress was plain, but in thorough good taste. In most things, he seemed to partake of the character of his eloquence; open and manly,

[6] Speeches, vol. iii. pp. 422, 423.

conscious of power, and consequently simple and unpresuming. He was, in the prime of his life, what might be called 'a very handsome man;' tall, well-made, his form moulded between strength and activity. His countenance beamed with intellect and bore a cast of firmness; yet a mild and good-natured expression lay over all. His head was even then bald as the 'first Cæsar's;' his forehead lofty and capacious; his eye reflective, but at times lively; and his whole countenance expressive of the kindlier affections, of genius, and of intellectual vigour. The elaborateness of his eloquence was not visible in his carriage in the drawing-room, nor his somewhat theatrical manner of delivering his parliamentary speeches. His gait, as he paced the carpet, was natural, and wholly free of constraint. He seemed reserved rather than communicative; he spoke quick; his voice, full in tone, harmonious, and clear."

The mind of Canning was, in the highest degree, cultivated and refined. It apprehended rather by a touch than a grasp, and illustrated a subject more by its lucidity than its intenseness. A mirror, not a lens, it radiated and reflected, instead of concentrating light. Had he devoted himself to literature, he might not, like Rousseau, (in the metaphor of Sir William Jones,) have "written with phosphorus on the sides of a cavern," but he would have found means to illuminate the cavern itself. If eloquence is the child of knowledge, Canning was legitimately an orator, for his intellect was rich in varied and comprehensive learning. His distinct and accurate conceptions were expressed in clear and luminous language, illustrated rather by allusion than imagery, and betraying less the profundity than the appropriateness of his acquirements. The range of his academic studies, wider by far than that of any of his great contemporaries, gave a beauty and simplicity to his style, and a point to his classical illustrations, altogether fascinating. As his ideas were never concealed under a gorgeous colouring of words, so they were never chiselled down into naked severity of outline, or cramped by unnatural inversion or affected pauses. He neither belonged to the German school nor to the intense school. He spoke the words of Queen Anne in the phrases of King George. If he never rose to the gigantic, and seldom to the impassioned, yet he never sunk into declamation or frivolity. If he could not thunder with Jupiter, he disdained to rattle with Salmoneus. Wit he had without doubt, and in his use of it some have deemed him too unsparing—if so, it was in the repulsion of some hot attack, or at that stage of a debate in which men fight with shortened swords. Even then he seldom aimed at the heart, but struck at a less vital point:

> ——————"circum præcordia lusit,
> Callidus excusso populum suspendere naso."

A specimen of his powers of sarcastic retort may be found in the debate upon the king's speech in 1825, where he took occasion to allude to Mr Brougham's assertion, that the measures of expanded commercial policy recently adopted by the administration, had emanated from the ranks of the opposition. Canning, with his accustomed dexterity, shifts the claim from the party to the individual, and thus ridicules the pretension:

"In Queen Anne's reign there lived a very sage and able critic,

named Dennis, who, in his old age, was the prey of a strange fancy, that he had himself written all the good things in all the good plays that were acted. Every good passage he met with in any author he insisted was his own. 'It's none of his,' Dennis would always say; 'no, it's mine!' He went one day to see a new tragedy. Nothing particularly good to his taste occurred, till a scene in which a great storm was represented. As soon as he heard the thunder rolling over head, he exclaimed, 'That's my thunder!' So it is with the honourable and learned gentleman; it's all his thunder. It will henceforth be impossible to confer any boon, or make any innovation, but he will claim it as his thunder. But it is due to him to acknowledge, that he does not claim every thing; he will be content with the exclusive merit of the liberal measure relating to trade and commerce. Not desirous of violating his own principles, by claiming a monopoly of foresight and wisdom, he kindly throws overboard to my honourable and learned friend (Sir J. Mackintosh) near him, the praise of South America. I should like to know whether, in some degree, this also is not his thunder."[7]

In the retrospect of Canning's career we are disposed to conclude, that, as few men have enjoyed a youth of brighter promise, so few have matured a life of more adequate performance. If he was not all that the admirers of the luminous and consistent history of Fox could wish, or that the hopes of his own earliest friends anticipated, he has still added a brilliant name to the political and rhetorical annals of his country. Fed at its source from pure fountains, his course was like a fair and fertilizing river, turbid sometimes, and troubled for a brief while by the junction of some noisy torrent or ruffled by a passing storm, but anon resuming its placid surface and widening down to join the ocean of great remembrances. From his country he received neither titles nor wealth, but he claimed and obtained the legitimate reward of exertion, for he stood on her highest pinnacle of honour. Had he died earlier, he had been spared the ingratitude and contumely of his ancient colleagues, but he would have missed a union with that party whose alliance with him from the first was indicated by the circumstances of his birth, the freedom of his intellect, and the spirit of his policy. He would never have taught England the lesson she learned from the persecution of his enemies, nor bridged the gulf of party separation to found on the central arch a monument to his fame,

"Quod vivet, et nullo tenebris damnabitur ævo."[8]

[7] Speeches, vol. v. pp. 319, 320.

[8] The above sketch is slightly abridged from 'The American Quarterly Review,' No. 31, for September, 1834. It is by far the most temperate and the fairest biographical notice of this great and lamented statesman that we have anywhere seen.

Sir Thomas Munro.

BORN A. D. 1761.—DIED A. D. 1827.

MAJOR-GENERAL SIR THOMAS MUNRO, than whom, said Canning, 'Europe never produced a more accomplished statesman, nor India, so fertile in heroes, a more skilful soldier," was a native of Glasgow, in which city he was born on the 27th of May, 1761. After receiving a liberal education, he sailed as a cadet for India in 1779. His first military service was in the memorable campaign against Hyder, and the extensive series of military operations which terminated in the peace of 1784.

After the reduction of Seringapatam, Captain Munro, who had made himself singularly well-acquainted with the institutions and languages of India, was appointed commissioner of the newly acquired province of Canara. Of his success in this office, the following extracts from his correspondence give ample testimony:—"The revenue was paid with a readiness of which I had seen no example; not because the inhabitants are more able than formerly to pay their rents, but because they believe that their readiness in discharging them will not, under the Company's government, be regarded as a proof of wealth, or as an argument for laying new impositions upon them." So far was this facility in the collection from being purchased at a sacrifice of revenue, that Munro's settlement was an increase of ninety-three per cent on the schedules produced by Tippoo in 1792. "I am anxious to get Canara into such a state that it may be managed by any body; and I am convinced that the people of this country, by my spending all my time among them, under the fly of a marquee, are already better British subjects than they would have been in twenty years, had I lived in a house on the sea-shore."

In 1800 the Nizam gave up an extensive territory, since known by the name of the Ceded Districts; and Munro's success in Canara at once pointed him out as the man to be employed in fully reducing this new acquisition to British subjection. "What becomes of newly acquired provinces in so disorganized a country, must depend in a great degree on the immediate hands into which they fall at first. If the presence of Malcolm at Malwa has settled central India, no limit can be put, in this point of view, to the services of Munro. In England we have carried the cant about 'measures, not men,' to a ridiculous excess. Nine parts in ten must always depend every where upon your man. In India you may say the whole. During the seven years which Munro occupied this arduous post, his services in it may be best appreciated by comparing the state in which he received these districts, with that in which he handed them over to his successor; and by looking afterwards for a moment at the incredible labour which was rewarded with this almost incredible success. The Ceded Districts comprised a territory larger than Scotland, with a population of about two millions. They had sunk under long misgovernment to nearly the lowest point of anarchy that a people, retaining the outward appearances of society, can descend. Besides the Nizam's troops, the feudatories were in re-

bellion, and 30,000 armed Peons over-ran the country. It had become the scene of every species of disorder, and the spoil of 'disunited hordes of lawless plunderers.' By his letters, war, it appears, had so stripped the fertile plains of trees, that he never saw any part of Scotland so destitute of them,—scarcely one for twenty miles. Famine in another place had laid most of the villages in ruins. Scarce one-fourth of the houses were inhabited. The revenue officers were hardened in peculation by the looseness of the late government. There was a swarm of Poligars almost equally troublesome, whether they remained in the country or deserted it. This was its condition when Munro undertook its charge. When he resigned, confusion had given place to order,—a body of inhabitants so little accustomed to regular authority, were reported to be 'as far advanced in civilization, submission to the laws, and obedience to the magistrates, as any of the subjects under the government.' A third more land was brought under cultivation. The revenues were collected not only with facility, but with unparalleled completeness and punctuality. By reducing them twenty per cent at first, he was enabled gradually to augment them from eleven lacs of pagodas to eighteen; and this, notwithstanding three unfavourable seasons. What must double the value of these pagodas is the further fact, that they came into the treasury without the necessity of calling out a single sepoy. The country was not merely quiet,—every one appeared satisfied with his situation. In 1807 the people were as much affected at his quitting them, as when twenty years afterwards they mourned over the grave of one whom they had learned not only to love as their father, but actually to talk of among themselves by that endearing name. A single example of this kind ought to shame to silence our incompetent and selfish countrymen, who, returning home with the consciousness of leaving no sympathy behind them, may be thus always understood as often as they are found maligning the character of a population whose affection they have never won, to be only bearing an irresistible testimony against themselves. A letter in 1801 from Cuddapah, depicts the state in which ten years of Mogul government had left it. A letter to Lady Munro in 1823, from the same place, makes no doubt of the enduring fidelity of their attachments. 'I was often at this place twenty years ago, but the heat made me always glad to get away. I still like this country notwithstanding. It is full of industrious cultivators; and I like to recognise among them a great number of my old acquaintances, who, I hope, are as glad to see me as I to see them.' Whilst we are looking at this most affecting relationship between the governor and the governed, and praying that its moral may sink deep into the hearts of our Indian rulers of whatever order, let the reader just remember what was the office in which Munro had earned all this reverence and love. In the mode of individual settlement adopted by him, he was brought into personal contact, and upon so odious a subject, often necessarily into personal collision, with every single cultivator. This is true almost to the letter. We doubt whether any tax-gatherer before was ever greeted with tears of this description. The testimony of affection presented to him at this period by his assistant officers, (a cup, with the bas-reliefs from Ellora,) is equally honourable to all parties. 'We know that the Ceded Districts hold your name in veneration, and feel the keenest regret at your departure. As for ourselves, we attribute

our success in life in a great measure to you; and think, if we are good public servants, we have chiefly learned to be so from your instruction and example.' "

In 1807 Colonel Munro returned to Britain, after an absence of twenty-seven years. He remained chiefly in London for a period of seven years, during which he had an opportunity of greatly illuminating the public mind on Indian affairs, in his evidence as a parliamentary witness on the renewal of the charter of the East Indian company. On the appointment of a commission for the revision of the system of judicial administration in India, Colonel Munro was placed at its head, and, in consequence, sailed for Madras in 1814. He found no little difficulty in introducing the changes which were recommended by the commission, and ultimately adopted; but by a union of firmness and moderation he eventually succeeded in his object. While thus engaged, the breaking out of the Mahratta war in 1817 called him into the field. At the head of no more than 500 regular troops, he completely defeated the Peishwah's plans of operation, and placed the threatened districts in a state of security, and ultimately of complete repose. At the close of the war, he gave up his command, and returned to England, with the intention of spending the remainder of his days at home. But, within a few months after landing, he was appointed by Canning governor of Madras; on which office he entered in 1820. His government gave great satisfaction to all parties, especially the natives. In the spring of 1827 he set out on a tour to some of the districts in which he had spent the first years of his residence in India. The cholera was prevalent in them at the time, and Sir Thomas had scarcely entered them before he was seized with the dire disorder, which run its course to a fatal termination in a few hours.

" The elevation and comprehension of Munro's understanding," says the Edinburgh Reviewer of his 'Life and Correspondence,' edited by Mr Gleig, " were of the first order. He was in possession of a more thorough knowledge of the population of India, than pretty nearly all the rest of the service put together. Under these circumstances, and in the necessity of balancing contradictory authorities, there cannot be a suggestion made by him on a single point, civil or military, which does not deserve a distinct and respectful consideration. Sufficient evidence exists of his opinions on the most debateable topics of what may be called our foreign policy in India during the last fifty years. His earliest speculations on our war politics,—his prophecy that the force of circumstances must drive us onward, though interest as well as justice alike required us, if possible, to remain at peace,—his ridicule of the notion that a balance of power (the Mahratta *versus* Tippoo, &c.) was practicable among bodies so false and fluctuating as the native states, were all verified by the event."

Sir William Hoste.

BORN A. D. 1780.—DIED A. D. 1828.

THIS distinguished officer was the second son of the Rev. Dixon Hoste of Goodwick in Norfolk. He entered the navy under Nelson,

and was early noticed by him with approbation. On the 14th of February, 1794, Nelson thus writes to his father: "You cannot, my dear Sir, receive more pleasure in reading this letter than I have in writing it, to say that your son is every thing which his dearest friend can wish him to be; and is a strong proof that the greatest gallantry may lie under the most gentle behaviour. Two days ago, it was necessary to take a small vessel from a number of people who had got on shore to prevent us; she was carried in a high style, and your good son was by my side." To the same, May 3d.—"The little brushes we have lately had with the enemy only serve to convince me of the truth I have already said of him; and in his navigation you will find him equally forward. He highly deserves every thing I can do to make him happy." To Mrs Nelson.—"Hoste is indeed a most exceeding good boy, and will shine in our service."

After having passed through a variety of grades in the service, we find Hoste, though still a young man, the senior officer in the Adriatic, at the commencement of 1809. One of the most distinguished naval actions in the Mediterranean station, during the war, was that fought off the island of Lissa, on the 13th of March, 1811. The following is part of Captain Hoste's despatch on this occasion:

"AMPHION, *off Lissa, March 14th*, 1811.

"SIR,—It is with much pleasure I have to acquaint you, that after an action of six hours, we have completely defeated the combined French and Italian squadrons, consisting of five frigates, one corvette, one brig, two schooners, one gun-boat, and one xebec: the force opposed to them was his majesty's ships Amphion, Active, Cerberus, and Volage. On the morning of the 13th the Active made the signal for a strange fleet to windward, and daylight discovered to us the enemy's squadron lying-to off the north point of Lissa; the wind at that time was from the N.W., blowing a fine breeze. The enemy having formed in two divisions, instantly bore down to attack us under all possible sail. The British line, led by the Amphion, was formed by signal in the closest order on starboard tack to receive them. At 9 A.M. the action commenced by our firing on the headmost ships as they came within range. The intention of the enemy appeared to be to break our line in two places; the starboard division, led by the French commodore, bearing upon the Amphion and Active, and the larboard division on the Cerberus and Volage. In this attempt he failed (though almost aboard of us), by the well-directed fire and compact order of our line. He then endeavoured to round the van-ship, to engage to leeward, and thereby place us between two fires; but was so warmly received in the attempt, and rendered so totally unmanageable, that in the act of wearing he went on shore on the rocks of Lissa, in the greatest possible confusion. The line was then wore to renew the action, the Amphion not half a cable's length from the shore; the remainder of the enemy's starboard division passing under our stern, and engaging us to leeward, whilst the larboard division tacked and remained to windward, engaging the Cerberus, Volage, and Active. In this situation the action continued with great fury, his majesty's ships frequently in positions which unavoidably exposed them to a raking fire from the enemy, who, with his superiority of numbers, had ability to take advantage of it; but no-

thing, Sir, could withstand the brave squadron I had the honour to command. At 11h 20′ A.M. the Flore struck her colours, and at noon the Bellona followed her example. The enemy to windward now endeavoured to make off, but were followed up as close as the disabled state of his majesty's ships would admit of; and the Active and Cerberus were enabled at 3 P.M. to compel the sternmost of them to surrender, when the action ceased, leaving us in possession of the Corona of 44 guns, and the Bellona 32. The Favorite of 44 guns, on shore, shortly after blew up with a dreadful explosion, the corvette making all possible sail to the N.W., and two frigates crowding sail for the port of Lessina, the brig making off to the S.E., and the small craft flying in every direction; nor was it in my power to prevent them, having no ship in a state to follow them. I must now account for the Flore's getting away after she had struck her colours. At the time I was engaged with that ship the Bellona was raking us, and when she struck I had no boat that could possibly take possession of her. I therefore preferred closing with the Bellona and taking her, to losing time alongside the Flore, which ship I already considered belonging to us. I call on the officers of my own squadron, as well as those of the enemy, to witness my assertion. The correspondence I have had on this subject with the French captain of the Danaé (now their commodore), and which I enclose herewith, is convincing; and even their own officers, prisoners here, acknowledge the fact. Indeed I might have sunk her, and so might the Active; but as the colours were down, and all firing from her had long ceased, both Captain Gordon and myself considered her as our own; the delay of getting a boat on board the Bellona, and the anxious pursuit of Captain Gordon after the beaten enemy, enabled him to steal off, till too late for our shattered ships to come up with him, his rigging and sails apparently not much injured; but, by the laws of war, I shall ever maintain he belongs to us. The enemy's squadron was commanded by Monsieur Dubourdieu, a capitaine de vaisseau, and a member of the Legion of Honour, who is killed. In justice to a brave man, I must say he set a noble example of intrepidity to those under him. They sailed from Ancona the 11th instant with 500 troops on board, and every thing necessary for fortifying and garrisoning the island of Lissa. Thanks to Providence, we have this time prevented them."

In the important naval operations carried on in the Adriatic during the year 1813, Captain Hoste rendered valuable services, especially in the reduction of the fortresses of Cattaro and Ragusa.

He was raised to the dignity of a baronet on the 23d of July, 1814, and died in December, 1828.

Colonel Dixon Denham.

BORN A.D. 1786.—DIED A.D. 1828.

THIS gallant and adventurous officer was born in London, and educated at Merchant Tailors' school. He entered the army in 1811, and served in the peninsular campaign, and afterwards in the Netherlands.

In 1819 he obtained admission into the senior department of the

Royal military college at Farnham, where he prosecuted his scientific studies with great success. After the death of Ritchie, the African traveller, Captain Denham volunteered his services to carry on the researches begun by Ritchie; and his offer being accepted by government, he reached Memoon in the month of March, 1822.

From Memoon he proceeded to Sockna, and thence to Moorzook, whence, after some delay occasioned by the bashaw's duplicity, he set out for Bornou. On the 17th of February, 1823, he arrived at Kouka. "This," says he, "was to us a momentous day, and it seemed to be equally so to our conductors. Notwithstanding all the difficulties that had presented themselves at the various stages of our journey, we were at last within a few short miles of our destination; were about to become acquainted with a people who had never seen, or scarcely heard of, an European; and to tread on ground, the knowledge and true situation of which had hitherto been wholly unknown." On his presentation to the sheikh of Bornou he soon gained his confidence, and was promised by him all the assistance in his power towards attaining a knowledge of the country and its inhabitants. After passing about two months at Kouka, he inconsiderately joined a hostile expedition sent out by the sheikh against the Felatahs. On the way he passed some days at Mandara, the sultan of which country joined the Bornouese troops, who, together with himself, after burning two small towns, were put to flight and defeated by the Felatahs, at the siege of Musfeia. The situation of Major Denham, in his retreat from the pursuers, was dreadful in the extreme; both himself and his horse were badly wounded; and, after twice falling with the latter, and fighting singly against three or four assailants, he at length lay disarmed on the ground. "At that moment," he relates, "my hopes of life were too faint to deserve the name. I was almost instantly surrounded; and, incapable of making the least resistance, was as speedily stripped. My pursuers then made several thrusts at me with their spears, that badly wounded my hands in two places, and slightly my body, just under my ribs, on the right side; indeed, I saw nothing before me but the same cruel death I had seen unmercifully inflicted on the few who had fallen into the power of those who now had possession of me. My shirt was now absolutely torn off my back, and I was left perfectly naked. When my plunderers began to quarrel for the spoil, the idea of escape came like lightning across my mind; and, without a moment's hesitation, I crept under the belly of the horse nearest me, and started as fast as my legs could carry me for the thickest part of the wood: two of the Felatahs followed, and gained upon me; for the prickly underwood not only obstructed my passage, but tore my flesh miserably; and the delight with which I saw a mountain-stream gliding along at the bottom of a deep ravine cannot be imagined. My strength had almost left me, and I seized the young branches issuing from the stump of a large tree which overhung the ravine, for the purpose of letting myself down into the water; when, under my hand, as the branch yielded to the weight of my body, a large liffa, the worst kind of serpent this country produces, rose from its coil, as if in the very act of striking. I was horror-struck, and deprived, for a moment, of all recollection—the branch slipped from my hand, and I tumbled headlong into the water beneath: this shock, however, revived me; and, with three strokes of my arms, I reached the

opposite bank, which, with difficulty, I climbed up, and then, for the first time, felt myself safe from my pursuers." After passing through other dangers and disasters almost as appalling as those just related, Major Denham returned to Kouka, where he arrived in the beginning of May, in a state of extreme wretchedness. In his way back, he relates, the little food he could procure "was thrust out from under Barca Sana's (the sheikh's general) tent, and consisted generally of his leavings. Pride," he continues, "was sometimes nearly choking me, but hunger was the paramount feeling; I smothered the former, ate, and was thankful." "Thus," he observes, on terminating his account of it, "ended our most unsuccessful expedition; it had, however, injustice and oppression for its basis, and who can regret its failure?"

In January, 1824, he obtained permission from the sheikh to visit the Loggun nation, and on the 16th of February he entered their capital, called Kernuk, after exploring a portion of the great internal African lake, the Tchad. Returning to Kouka in the following month, he set out from that place for Tripoli, by way of Lori and Woodie, carrying with him presents from the sheikh of Bornou to the king of England. He entered Tripoli on the 26th of January, 1825; and, a few days after, embarked for Leghorn, accompanied by Captain Clapperton.

His companion having again adventured on African discovery, the task of preparing and publishing the account of their mutual discoveries devolved upon Major Denham, who executed it in a very satisfactory manner, and soon after was appointed governor of Sierra Leone, with the rank of lieutenant-colonel. He entered upon the duties of his government with great zeal and spirit; but was cut off in a few months by the fatal fever of the country.

"If," says a writer in the 'United Service Journal,' "if supposed knowledge of the climate, if easy conformity with the aborigines' modes of living (for to that Colonel Denham always turned his attention, and adapted himself); if perfect confidence, from these circumstances, that African atmosphere possessed no perils for him, so inured had he been to all its influences during his wide, wide travels through its burning deserts, and along its steaming shores; if a jocund, happy heart, happy in spreading comfort around him, from his countrymen in the colony, to the rescued native black; and sanguinely putting forward his yet more promising plans, ready to be brought into immediate activity;—if this sense of amply doing the duty he was sent out to perform, animating the natural strength of his fine constitution, could have kept the warm blood unvenomed in that benevolent heart; could have preserved the bright health, which one hour glowed on that manly cheek, and in the next was extinguished in livid paleness; if all this could have sufficed to compass with security the life of man in that colony, Denham would not have died! 'But the good, the brave, has indeed fallen! and who is safe?' It was on the 9th of June, 1828, that he breathed his last in the government house at Sierra Leone, after a few days' severe illness. Young as he was, he had completed his commission on earth; for his sun, though yet in its early noon, had gone down in a glorious path, and a rich harvest of good works waved over it. The news, when brought to England, did not find a father or a mother to weep for a noble son,—whose growing fame was to reflect honour on their hoary heads no more. They had been, many years before, laid

in their peaceful tombs. But his brother survived; his elder in primogeniture, and, as such, one who, from the time of their revered parents' death, had been a brother indeed,—a friend, a father, to the young and enterprising soldier; he lived but in the happiness and honour of that dear and adventurous charge; and nobly did the indefatigable aspirant repay him with the object of his fraternal cares; for, ere a few years had passed away, Dixon Denham became renowned as a successful as well as faithful servant of his country; also, as an unwearied benefactor to the poor inhabitants of the wildest regions, whithersoever he was sent; and in this true celebrity his not less beneficent and disinterested kinsman found a just recompense, himself a retired man, but frankly enjoying, with an honest pride, the light which shone round his brother's name; for it was the light of integrity, talent, and an intrepid soul."

Sir Edward West.

BORN A. D. 1783.—DIED A. D. 1828.

THIS eminent Indian judge was educated at Harrow and Oxford. Having been called to the bar, he made himself known and esteemed in his profession by his 'Treatise on Extents,' or executions at the suit of the king against the king's debtors. In 1815 he published an able 'Essay on the application of Capital to Land;' and in 1826 a tract 'On the Price of Corn, and the Wages of Labour.'

In 1823 he was appointed recorder of Bombay; and in the establishment of the supreme court, was constituted chief-justice. In July, 1826, when it was proposed to adopt the Calcutta regulations for controlling the press, Sir Edward rejected the measure, in the following most constitutional opinion:—

"The purport of the present regulation, which is the same as that passed at Calcutta, is to prohibit the publication of any newspaper, or other periodical work, by any person not licensed by the governor and council, and to make such license revocable at the pleasure of the governor and council. It is quite clear, on the mere enunciation, that this regulation imposes a restriction upon the liberty of the subject, which nothing but circumstances and the state of society can justify. The British legislature has gone to a great extent at different times, both in England and in Ireland, in prohibiting what is lawful in itself, lest it should be used for unlawful purposes, but never without its appearing to the satisfaction of the legislature that it was rendered necessary by the state of the country. It is on this ground of expediency and necessity, on account of the abuses (as stated) of the press at Calcutta, from the state of affairs there, and from the exigency of the case, that the Calcutta regulation is maintained by its very preamble; by three of the four reasons of the Court of Directors, upon the appeal; and by the whole of the argument of counsel, upon the hearing of it. (The learned judge here read the preamble to the Calcutta regulation, and extracts from the reasons of the Court of Directors upon the appeal; and also adverted to the arguments which had been urged by counsel upon the hearing of that appeal; for the purpose of showing that the Calcutta

regulation was avowedly founded upon the allegation that 'matters tending to bring the government of Bengal, as by law established, into hatred and contempt, had of late been frequently printed and circulated in newspapers, and other papers published in Calcutta.') But what is the preamble to the regulation which is now proposed to be registered in the Supreme Court at Bombay? Is there any recital of 'matters tending to bring the government of this country, as by law established, into hatred and contempt, having been printed and circulated in newspapers and other papers published in Bombay?' Nothing of the kind: —the preamble merely recites, that a certain regulation had been passed in Calcutta for the prevention of the publication of such matters. Is it the fact, that such matters have been published in the Bombay papers? Can a single passage, or a single word, 'tending to bring the government of Bombay into hatred and contempt;' can a single stricture, or comment, or word, respecting any of the measures of government, be pointed out in any Bombay paper? How, then, without such necessity as is stated in the preamble to the Calcutta regulation, can it be expected, that even were the Supreme Court to consent to register it, and an appeal were preferred, it would be confirmed by his majesty in council?—where would be the reasons of the Court of Directors in favour of it?—where would be the arguments of counsel in support of it? Suppose an act of parliament passed to suspend the habeas corpus act in Ireland, on account of treasonable practices in that country; in such case, evidence of such practices would be laid before committees of the two houses of parliament before the act was passed, and the act would also recite them, as the Calcutta regulation recites the evils which it was intended to remedy. But would the fact of such act having been passed for Ireland justify a motion to extend it also to England, without any evidence of any such treasonable practices, nay, when it was well-known that there were no such, or any circumstances to call for it, and with a mere recital of the habeas corpus act having been suspended in Ireland, as the present proposed regulation merely recites that the same regulation had been passed at Calcutta? I am of opinion that this proposed regulation should not be registered."

Sir Edward directed much of his attention to the improvement of the police, and of prison-discipline. He died at Poonah in the month of August, 1828.

Robert, Earl of Liverpool.

BORN A. D. 1770.—DIED A. D. 1828.

ROBERT BANKS, the only son of Charles Jenkinson, afterwards Earl of Liverpool, was born on the 7th of June, 1770. He was educated at the Charter-house, and at Christ church, Oxford, where he was the companion and friend of Canning.

He entered into political life under the auspices of Pitt, who appears to have employed him for a time at Paris in watching the progress of the revolution. He was returned for the ministerial borough of Rye before he had reached majority; but he passed the intervening period on the continent, and took his seat in the winter session of 1791-2.

He proved himself of course a warm ministerialist, and was one of those orators who recommended a "march upon Paris" as the most effectual means of putting a stop to the disorders engendered by the revolution! On the 28th of May, 1796, when his father was created Earl of Liverpool, Mr Jenkinson took the title of Lord Hawkesbury. When Addington came into office, Lord Hawkesbury was appointed foreign secretary; and when Pitt returned to office, he received the seals of the home department.

On the assassination of Perceval, Lord Liverpool reluctantly consented to assume the premiership, the offer of which he had on more than one occasion declined. The only additions to the ministry on this occasion were Lord Sidmouth and Mr Vansittart. Towards the close of the session of 1811-12, his lordship opposed the Marquess Wellesley's motion that the house should pledge itself to take into consideration the state of the laws respecting the Catholics early in the next session. "He would never," he observed, "meet a great question with little shifts and expedients. It ought to be met upon great and general principles. But if, when taken upon great and general principles, he could not see his way to a safe conclusion, he should not be acting justly and manfully, if he did not avow that sentiment, and act accordingly. Were the religious opinions of the Catholics the only obstacle, it would be another affair. But the oath of supremacy, so far as it included an abjuration of all foreign jurisdiction, spiritual as well as temporal, he considered to be a fundamental part of the settlement of the government at the Revolution. It was at that period laid down as an essential principle, that the Protestant government was to be firmly established in these realms. He conceived this to mean, that the power of the state was to be Protestant, and to be so maintained for the benefit of all descriptions of its subjects. If any one political principle were more firmly established than another, he took it to be this:—that the subject of a state should own no allegiance out of that state. He could see no beneficial results from the motion of his noble friend. It was a maxim of his political life,—a maxim confirmed by all he had ever heard, read, or observed,—that, with respect to a great constitutional question, if a stand were to be made, it should be made *in limine*. Therefore, as he could not clearly see any prospect of a practical conclusion from the present proposition, he thought the true way in point of principle, and the most manly way, was to resist it in the first instance. He would even go further, and say, that if he were disposed to make concession, he would still oppose the motion, because he would never pledge himself to make any great change in the laws without knowing exactly what that change was to be." His lordship persisted in his opposition to the Catholic claims to the last of his political life.

In 1817 he supported the suspension of the habeas corpus act. He said that "he regarded it with as much veneration as any one; that he venerated it, not as an act of Charles the Second, but as an anterior and integral part of the constitution. The question was, whether there were sufficient grounds to intrust his majesty's ministers with the power they required for the conservation of the state? Domestic treason was worse than foreign treason. There might, indeed, be circumstances in foreign treason to take away its vital, its deadly stab. Their lordships had proofs of the existence of a system to overthrow the constitution of

the country; and when they saw such a system, with malignant spirits ready to set it in full motion, was it too much to ask them to intrust the executive with powers that might be adequate to its suppression? He felt the importance of the crisis; he was prepared to meet it; and he would suffer no odium to frighten him from the stern path of duty."

When the Bill of Pains and Penalties against the queen was before the house, Lord Liverpool said in the debate on the second reading: "Admitting, my lords, that we are so situated that we are in some measure compelled to make a choice between evils, I say that in this, as in other cases, the straight-forward course is the most expedient to pursue. There may be inconveniences, my lords, in going on with this bill; but, if you believe her majesty guilty, you are bound by every just and moral consideration not to stop here. I say, let the consequences be what they may, if you believe her majesty guilty, you are bound to agree to the second reading of this bill." He thus concluded his speech: "I am content to be judged by your lordships, I am content to be judged by the public at large, as to the whole of my conduct in the course of these proceedings. I appeal to Him who alone knows the secret of all hearts, and who alone can unravel all the mysteries and intricacies of this great case, if the judgment which I have given is not true,—if it is not at least founded on a sense of integrity, and on a most sincere wish to do justice in mercy;—not with any disposition to visit the illustrious individual accused with a harsher measure of punishment than necessity requires; but with an anxious desire,—a desire which I am sure is entertained by all your lordships,—to do justice, in this most important cause, between the crown, the queen, and the country."

Lord Liverpool appeared for the last time, in the house of lords, on the 16th of February, 1827, when he supported an address for conferring a provision suitable to their rank on the duke and duchess of Clarence. The next morning, after having breakfasted alone in his library, he was found, by his servant, stretched on the floor in a paralytic fit. He was shortly afterwards removed to his seat at Combewood, where he lingered in a state of mental imbecility until his death, which took place on the 4th of December, 1828. He was twice married: first, to Theodosia, a daughter of Lord Bristol, the bishop of Derry; and, secondly, to Miss Chester, the daughter of a clergyman; but had no issue.

Lord Liverpool was a man of moderate talents, but firm, prudent, and well-meaning. His system of policy was an unsound one, but his integrity was unimpeached and unimpeachable.

Charles, Lord Colchester.

BORN A. D. 1757.—DIED A. D. 1829.

CHARLES ABBOT, LORD COLCHESTER, was born at Abingdon, Berks, on the 14th of October, 1757. He was the younger son of the Rev. John Abbot, D. D., rector of All Saints, Colchester. His earlier education was conducted at Westminster-school, where he stood at the head of the election of Oxford scholars in 1775. In 1782 he took a law-degree, and was soon after called to the bar.

He came into parliament in June, 1795, and immediately ranged himself with ministers. Pitt employed him as chairman of the finance committee, in which capacity he brought up to the table of the house no less than thirty-six reports within two sessions. In 1800 he moved the appointment of a committee to investigate into the state of the national records; and he subsequently devoted much of his time to the objects of the Royal record commission.

On the 10th of February, 1802, Mr Abbot was elected speaker of the house of commons. In this capacity he gave his casting vote for the impeachment of Lord Melville in 1805. He filled the office of speaker with general satisfaction to all parties, until the year 1817, when he retired from office, and was created, as a reward for his services, Baron Colchester, with a pension of £4000 per annum, and £3000 to his successor. His lordship died in 1829.

Sir David Baird.

BORN A. D. 1755.—DIED A. D. 1829.

THIS distinguished officer was the fifth son of William Baird, Esq. of Newbyth in East Lothian. He entered the army as an ensign in the 2d foot, in December, 1772. In 1780 he arrived at Madras with the 73d regiment, under the command of Lord Macleod. Hyder Ali was at this juncture threatening Madras, which was covered by a small force of 5000 men, under Sir Hector Munro. That officer having despatched Colonel Fletcher and Captain Baird to the assistance of Colonel Baillie, Baird shared in the misfortunes of Colonel Baillie's little detachment, and was kept a prisoner at Seringapatam three years and a half. In 1798 he was appointed major-general; and on the 4th of May, 1799, he commanded a brigade of Europeans at the storming of Seringapatam. The following extract from Lieutenant-general Harris's despatch relates the services performed by General Baird on this occasion:—

"Ten flank companies of Europeans, taken from those regiments necessarily left to guard our camp and out-posts, followed by the 12th, 33d, 73d, and 74th regiments, and three corps of grenadier sepoys taken from the troops of the three presidencies, with two hundred of his highness the Nizam's troops, formed the party for the assault, accompanied by one hundred of the artillery and the corps of pioneers, and supported in the trenches by the battalion companies of the regiment de Meuron, and four battalions of Madras sepoys. Colonel Sherbrooke and Lieutenant-colonels Dunlop, Dalrymple, Gardiner, and Miguan, commanded the several flank corps; and Major-general Baird was intrusted with the direction of this important service. At one o'clock the troops moved from the trenches, crossed the rocky bed of the Cavery under an extremely heavy fire, passed the glacis and ditch, and ascended the breaches in the fausse braye and rampart of the fort, surmounting in the most gallant manner every obstacle which the difficulty of the passage and the resistance of the enemy presented to oppose their progress. Major-general Baird had divided his force for the purpose of clearing the ramparts to the right and left. One division was commanded by Colonel Sherbrooke, the other by Lieutenant-colonel Dunlop; the lat-

ter was disabled on the breach; but both corps, although strongly opposed, were completely successful. Resistance continued to be made from the palace of Tippoo for some time after all firing had ceased from the works: two of his sons were there, who, on assurance of safety, surrendered to the troops surrounding them; and guards were placed for the protection of the family, most of whom were in the palace. It was soon after reported that Tippoo Sultan had fallen. Syed Saheb, Meer Saduc, Syed Gofar, and many others of his chiefs, were also slain. Measures were immediately adopted to stop the confusion, at first unavoidable in a city strongly garrisoned, crowded with inhabitants and their property, in ruins from the fire of a numerous artillery, and taken by assault. The princes were removed to the camp. It appeared to Major-general Baird so important to ascertain the fate of the Sultan, that he caused immediate search to be made for his body, which, after much difficulty, was found late in the evening in one of the gates under a heap of slain, and soon after placed in the palace. The corpse was the next day recognised by the family, and interred, with the honours due to his rank, in the mausoleum of his father."

In 1801 Baird became colonel of the 54th, and joined the forces in Egypt shortly after the surrender of Alexandria. In the following year he reconducted the Egyptian Indian army across the desert to India. In 1803 he was removed to the Madras staff, and appointed to the command of a large division of the army forming against the Mahrattas. He anticipated the command in this service, and on the appointment of Major-general Wellesley, solicited and received permission to return to England.

In June, 1804, he was knighted, and in the following year commanded the expedition against the Cape of Good Hope. The expedition sailed from St Salvador on the 26th of November, 1805, and reached Table Bay on the 4th of January, 1806. After a general survey of the shore, it was found impossible to land the troops any where nearer to Cape Town than Saldanha and Lospard's bays; of which event General Sir D. Baird gives the following particulars:—"The surf along the shore of Lospard's bay having considerably abated the ensuing morning, I determined, with the concurrence of Commodore Sir Home Popham, to make an effort to get the troops on shore, and accordingly the Highland brigade, composed of the 71st, 72d, and 93d regiments, effected that object under the command of Brigadier-general Fergusson. The shore had been previously very closely inspected by the brigadier, and by his spirited exertions and example, our efforts were crowned with success; although a confined and intricate channel to the shore—which had been accurately pointed out by beacons laid down by the diligence and activity of the boats of the Diadem—and a tremendous surf opposed the passage of the troops. The enemy had scattered a party of sharp-shooters over the contiguous heights, and commanded the landing; but the casualties of this service arose principally from natural difficulties; and it is with the deepest concern I have the honour to inform your lordship that we lost thirty-five rank and file of the 93d regiment, by the oversetting of one of the boats, notwithstanding every possible effort to rescue these unfortunate men. The remainder of the troops could only be brought on shore on the succeeding day, when the extraordinary obstacles to all intercourse

with the fleet, which nothing but the courage and perseverance of British seamen could surmount, barely enabled us to obtain the indispensable supplies of water and provisions for immediate subsistence. On the morning of the 8th, the army, consisting of the 24th, 59th, 71st, 72d, 83d, and 93d regiments, about 4000 strong, was formed into two brigades, with two howitzers and six light field-pieces, and moved off towards the road which leads to Cape Town; and having ascended the summit of the Blaw-Berg, or Blue mountains, and disloged the enemy's light troops, I discovered their main body drawn up in two lines, prepared to receive us, and even in motion to anticipate our approach. The enemy's force apparently consisted of about 5000 men, the greater proportion of which was cavalry, and 23 pieces of cannon, yoked to horses, the disposition of which, and the nature of the ground occupied by the enemy's troops, made it evident that they intended to refuse their right wing, and with their left attempt to turn our right flank; but to frustrate their design, I formed the army into two columns, the second brigade under Brigadier-general Fergusson keeping the road, whilst the first struck to the right, and took the defile of the mountains. Having accomplished my purpose, our line was formed with equal celerity and order, and the left wing, composed of the Highland brigade, was thrown forward, and advanced with the steadiest step under a very heavy fire of round shot, grape, and musketry. Nothing could surpass or resist the determined bravery of the troops, headed by their gallant leader, Brigadier-general Fergusson; and the number of the enemy who swarmed the plain served only to augment their ardour, and confirm their discipline. The enemy received our fire, and maintained his position obstinately; but in the moment of charging, the valour of British troops bore down all opposition, and forced him to a precipitate retreat. The first brigade, composed of the 24th, 59th, and 83d regiments, and commanded, in the absence of Brigadier-general Beresford, by Lieutenant-colonel Baird, was unavoidably precluded, by their situation, from any considerable participation in the triumph of the British arms, though the flank companies of the 24th had an opportunity of distinguishing themselves in dislodging a number of horse and riflemen from the heights on our right flank. This brilliant achievement, however, was clouded by the loss of Captain Foster of the grenadiers, whose gallantry is best recorded in the bosoms of his brother-soldiers and the universal regret of the army. It is utterly impossible to convey to your lordship an adequate idea of the obstacles which opposed the advance, and retarded the success of our army; but it is my duty to inform your lordship, that the nature of the country,—a deep, heavy, and hard land, covered with shrubs, scarcely pervious to light bodies of infantry,—and, above all, the total privation of water under the effects of a burning sun, had nearly exhausted our gallant fellows in the moment of victory, and with the utmost difficulty were we able to reach the Reit Valley, where we took our position for the night. A considerable portion of the provisions and necessaries with which we started had been lost during the action, and we occupied our ground under an apprehension that even the great exertions of Sir Home Popham and the navy could not relieve us from starvation." After some warm and well-merited compliments to the seamen for their zealous co-operation, the general thus continues:—"The loss of the enemy in this engagement is reputed to

exceed 700 men in killed and wounded: and it is with the most sensible gratification that I contrast it with the enclosed return of our casualties. On the morning of the 9th, recruited by such supplies as the unwearied diligence and efforts of the navy could throw on shore—the 59th regiment, however, being almost completely destitute of food—we prosecuted our march towards Cape Town, and took up a position south of Salt River, which we trusted might preserve a free communication with the squadron; for our battering train, as well as every other necessary, except water, was to pass to us from his majesty's ships. In this situation a flag of truce was sent to me by the commandant of the garrison of Cape Town, (the governor-general Jansens having retired after the action of the 8th into the country, moving by Hottentots Holland Kloof,) requesting a suspension of hostilities for forty-eight hours, in order to negotiate a capitulation. In answer to this overture, I despatched Brigadier-general Fergusson, accompanied by Lieutenant-colonel Brownrigg, to stipulate, as the condition of my acquiescence, the surrender of the outer works of the town within six hours, allowing thirty-six hours for arranging the articles of capitulation. My proposition being assented to, the 59th regiment marched into Fort Knokke; and the next day, in conjunction with Sir Home Popham, the terms were agreed upon, and his majesty's forces were put in possession of the several defences of the town. Of the modified capitulation, as ratified by us, I have the honour to enclose a copy."

The articles of capitulation state, that on the surrender of Cape Town and its dependencies, the garrison shall march out and become prisoners of war; such officers as are married to natives, or are domiciliated, being allowed to remain in the town on their parole. The French subjects belonging to two stranded ships are included in the surrender. The inhabitants of the town who have borne arms to be allowed to return to their former occupations. All *bona fide* property shall remain free and untouched. Public property of every description shall be faithfully delivered up, and proper inventories given as soon as possible. The burghers and inhabitants shall preserve all their rights and privileges. Public worship, as at present in use, shall be maintained without alteration. The paper-money in circulation shall continue current until the pleasure of his Britannic majesty is known. The lands and houses, the property of the Batavian republic, which must be delivered up, shall remain as security for that part of the paper-money which is not already secured by mortgages upon the estates of individuals. Prisoners of war, comprehended in the present capitulation, shall not be pressed into his Britannic majesty's service. The inhabitants of Cape Town shall be exempted from having troops quartered on them. Two ships having been sunk in Table Bay, to the great detriment of the road-stead, either after the Batavian republic had sent out a flag of truce, or whilst it was in contemplation so to do, they are to be raised and delivered over in an entire state of repair. This having been done without the sanction of the commandant, the raising of the said ships shall be incumbent on those who sunk them.

After having performed this valuable service for his country, Sir David was appointed colonel of the 24th, and placed on the foreign staff under General Cathcart. He commanded a division at the siege of Copenhagen; and in 1808 sailed for Corunna with a strong rein-

forcement. In the battle of Corunna, in which he commanded the first division of the British army, he lost his left arm. For his services on this occasion he received the thanks of both houses of parliament.

On the 4th of June 1814, Sir David was promoted to the rank of full general; he was also made governor, in succession, of Kinsale, Fort George, and Inverness. He died on the 18th of August, 1829, and was suceeeded in his baronetcy by the son of his elder brother.

Sir David was a brave and experienced officer, but, unfortunately for himself, of a warm and impetuous temper which could scarcely brook submission to any superior. This involved him in several quarrels, and retarded that promotion which was justly due to his distinguished services and acknowledged skill.

Sir Charles Brisbane.

BORN A. D. 1770.—DIED A. D. 1829.

THIS gallant and accomplished officer was the fourth son of Admiral Brisbane, and entered the navy while yet a boy, under the auspices of his father. In 1790 he attained the rank of lieutenant, and soon after greatly distinguished himself at Toulon. Lord Hood advanced him to the rank of commander; and in 1796 he received post rank for his services at the Cape of Good Hope.

After performing a number of gallant exploits while on a cruise in the frigate Arethusa, Captain Brisbane signalized himself by the capture of the island of Curaçoa, on the 1st of January, 1807. "My line of battle," he says in his despatch on this occasion, "consisted of the Arethusa, Latona, Anson, and Fisgard; and very soon after the break of day I made all possible sail with the ships in close order of battle, passing the whole extensive line of sea batteries, and anchored the squadron in a style far surpassing my expectations. The harbour was defended by regular fortifications, of two tier of guns, Fort Amsterdam alone consisting of sixty-six pieces of cannon; the entrance only fifty yards wide, athwart which was the Dutch frigate Hatslar, of 36 guns; and Surinam, of 22, with two large schooners of war, one commanded by a Dutch commander; a chain of forts was on Miselburg commanding height; and that almost impregnable fortress, Fort Republique, within the distance of grape-shot, enfilading the whole harbour." Admiral Dacres, when forwarding Captain Brisbane's despatch to the admiralty, wrote as follows: "Whilst I contemplate the immense strength of the harbour of Amsterdam, and the superior force contained in its different batteries opposed to the entrance of the frigates, I know not how sufficiently to admire the decision of Captain Brisbane, in attempting the harbour, and the determined bravery and conduct displayed by himself, the other three captains, and all the officers and men under his command; and is another strong instance of the cool and determined bravery of British seamen." For this exploit the honour of knighthood was conferred upon Captain Brisbane, by patent dated 10th April, 1807. In 1819 he attained the rank of rear-admiral of the Red.

Sir Charles died at St Vincent—of which island he was the governor

—in November, 1829. The following is an extract from a well-written memoir of him which appeared in the St Vincent's Gazette:

"From this brief memoir it appears that Sir Charles was a hero from his youth. Indeed, it would be difficult to find a parallel to his courage, while yet a boy, as displayed in Rodney's victory. But Sir Charles's success in after life did not depend altogether upon bravery; his presence of mind and conduct in cases of danger were equally conspicuous. Among instances of this nature, the quelling of a dangerous mutiny at the Cape of Good Hope was not the least meritorious; but the manner in which he extricated himself from a very perilous situation, the day after the capture of Curaçoa, shows a self-possession and an address equal to any upon record.—The Dutch naval commander having fallen in the attack, and being a man of large possessions there, and married, his funeral was conducted the following day with great pomp. To this funeral Commodore Brisbane was invited; and feeling anxious to conciliate the relations of the deceased, and ingratiate himself with the inhabitants, he determined to attend. The house at which the funeral was kept was at a considerable distance from the fort, and, to get to it, it was necessary to cross a lagoon; but the commodore, not wishing to evince any distrust of the people, took with him no more than the usual crew of his barge, although he was aware that he was acting imprudently. On arriving at the house, he found a multitude collected, and about 500 slaves of the deceased. He, however, went boldly in, leaving his boat's crew at the door, and encountered the widow, who appears to have been a woman of masculine mind. She was making loud lamentations over the body of her husband, which was laid out in state; his slaves were giving vent to their unruly passions, and his friends eyed the commodore with no friendly feeling; while consultations in whispers were held in different parts of the room, of which Captain Brisbane, by the glances cast at him, plainly saw he was the subject. The hour appointed for the funeral had also arrived, and passed, without any intention being manifested of removing the body. Captain Brisbane felt the imminent peril in which he stood; and knowing that his personal safety and the retention of his conquest depended upon an instant decision, he stepped to the door, and desired his boat's crew to man the barge, and, if they observed any thing wrong, to pull away for the fort, and direct the officer in charge to fire upon the town; then, returning to the widow, he told her he had attended her husband's funeral as a mark of respect; but that, unless the corpse was instantly removed, he could remain no longer, having an arduous duty to perform at the fort at a certain hour, which was fast approaching. This had the desired effect, and threw the agitators off their guard; the corpse was removed, and the commodore took the first opportunity to reach his barge.

"The capture of the Spanish frigate Pomona (in 1806) was unquestionably the most gallant of Sir Charles Brisbane's exploits. Of that affair the following additional particulars have been communicated to us by an eye-witness, a gentleman who was at the time an officer in an American vessel of war, stationed at the Havannah. The Pomona had on board one million of dollars. She was anchored under the fort, in such a position, and in such shallow water, as to be deemed safe from any attack; and, to add to her security, the entrance to the bay in

which she took shelter was very narrow. But the Spaniards soon found that British seamen were not to be deterred by difficulties; the Arethusa was quickly anchored alongside, and so judiciously, that the guns from the fort annoyed her but little. The Pomona soon struck, and was taken possession of. Good use, however, had been made of the time occupied by the Arethusa in preparing for action; for the whole of the money was removed into the fort under the superintendence of the governor of Cuba, assisted by a party of soldiers from the Havannah. So far as the destruction of the Pomona went the enterprise had prospered; but, on making sail, Captain Brisbane found his ship exposed to a heavy fire from the fort, while, the wind being against him, it was impossible to beat out, from the narrowness of the passage. Every expectation of escape now seemed hopeless; and the destruction of the Arethusa herself was looked upon as certain by the thousands of spectators from the Havannah who lined the heights over the bay. Fortune, however, favoured the brave; a lucky shot from the Arethusa blew up the magazine in the fort; and, during the consternation thereby occasioned, the ship was warped out by a masterly manœuvre and extraordinary exertions. The Spanish ladies who witnessed the feat (and who partook of the chivalry of their countrymen) were so delighted with the gallantry of Captain Brisbane, that they expressed their sincere sorrow that the "brave Englishman" had not got the money.

"Sir Charles received his commission as governor of St Vincent and its dependencies, on the 14th of November, 1808, and as vice-admiral on the 18th. He arrived there on the 21st of January, 1809, in his majesty's ship Glory, and was sworn in on the 23d. On the 25th the two houses of legislature met, when his excellency briefly addressed them, informing them of his appointment, and expressing a hope that he would be cordially supported by them in all matters relating to the welfare of the colony. On the 15th of February the legislature again met, when his excellency's salary was fixed at £4000 currency. It was afterwards increased to £5000. Sir Charles went to Europe on leave of absence in July, 1810, and returned in August, 1812; he again went in July, 1816, and returned in December, 1817; and from that time to the day of his death resided continually in the colony.

"It requires a much abler pen than ours to do any thing like justice to the wise administration of Sir Charles Brisbane during his unprecedented and fatherly sway over this colony. His merits, however, and his valuable services, are so deeply engraven on every class of society, —we may say on the heart of every individual in the community capable of estimating them,—that the task becomes comparatively easy. Under him St Vincent has been blessed with plenty and domestic quiet. The first was the gift of the Ruler of the universe; the last was the effect of his prudent measures: and did Sir Charles's claim to the gratitude of this community rest upon no other foundation, the fact of his having for twenty-one years preserved his government from internal discord, and reconciled conflicting wishes and conflicting interests, would well entitle him to it. But he has other claims equally as potent: he has stood as a rampart against the attacks of our inveterate foes in the mother-country; who, finding all efforts to turn him aside from the paths of honour and truth ineffectual, have assailed him with scurrility; railing at that which they cannot imitate. By his firmness

St Vincent's has been put in a position to take a proud stand, and to repel the aspersions of the common enemy of the West Indies. In all other matters connected with his government, Sir Charles also deserves the warmest commendations: the success of his administration kept pace with its duration; and the one, as well as the other, is beyond all precedent.

"His excellency well understood the true method of governing to advantage; he had studied mankind successfully, and knew exactly how to comport himself to the character with whom he came in contact. It was to this judiciousness that those singular and unexpected revolutions in the sentiments of many who commenced their political career with a determination to oppose him, but who suddenly sided with him, are to be ascribed. There was an indescribable something in his bearing that disarmed opposition; the manners of the gentleman were so blended with the open, manly freedom of the true British seaman, that it was impossible to leave his presence dissatisfied. If a favour within his power were asked, the kindness of his nature insured success to the applicant; but if it could not be granted consistently, the refusal was so couched as to wear more the appearance of an obligation than a denial. By harmonizing the machinery of his government its duties were rendered easy, and conducted without difficulty; and this accounts for the little cause for interference that his majesty's government ever had with our internal affairs while under his control. During the multifariousness of Sir Charles's duties, and the various interests of suitors who came to his court, it cannot be expected that all went away content: he had, however, the satisfaction to find that in almost every case his judgments were confirmed when appealed against. His attention to the duties of his high station was proverbial; never was he behind-hand with an appointment; never was an applicant neglected; never was justice withheld. But Sir Charles appeared to the greatest advantage on public occasions. There he stood unrivalled. No hollow ostentation marked his presence, no ridiculous pride damped conviviality. His graceful mien and address were remarkably pleasing; and while his affability and condescension banished restraint, his dignified appearance forbade improper familiarity. His were pre-eminently the singular properties of commanding respect and inspiring attachment at the same moment. Yet, pleased, as he certainly was, and as he had cause to be, with his government, he often sighed for the choice his youthful mind had made. The sea was his natural element, Neptune the sovereign of his heart. With what tenacity he clung to his early predilections, may be learned from the following touching circumstance. When he found his end approaching, he clasped the hand of a friend, and exclaimed, 'Would that I had ended my days on the quarter-deck of a British man-of-war, fighting for my country!'

"In stature Sir Charles Brisbane was about the middle size, with a frame strong, active, and light; in manner the perfect courtier, in appearance elegant. From the early period in which he embarked in his profession, his education could not be expected to be what is called a finished one; but he possessed great powers of mind, and strong natural abilities. His judgment was sound, his intellect excellent."

Sir Henry Clinton.

BORN A. D. 1767.—DIED A. D. 1829.

Sir Henry Clinton was the younger son of Lieutenant-general Sir Henry Clinton, K. B. He commenced his military career in 1767, as ensign in the 11th foot, from which he was removed to the 1st guards, March 12th, 1789. From October, 1788. to August, 1789, he served in the Brunswick corps, under Lieutenant-general de Riedesel; and on the 25th of March, 1790, joined his regiment, the 1st guards. He received a company in the 15th foot on the 6th of April following, from which he exchanged into the guards, November 30th, 1792. In January, 1793, he was appointed aid-de-camp to his royal highness the duke of York, in which capacity he served the campaigns of 1793 and 1794, in the Netherlands. He was present at the action of St Amand, battle of Famars, siege of Valenciennes, action of Lidreghem, battles of Wattignies and Maubeuge, and action of Vaux. On the 22d of April, 1794, he was appointed major by brevet; and with that rank was at the action of Camphin on the 10th of May following, in which being wounded, he was absent from the army to the 10th of August, when he joined near Breda. Major Clinton next served at the siege of Nimeguen by the enemy. He returned to England with the duke of York, and remained aid-de-camp to his royal highness, until promoted to the lieutenant-colonelcy of the 66th regiment, September 30th, 1795. In the following month Lieutenant-colonel Clinton proceeded to join that regiment in the West Indies. He was present at the landing in St Lucia, under Sir Ralph Abercromby, and at the siege and surrender of Morne Fortunée; after which he joined the 66th at Port-au-Prince in St Domingo. The 20th of October, 1796, he again exchanged to the 1st guards, and sailed from St Domingo to join that corps, but was made prisoner on the passage, and did not arrive in England until June, 1797. He served with the guards in Ireland in 1798, and in that year was appointed aid-de-camp to Lord Cornwallis, the lord-lieutenant and commander-in-chief in that country, under whom he served the short campaign in Connaught, and was present at the surrender of the French force under General Humbert at Ballinamuck.

In April, 1799, Lieutenant-colonel Clinton, being attached to Lord W. Bentinck, employed on a mission to the Austro-Russian army in Italy, was present at the battle of Trebia, sieges of Alexandria and Serravalle, and at the battle of Novi; after which, being appointed to attend Marshal Suwarrow, on his march into Switzerland, he was present at the action in forcing the passage of St Gothard; at those of the Teufels Brüch, Klonthaler See, and Glarus. Early in 1800, being employed on a mission to the Austrian army in Swabia, he was present at the battles of Engen and Moeskirck, and during the retreat from the Upper Danube to Alt Otting in Bavaria. At the end of the campaign he joined his battalion in England. In June, 1801, he was appointed assistant adjutant-general in the eastern district; and in June, 1802, adjutant-general in the East Indies. He received the brevet of colonel, September 25th, 1803; and in October he joined the army

under Lord Lake, at Agra. He was at the battle of Laswaree, on which occasion he was intrusted by his lordship with the command of the right of the army: he continued to serve in Hindostan until Oct., 1804, and then he resigned the appointment of adjutant-general. In March following he sailed from India.

In November, 1805, Colonel Clinton was employed on a mission to the Russian army employed in Moravia under General Kutusoff; and, at the conclusion of the peace between Russia and France, returned to England. In July, 1806, he embarked for Sicily, in command of the flank battalion of the guards. He commanded the garrison of Syracuse from December, 1806, to November following, and returned with his battalion to England in January, 1808; the 25th of which month he was appointed Brigadier-general, and as such commanded a brigade in the armament that sailed under the late Sir John Moore to Sweden. On his return from the latter place he was appointed adjutant-general to the army in Portugal; he was present at the action of Vimiera, and with Sir John Moore during the campaign in Spain, and retreat through Galicia, to the embarkation at Corunna in January, 1809. On his return from Spain he published a pamphlet, entitled 'A Few Remarks explanatory of the motives which guided the operations of the British army during the late short campaign in Spain;' the object of which was to justify the retreat of Sir John Moore, and "to clear his reputation from that shade, which by some has been cast over it."

The 25th of January, 1809, Colonel Clinton was appointed adjutant-general in Ireland, and on the 25th of July, 1810, a major-general. In October, 1811, he was removed from the Staff of Ireland to that of the army under Lord Wellington in Portugal, and was appointed to the command of the sixth division. In June, 1812, he was charged with the siege of the forts of Salamanca; and he was present at the battle fought near that city on the 22d of July. When Lord Wellington marched against Joseph Buonaparte at Madrid, Major-general Clinton was intrusted with the command of that part of the army left upon the Douro, to observe the enemy in that quarter. He was present at the siege of the castle of Burgos, and in the several affairs which happened in the retreat from thence to the frontiers of Portugal. Major-general Clinton received the thanks of parliament for his conduct at the battle of Salamanca; on the 29th of July, 1813, he was appointed an extra knight of the order of the Bath, and, on the enlargement of the order, nominated a knight Grand Cross. In April, 1813, he was appointed a lieutenant-general in Spain and Portugal; he was present at the investment of Pampeluna in July, and at the actions which were fought upon passing the Nivelle in November, and the Nive in December, of that year. During the winter he was employed in the blockade of Bayonne; was present at the battle of Orthes on the 27th of February, 1814; affair of Caceres, on the 2d of March; affair at Tarbes, on the 20th; and at the battle of Toulouse, on the 10th of April. Lieutenant-general Sir Henry Clinton received the thanks of parliament for his services in these several actions.

Sir Henry was appointed colonel-commandant of the first battalion 60th foot, May 20th, 1813; lieutenant-general in the army, June 4th, 1814; the same year inspector-general of infantry, and, subsequently, second in command in the Belgian army. He commanded a division

of infantry at the battle of Waterloo; and for his conduct on that occasion was appointed knight of the Austrian order of Maria Theresa; knight of the third class of the Russian order of St George; and knight of the third class of the Wilhelm order of the kingdom of the Netherlands. He afterwards commanded a division of the British contingent in France. On the 9th of August, 1815, he was removed from the sixth battalion 60th foot to the colonelcy of his late regiment, the 3d foot; and on the 20th of May, 1816, he again received in person the thanks of the house of commons."[1]

George Tierney.

BORN A. D. 1761.—DIED A. D. 1830.

THIS eminent statesman was of Irish descent. His father was a native of Limerick, but became a prize-agent at Gibraltar, where his son George was born in 1761. Young Tierney was educated at Eton and Cambridge. He was originally destined for the profession of the law; but finding himself, after the successive deaths of three elder brothers, in possession of a competent fortune, he determined to devote himself to politics, and with this view stood for, and gained, an expensive election for Colchester. In 1796 he became member for Southwark.

From the first moment of his entering parliament he ranged himself with the whig opposition, and, although he did not at first assume a very formidable position, yet his assiduity and moral courage, aided by practice in speaking, soon rendered him one of Pitt's most formidable antagonists.

"During the debate on Friday, May 25th, 1798, on the bill for suspending seamen's protections, Mr Pitt was so far thrown off his guard —a rare occurrence with him—as to declare, 'that he considered Mr Tierney's opposition to the measure, as proceeding from a wish to impede the service of the country.' Mr Tierney immediately called the chancellor of the exchequer to order, appealed to the house, and invoked the protection of the speaker. Mr Addington, who then occupied the chair, observed—'That if the house should consider the words which had been used as conveying a personal reflection on the honourable gentleman, they were in that point of view to be considered as unparliamentary and disorderly. It was for the house to decide on their application, and they would wait in the mean time for the explanation of the right honourable gentleman.' Mr Pitt, instead of apologizing, immediately said,—'If he were called on to explain away any thing which he had said, the house might wait long enough for such an explanation! He was of opinion that the honourable gentleman was opposing a necessary measure for the defence of the country, and therefore he should neither explain nor retract any particle of what he had said on the subject.' Here, of course, the affair did not end. Mr Tierney sent his friend, Mr George Walpole, with a message to Mr Pitt; and, at three o'clock, on the next Sunday afternoon, Mr Pitt, accompanied by Mr Ryder, (now Lord Harrowby,) and Mr Tierney, accompanied

[1] Gentleman's Magazine.

by Mr Walpole, met on Putney Heath. Of what then took place, the seconds published the following account, in the newspapers of the next day: 'We are authorized to state, that in consequence of what passed on Friday last, (which produced a challenge from Mr Tierney,) Mr Pitt accompanied by Mr Ryder, and Mr Tierney accompanied by Mr George Walpole, met at three o'clock yesterday afternoon on Putney Heath. After some ineffectual attempts on the part of the seconds to prevent further proceedings, the parties took their ground at the distance of twelve paces. A case of pistols was fired at the same moment without effect; a second case was also fired in the same manner, Mr Pitt firing his pistol in the air; the seconds then jointly interfered, and insisted that the matter should go no further, it being their decided opinion that sufficient satisfaction had been given, and that the business was ended with perfect honour to both parties."

When Addington became premier in 1803, Tierney accepted the treasurership of the navy, and was sworn into the privy-council; but on the resumption of office by Pitt, he again took his seat on the opposition-benches. After the death of Fox he was appointed president of the Indian board of control.

On the regency question Tierney opposed ministers; he also opposed Vansittart's plans of finance, while he sided with the East India company on most questions touching our possessions in the East. "When the sudden return of Buonaparte threatened again to throw the affairs of Europe into confusion, Mr Tierney forsook Mr Ponsonby, the recognised leader of the whig party, and sided with Mr Whitbread on the amendment moved by that gentleman in the address, in answer to the prince regent's message; and on two other occasions, previously to the actual commencement of hostilities, he renewed his efforts to maintain peace, arguing that a change in the executive was no ground for war; for that it was a question of internal arrangement with which France alone was concerned; that such a war would be an avowed attack of a nation against an individual; that oppressed as England was she could not carry on the contest for two years; and that it was too much to expect that the war would be a short one. Pending these discussions, he moved for a committee on the civil list, into the history of which he went at considerable length, and exposed the constant excess in the expenditure, the extravagance of our diplomatic missions, and the lavish cost of the Windsor establishment. The effect, however, of this motion, though in part granted, was much neutralized by the amendment of the chancellor of the exchequer, which excluded the power of calling for persons, papers, and records; and so hampered did Mr Tierney find himself in the committee, that soon after he had to apply to the house for permission to send for Mr Marsh, of the lord chamberlain's office, which, however, it was thought proper to refuse. The 'convention with the king of the Netherlands' was altogether disapproved of by Mr Tierney; and he especially objected to the enormous expense incurred in fortifying Belgium for the benefit of Holland. The 'Budget' enabled him to go into a detail, of more than ordinary minuteness, of the finance of the country: he compared, for a series of years, the relative amount of the loans, with the sums raised by taxes; he instituted a similar comparison between the relation of the sinking fund with the debt; and lamented that the system of Mr Pitt should have been overturned by

those who claimed to follow up his principles. With reference to the war newly embarked in, he termed it rash; asserted that not even the million or eleven hundred thousand soldiers relied on by ministers, could put down a nation such as France; and pronounced it idle to prognosticate the expense of a contest the end of which no one could foresee. With the debates on the marriage of the duke of Cumberland, the grant in consequence of which he opposed, the business of the session closed. Peace being, in 1816, to all appearance permanently restored, a general reduction of the establishments connected with a state of warfare became the universal theme.—Mr Tierney concurring with the opposition party, that these reductions were not entered on with sufficient vigour and determination, the subject was taken up by them on every occasion, and formed the principal handle of annoyance to the government. On the various subjects of discussion Mr Tierney combated the ground with ministers, inch by inch; and the alternation of sarcasm, argument, and humour, so peculiarly his own, produced its effect even on the imperturbability of Lord Castlereagh. In the session of 1817 Mr Tierney, who, after the death of Mr Ponsonby, was considered as the leader of his party, pursued the same general course, and opposed the address; on which occasion he depicted the financial state of the country in gloomy colours. The question of war salaries to the secretaries of the admiralty was taken up and treated by him with caustic pleasantry. On the several motions respecting parliamentary reform, he supported his early opinions in favour of that measure. He joined Mr Bennet in censuring the appointment of Mr Herries to a lucrative office, while holding his half-pay as commissary-in-chief. He replied to Mr Canning, when that gentleman's mission to Lisbon came into discussion in a distinct form; and he introduced a series of resolutions, expressive of his view of the state of the finances, which, however, had to give place to others moved by Mr C. Grant, conveying the sense of the treasury on that topic. The alarming state of the country in the winter of 1817-18 led to a series of measures on the part of government, and a secret committee was moved for, which elicited a declaration of Mr Tierney's sentiments on the question. The succeeding motions for inquiry into the employment of spies and informers, afforded further occasions for the expression of his opinion of the mode in which ministers had met the difficulties of the times. Consistently with his previous declaration, he was opposed to the 'indemnity bill,' shortly afterwards introduced and carried. The state of the circulating medium was brought before the house in a motion of his own by Mr Tierney, which motion was introduced by a speech of great research; but he failed of attaining the object proposed. On the proposition for additional allowances to the royal dukes on the occasion of their respective marriages, he argued that such grants were inconsistent with the admitted state of the finances."[1]

Tierney opposed the measures instituted against Queen Caroline, but not with all the warmth that had been expected from him. When Canning became premier the mastership of the mint was conferred upon Tierney, which office he held until the breaking-up of Lord Goderich's administration.

[1] Annual Obituary for 1831.

He died suddenly on the 25th of January, 1830. The writer of the 'Annual Obituary,' in his notice of this statesman, thus accurately describes his style and manner as a parliamentary speaker: "As a speaker Mr Tierney was exceedingly original. From the moment he opened his mouth till he sat down the attention of his hearers never flagged for one moment. In a style which never rose above the colloquial, the most cutting sarcasms, level to the most ordinary understanding, escaped from him, as if he were himself unaware of their terrible effect. His sneer was withering. Of all the speakers, contemporaries of Mr Tierney, no one was so much dreaded as he was. His irony was inimitable. From the simplicity of his language the reporter never misunderstood him; but from the rapidity of his colloquial turns, and the instant roar with which they were followed in the house, it was impossible to record all that fell from him; and the reports, therefore, though almost always characteristic of him, were far from complete. But his manner and intonation added greatly to the effect of what he said. It was the conversation of a shrewd, sagacious man of the world, who delivered his observations on the subject under discussion with an apparent candour, which contrasted singularly with the knowing tone and look of the speaker. His mode of taking an argument to pieces and reconstructing it in his own way, astonished his hearers, who recognised the apparent fidelity of the copy, and yet felt at a loss how he had himself failed to perceive, during the preceding speech, what seemed now so palpably absurd. Although, as we have observed, his manner was colloquial, the correctness of his language was remarkable; and his rapidity was as remarkable as his correctness. It was some time after perceiving that he never hesitated for a word, that it was acknowledged that no word but the right one ever came at his command; he was indeed 'a well of English undefiled.' His reasoning and his wit were equally unostentatious and equally perfect. It has been said that his knowledge was limited; but we believe he differed from his contemporaries not so much in knowledge, as in an indisposition to parade any knowledge in which he was not a perfect master. He was a man, who, in the discussion of the greatest affairs of the greatest nation, was always listened to with delight, except by those whose weakness or hollowness he exposed."

John, Lord Redesdale.

BORN A. D. 1748.—DIED A. D. 1830.

JOHN FREEMAN MITFORD, Baron Redesdale, was born in 1748. His family was an old Northumberland one. He was educated at Winchester school and at Oxford; and having entered of the Temple, was called to the bar. In 1782 he published 'A Treatise of Pleadings in Suits of Chancery;' and he soon became a leading counsel before that court.

In 1788 he was returned member of parliament for Beeralston, which place he continued to represent in several parliaments. In 1793 he was made solicitor-general, and received the honour of knighthood. In the following year he conducted the celebrated state-trials. In 1799, when Sir John Scott was created Lord Eldon, Sir John Mitford was

appointed attorney-general; and on Addington becoming premier, he was elected speaker of the house of commons.

He occupied the chair, however, only for a short time. On the death of the earl of Clare, it was determined that he should receive the great seal of Ireland, with an English peerage; and on the 15th of February, 1802, he was created Baron Redesdale of Redesdale, in Northumberland.

Lord Redesdale occupied the Irish chancery bench until the coalition ministry placed George Ponsonby upon it. He took leave of the bar on this occasion, in the following speech:—

"I must now take my leave. When I came to this country, I thought that I should probably pass the remainder of my days here. With that view I formed an establishment, and I proudly hoped to have lived amongst you, and to have died amongst you; but that has not been permitted. To the gentlemen of the bar I have the greatest obligations. I came amongst them a stranger; I have experienced from them every kindness; and I must say, that I could not have left a bar with whom I could have lived in habits of more cordial intercourse. Perhaps I may (on some occasions I am aware that I must) have used expressions which have appeared harsh at the moment; but I trust they were only such as were suited to the occasion. My design was not to hurt the feelings of any; and if I have done so, I am truly sorry for it. I wish to depart in peace and good will with all. To the officers and practitioners of the court, I must say, that though with respect to a very few of the latter, I have had occasion to animadvert with some severity, their conduct in general has been highly satisfactory. As to the officers of the court, they have all, in their several stations, endeavoured to assist me to the utmost of their power; they have materially done so, and I owe them sincere thanks. It would have been my wish to have continued to sit until the gentleman who has been named to succeed me should have arrived. I believe it was his wish also, and I have every reason to think so; and from him I have experienced every degree of politeness and attention. I am sorry that other persons should have thought me unworthy to have been intrusted with the seal during the interval. What can occasion this, (which I cannot but consider as a personal insult,) I am unable to guess; but I have been informed that a peremptory order has come to the lord-lieutenant, not to suffer a moment to elapse in preventing the great seal from longer remaining in my hands. I know not whence this jealousy of me has arisen, or how my continuing to sit in the Court of Chancery (for I could make no other use of the seal but under the warrant of his excellency), could interfere with any views of his majesty's ministers. I am proudly conscious of having discharged the duties of my station with honesty and integrity to the utmost of my abilities. For the office I care not, except so far as it afforded me the opportunity of discharging conscientiously an important public duty. It was unsought for by me; I came here much against my will; I came from a high situation in England, where I was living amongst my old friends, and in the midst of my family. But I was told that I owed it to public duty and to private friendship to accept the office, and I yielded; I yielded to the solicitations of some of those who have concurred in my removal. This, I own, is what I did not expect, and what I was not prepared to bear. But I feel most of

all that so little consideration has been had for the public business and the interests of the suitors of this court. You must all know the avocations of those who have been named as Commissioners. The master of the rolls has already as much business as he can conveniently discharge; the lord-chief-justice and the lord-chief-baron have their several avocations, which must prevent their attendance in the court of chancery. I am extremely sorry that a great deal of business will in consequence be left undone, which ought to have been disposed of before the rising of the court; but so it has been thought fit. And now I have only to say, that in returning to the country from whence I came, I shall be most happy if it should ever be in my power to be of service to Ireland. Ireland will always have a claim upon me. Had I continued in the commons' house of parliament, I might have been able to do much service: in the other house that power is much lessened; but such as it is, this country may ever command it. To this country I have the highest sense of obligation: I do not know that in a single instance I have experienced any thing but kindness. I have experienced it from all ranks of people without exception. Under these circumstances I retire with a firm conviction, that you will do me the justice to say, that I have discharged my duty with honest and conscientious zeal, to the extent of my abilities; and that on this head I have nothing with which to reproach myself."

His lordship continued a supporter of ministry, but was never again called to his majesty's councils. He opposed the Parochial schools bill, as not being formed with sufficient reference to the established church; but in 1813 he defended the Stipendiary Curate's bill against the reverend bench, and maintained that "the church possessed sufficient riches, though there was a defect in the unequal distribution of them." He opposed a free trade in corn; and vindicated the policy of the Bank Restriction act of 1797. He was the principal promoter of the Insolvent Debtor's law, and vigorously supported the appointment of a vice-chancellor.

He died on the 16th of January, 1830.

William Huskisson.

BORN A. D. 1770.—DIED A. D. 1830.

THIS distinguished statesman was the eldest son of William Huskisson, Esq. of Oxley, near Wolverhampton. At the age of thirteen he accompanied his grand-uncle, Dr Gem, to Paris, where he spent several years, and for a short time studied medicine; but having been offered the situation of private secretary to Lord Gower, the British ambassador, he eagerly accepted an employment much more congenial to his habits of mind. Upon the ambassador's return in 1792, young Huskisson accompanied him; and, in 1795, was appointed chief-clerk in the war-office under Secretary Dundas. The next year he became under-secretary. On the breaking up of Pitt's administration in 1801, Huskisson resigned the under-secretaryship, and retired upon a pension of £1200, which Pitt had secured for him, in consideration of his valuable services.

When Pitt returned to power, Huskisson was appointed joint secretary of the treasury with Mr Sturges Bourne. When Canning and his friends first began to form a third political party in the house, in the year 1809, Huskisson was identified with him; but the department to which he chiefly attached himself was that of finance, in which he always commanded the attention and respect of the house. His services as a financier were so justly appreciated by Lord Castlereagh, that he placed his name on the committee of finance appointed in 1819, and employed his services in drawing up their report. In 1812 Mr Huskisson obtained the appointment of agent for Ceylon, an office worth £4000 a year, which, however, he resigned in 1823, when it seemed incompatible with his other situations, namely, that of treasurer of the navy, and president of the Board of Trade.

In 1822, on Canning's appointment to be secretary of state, Mr Huskisson was elected one of the members for Liverpool. In 1823 he opposed Mr Whitmore's motion for a revision of the corn-laws; and in the same session urged the repeal of the navigation laws. In 1824 he supported Serjeant Onslow's attempt to repeal the usury laws, and opposed the silk-manufacturer's petition against the admission of foreign silks. In 1825 he warmly supported Peel's restriction bill; and soon after attempted a revision of the corn-laws, the spirit of which was defeated by the duke of Wellington's amendment.

On the death of Canning, Mr Huskisson became a member of the Goderich administration, as colonial and war secretary; and on the accession of the Wellington administration he retained his seat in the cabinet. In a debate, however, on the proposed disfranchisement of East Retford, Huskisson divided against his colleagues, and offered to place his office, if required, in the premier's hands. The duke was weak enough to use this opportunity of dispensing with the services of his able and efficient colleague, and in so doing greatly injured his own political position. After leaving office, Mr Huskisson delivered his sentiments in the house on various important points, chiefly of commercial policy; he also supported Lord Palmerston's motion on the affairs of Portugal.

On the 13th of September, 1830, Mr Huskisson visited his constituents at Liverpool, previous to the ceremony of opening the Liverpool and Manchester railway. On this occasion he addressed an immense assembly in the exchange room, in the following terms:—"As I perceive, among those who have honoured me with this very flattering reception, many who are my immediate constituents, and as I trust that you will allow me to consider myself as the representative of all the collective interests of this great community, without distinction between those who honour me with their support and those who are opposed to me, or between those who have votes and those who have not in the election of the members who are returned by this town to parliament, my first anxiety in meeting you to-day was to express my regret that I was not able to be present, when it was so much my wish to have been here, at the late election. Gentlemen, I was about to offer you some apology for my involuntary absence; but if I had any thing suitable and appropriate to offer on the occasion, I fairly own that your kindness has driven it out of my head. But the very reception, which has superseded any explanation which I might have wished to offer, has more

strongly impressed upon my heart those feelings of gratitude which are so pre-eminently due for your indulgence on the late occasion; almost the first, I believe, in modern times, in which a member for Liverpool has been restored to the confidence of his constituents without making his appearance among them at the hustings. Gentlemen, this loyal town is about to receive the visit of a distinguished individual of the highest station and influence in the affairs of this great country. I rejoice that he is coming among you. I am sure that what he has already seen in this county, and what he will see here, will not fail to make a great impression on his mind. After this visit he will be better enabled to estimate the value and importance of Liverpool in the general scale of the great interests of this country. He will see what can be effected by patient and persevering industry, by enterprise and good sense, unaided by monopoly or exclusive privileges, and in spite of their existence elsewhere. Gentlemen, he will, I hope, find that if you are not friendly to monopoly in other places, it is not because you require or want it for yourselves. He will see that you know how to thrive and prosper without it; that all you expect from government is encouragement, protection, facility, and freedom in your several pursuits and avocations, either of manufacturing industry or commerce. Gentlemen, I have heard with just satisfaction, and from many concurrent quarters, that every thing connected with these interests is in a more healthy and promising state than it was last year. I rejoice at the change for the better; I hope and believe it will be permanent. But do not let us be supine, and think that the energies under which difficulties are diminishing may relieve us from the necessity of unremitting exertion. In foreign countries you have powerful rivals to encounter; and you can only hope to continue your superiority over them by incessantly labouring to lighten the pressure upon the industry of our own people, and by promoting every measure which is calculated to give increased vigour, fresh life, and greater facility, to the powers which create, and to the hands which distribute, the almost boundless productions of this country. I trust, gentlemen, that by a steady adherence to these views and principles, I shall most faithfully represent your wishes and feelings in parliament. So long as we are in unison upon these points, I shall be most happy and proud to continue to be your representative under the sanction of your confidence, and so long as health and strength shall be vouchsafed to me to fulfil the duties of the station which I now hold as one of your members in the house of commons. I am persuaded, gentlemen, that by this course I shall best consult your prosperity; and I am still more immovably convinced, that whatever advances the general interest of this great mart of commerce, will but advance all the other great interests of the country: and first and foremost, that interest which is the oldest and the greatest of all,—the landed interest; upon which as the example of the country so well demonstrates, industry and commerce have already conferred so many benefits."

On the 15th of September the ceremony of opening the railway took place, and that accident occurred, which terminated the life of this lamented statesman, a few hours afterwards.

Mr Huskisson's body was interred, at the request of his late constituents, within the new cemetery in Liverpool, where a handsome monu-

ment has been erected to his memory. The following able summary of Mr Huskisson's character appeared a few days after his death in the columns of 'The Spectator.' In his early career Mr Huskisson was a warm and zealous reformer; and to the end of his life he retained the most enlarged and liberal views of social government. Of eloquence, in the ordinary sense of the term, Mr Huskisson had but little. He could neither gripe and hold fast the heart, like the honourable and learned member for Yorkshire, by the irresistible energy of his appeals; nor could he please the ear and the fancy with the nicely modulated language and effervescing wit of his lamented friend and predecessor, the right honourable member for Liverpool. Yet not even the former, in his most solemn adjuration, nor the latter, in his happiest flight, ever commanded the attention of his hearers more completely than Mr Huskisson. He was never unprepared, whatever might be the subject of discussion; and it was not in set harangues only that he excelled,—he was a clever and able debater. When he first entered on his subject, his manner was cold, almost heavy; his intonation equable, almost monotonous; he had no peculiar grace of action. The secret of his oratory lay in the facility with which he could bring a number of facts to bear upon his argument, and in the soundness and comprehensiveness of his views. He was not an opponent with whom it was difficult to grapple, for he disdained all slippery arts of avoiding an antagonist; but he was one whom the stoutest champion found it impossible to throw. To the matter-of-fact arguer, Mr Huskisson could present an accumulation of details sufficient to stagger the most practical; while to him who looked to rules rather than cases, he could offer general principles, conceived in so enlarged a spirit, that even in his dry and unadorned enunciation of them they rose to sublimity. Nothing could be finer than the splendid perorations of his more elaborate speeches. It was by the combination of an attention so accurate that the most minute objection did not escape its vigilance, and a judgment so comprehensive that the greatest could not elude its grasp, coupled with habits of unremitting industry and perfect integrity of purpose, that Mr Huskisson, on every question of complication and importance, reigned almost undisputed in the house of commons. Irresistible as it generally proved, no one, however, dreaded his power. He convinced or he silenced, but he never irritated. His peculiar calmness of temper kept him from indulging in sarcasm. He seldom uttered an ill-natured word, because he was seldom influenced by an ill-natured feeling. From the uniform report of friends, nothing could be more amiable than the current of his domestic life. He belonged not to that class of pseudo-patriots who would persuade mankind that the public are unallied to the private virtues. The same simplicity, and kindness, and integrity, which formed the charm of the member of the legislature, shed their hallowed influences around the fireside circle of the private citizen. Such was William Huskisson on Wednesday morning; and on Wednesday night all that remained of the ornament of the senate, the delight of his acquaintance, the idol of his family, was a mass of mouldering clay, to which 'the worm was a sister, and the slow-worm a brother and a kinsman!'

Sir William Grant.

BORN A. D. 1760.—DIED A. D. 1832.

"SIR WILLIAM GRANT was one of those men," observes the author of 'Public Characters,' "who, coming from almost the lowest grade of private life, and losing not only his youth, but a large portion of his manhood, in obscurity and a very humble station, emerged, at length, by the vigour of his own mind; and, in a very short period, passed all those in the race of honour and emolument who had previously (if they had known) despised his presumptuous expectations." He was descended from the Grants of Beldornie in Scotland. His father was collector of the customs in the Isle of Man; but he was himself born at Elchies, in the county of Moray, the estate of his uncle.

Having entered at one of the Inns of court, he was early called to the bar, and, at the age of twenty-five, was appointed attorney-general of Canada. In this situation he acquitted himself with great ability, but not finding sufficient scope for his talents, or his ambition, he returned to England in 1787, and took his stand in the common law courts. Here he fortunately attracted the attention of Lord Thurlow, and, at his suggestion, left the common law bar for the court of chancery.

In 1790 he was returned for Shaftesbury, and soon distinguished himself in the house as an able coadjutor of Pitt. In 1793 he was appointed a Welsh judge, and, in 1794, solicitor-general to the queen. In 1799 he succeeded Lord Redesdale as solicitor-general, and was knighted. In 1801 he was nominated master of the rolls, the functions of which office he continued to discharge for a period of sixteen years with great credit to himself and advantage to the public.

In February, 1805, he supported the address to the crown on the Spanish war; and in April, when Mr Whitbread made his celebrated motion against Lord Melville, he argued "that an inquiry should be gone into with a view of ascertaining whether the act of parliament had been violated with a corrupt intention." Soon after, the master of the rolls divided with the minority, and was one of the committee chosen to investigate the tenth report of the naval commissioners; on which occasion he vindicated his own political conduct, and stated his intervention in respect to the petition of the sheriffs of London, as a proof of his independence. On the 11th of June, when Mr Whitbread moved an impeachment, he objected to that measure, on the ground "that no new case of aggravation had been made out against Lord Melville." In 1806, he opposed the American intercourse bill; for which he received the thanks of a committee of merchants of the city of London; and, in 1807, he animadverted, at considerable length, on the bill brought in by Sir Samuel Romilly, relative to the liability of landed estates as to debts.

Sir William retired from public life in 1817, and died on the 25th of May, 1832. Mr Charles Butler, in his 'Reminiscences,' speaks of Sir William in the following terms: "The most perfect model of judicial eloquence which has come under the observation of the reminiscent,

is that of Sir William Grant. In hearing him, it was impossible not to think of the character given of Menelaus by Homer, or rather by Pope,—that

'He spoke no more than just the thing he ought.'

But Sir William did much more:—in decompounding and analyzing an immense mass of confused and contradictory matter, and forming clear and unquestionable results, the sight of his mind was infinite. His exposition of facts, and of the consequences deducible from them, his discussion of former decisions, and showing their legitimate weight and authority, and their real bearings upon the point in question, were above praise; but the whole was done with such admirable ease and simplicity, that while real judges felt its supreme excellence, the herd of learners believed that they should have done the same. Never was the merit of Dr Johnson's definition of a perfect style,—'proper words in proper places,'—more sensibly felt than it was by those who listened to Sir William Grant. The charm of it was indescribable; its effect on the hearers was that which Milton describes, when he paints Adam listening to the angel after the angel had ceased to speak; often and often has the reminiscent beheld the bar listening, at the close of a judgment given by Sir William, with the same feeling of admiration at what they had heard, and the same regret that it was heard no more."

Sir James Mackintosh.

BORN A. D. 1765.—DIED A. D. 1832.

THIS distinguished statesman and accomplished scholar was the son of John Mackintosh of Kellachie, in Morayshire. He was born at Alldourie, on the 24th of October, 1765, and educated at Fortrose, and at King's college, Aberdeen. After having greatly distinguished himself at the latter seminary, he removed to Edinburgh, where he studied medicine, and received the degree of M. D. in 1787.

He had always manifested a predilection for political speculation, and in 1789 he published a pamphlet on the regency question, in which he espoused the views of Fox. Having previously entered himself a student of one of the Inns of court, he spent some time abroad, on the continent; and on his return in 1791, astonished the world by his celebrated 'Vindiciæ Gallicæ,' or reply to Burke's work on the French revolution.

The effect produced by the work on the public, is thus described by Mr Campbell: "Those who remember," he says, "the impression that was made by Burke's writings on the then living generation, will recollect, that in the better educated classes of society, there was a general proneness to go with Burke; and it is my sincere opinion that that proneness would have become universal, if such a mind as Mackintosh's had not presented itself, like a break-water to the general spring-tide of Burkism. I may be reminded that there was such a man as Thomas Paine; and that he strongly answered, at the bar of popular opinion, all the arguments of Burke. I deny not this fact,—and I should be sorry if I could be blind, even with tears for Mackintosh in

my eyes, to the services that have been rendered to the cause of truth, by the shrewdness and the courage of Thomas Paine. But without disparagement to Paine, in a great and essential view, it must be admitted, that though radically sound in sense, he was deficient in the stratagetics of philosophy; whilst Mackintosh met Burke, perfectly his equal in the tactics of moral science, and in beauty of style and illustration. Hence Mackintosh went, as the apostle of liberalism, among a class, perhaps too influential in society, to whom the manner of Paine was repulsive. Paine had something of a coarse hatred towards Burke's principles, but he had a chivalric genius. He could foil him, moreover, at his own weapons; he was logician enough to detect the sophist by the rules of logic; and he turned against Burke, not only popular opinion, but classical and tasteful feelings."

The talent displayed in the 'Vindiciæ Gallicæ' procured Mackintosh the acquaintance of Sheridan, Grey, Whitbread, Fox, and the duke of Bedford; and it called forth the following eulogium from Dr Parr in his 'Sequel:'—"In Mackintosh I see the sternness of a republican without his acrimony, and the ardour of a reformer without his impetuosity. His taste in morals, like that of Mr Burke, is equally pure and delicate with his taste in literature. His mind is so comprehensive, that generalities cease to be barren; and so vigorous, that detail itself becomes interesting. He introduces every question with perspicuity, states it with precision, and pursues it with easy unaffected method. Sometimes, perhaps, he may amuse his readers with excursions into paradox; but he never bewilders them by flights into romance. His philosophy is far more just, and far more amiable, than the philosophy of Paine, and his eloquence is only not equal to the eloquence of Burke. He is argumentative without sophistry, fervid without fury, profound without obscurity, and sublime without extravagance."

Perhaps one of the finest passages in this celebrated Vindication, is the following character of Louis XIV.: "The intrusion of any popular voice was not likely to be tolerated in the reign of Louis XIV., a reign which has been so often celebrated as the zenith of warlike and literary splendour, but which has always appeared to me to be the consummation of whatever is afflicting and degrading in the history of the human race. Talent seemed in that reign to be robbed of the conscious elevation, of the erect and manly port, which is its noblest associate and its surest indication. The mild purity of Fenelon, the lofty spirit of Bossuet, the masculine mind of Boileau, the sublime fervour of Corneille, were confounded by the contagion of ignominious and indiscriminate servitude. It seemed as if the representative majesty of the genius and intellect of man were prostrated before the shrine of a sanguinary and dissolute tyrant, who practised the corruption of courts without their mildness, and incurred the guilt of wars without their glory. His highest praise is to have supported the stage-part of royalty with effect. And it is surely difficult to conceive any character more odious and despicable than that of a puny libertine, who, under the frown of a strumpet or a monk, issues the mandate that is to murder virtuous citizens, to desolate happy and peaceful hamlets, to wring agonizing tears from widows and orphans. Heroism has a splendour that almost atones for its excesses; but what shall we think of him, who, from the luxu-

rious and dastardly security in which he wallows at Versailles, issues, with calm and cruel apathy, his orders to butcher the protestants of Languedoc, or to lay in ashes the villages of the Palatinate? On the recollection of such scenes as a scholar, I blush for the prostitution of letters; and as a man, I blush for the patience of humanity."

In 1795 Mr Mackintosh was called to the bar by the society of Lincoln's inn. In 1798 he, with some difficulty, obtained permission to read a course of lectures in Lincoln's hall on 'The Law of Nature and of Nations.' In these lectures, says Mr Campbell, "Mackintosh, with the eye of a true philosopher, laid bare the doctrines of Rousseau and Vattel, and of a host of their followers, who borrowed their conceptions of the law of nature from the savages of the forest, or from the abodes of the brute creation. In order to establish a false theory, those men assumed that man was always out of his natural state when he was removed in the smallest degree from barbarism. Mackintosh dispelled this error. Speaking of the law of nature he says, 'It is the law of nature,—because its general precepts are essentially adapted to promote the happiness of man as long as he remains a being of the same nature with which he is at present endowed,—or, in other words, as long as he continues to be man, in all the variety of times, places, and circumstances, in which he has been known or can be imagined to exist; because it is discoverable by natural reason, and suitable to our natural constitution; because its fitness and wisdom are founded on the general nature of human beings, and not on any of those temporary and accidental situations in which they may be placed. It is with still more propriety, and the most perfect accuracy, considered as a law, when, according to those just and magnificent views which philosophy and religion open to us of the government of the world,—it is received and reverenced as the sacred code, promulgated by the great Legislator of the universe, for the guidance of his creatures to happiness, guarded and enforced, as our own experience may inform us, by the penal sanctions, of shame, of remorse, of infamy, and of misery; and still farther enforced by the reasonable expectation of yet more awful penalties in a future and more permanent state of existence.' If Mackintosh had published nothing else than his 'Discourse on the Law of Nature and of Nations,' he would have left a perfect monument of his intellectual strength and symmetry. And even supposing that that essay had been recovered, only imperfect and mutilated,—if but a score of its consecutive sentences could be shown,—they would bear a testimony to his genius as decided as the bust of Theseus bears to Grecian art amidst the Elgin marbles."

In 1803 Mackintosh defended the editor of 'The Ambigu,' on his trial for libel against the French consul. His speech on this occasion was pronounced by Lord Ellenborough to have been "the most eloquent he had ever heard in Westminster hall." The orator chiefly dwelt on the high importance of a free-press,—a doctrine which he illustrated with unequalled force and beauty. The following is a single specimen of his remarks under this head:

"I am convinced, by circumstances which I shall now abstain from discussing, that this is the first of a long series of conflicts, between the greatest power in the world, and the only free press now remaining in Europe. Gentlemen, this distinction of the English press is new,—it

is a proud and melancholy distinction. Before the great earthquake of the French revolution had swallowed up all the asylums of free discussion on the continent, we enjoyed that privilege, indeed, more fully than others, but we did not enjoy it exclusively. In great monarchies, the press has always been considered as too formidable an engine to be intrusted to unlicensed individuals. But, in other continental countries, either by the laws of the state, or by long habits of liberality and toleration in magistrates, a liberty of discussion has been enjoyed, perhaps sufficient for most useful purposes. It existed, in fact, where it was not protected by law; and the wise and generous connivance of governments was daily more and more secured by the growing civilization of their subjects. In Holland, in Switzerland, in the imperial towns of Germany, the press was either legally or practically free. Holland and Switzerland are no more; and since the commencement of this prosecution, fifty imperial towns have been erased from the list of independent states by one dash of the pen. Three or four still preserve a precarious and trembling existence. I will not say by what compliances they must purchase its continuance. I will not insult the feebleness of states, whose unmerited fall I do most bitterly deplore. These governments were in many respects one of the most interesting parts of the ancient system of Europe. Unfortunately for the repose of mankind, great states are compelled, by regard to their own safety, to consider the military spirit and martial habits of their people as one of the main objects of their policy. Frequent hostilities seem almost the necessary condition of their greatness; and, without being great, they cannot long remain safe. Smaller states, exempted from this cruel necessity—a hard condition of greatness, a bitter satire on human nature—devoted themselves to the arts of peace, to the cultivation of literature, and the improvement of reason. They became places of refuge for free and fearless discussion; they were the impartial spectators and judges of the various contests of ambition, which from time to time disturbed the quiet of the world. They thus became peculiarly qualified to be the organs of that public opinion, which converted Europe into a great republic, with laws which mitigated, though they could not extinguish, ambition; and with moral tribunals, to which even the most despotic sovereigns were amenable. If wars of aggrandizement were undertaken, their authors were arraigned in the face of Europe. If acts of infernal tyranny were perpetrated, they resounded from a thousand presses throughout all civilized countries. Princes, on whose will there were no legal checks, thus found a moral restraint, which the most powerful of them could not brave with absolute impunity. They acted before a vast audience, to whose applause or condemnation they could not be utterly indifferent. The very constitution of human nature, the unalterable laws of the mind of man, against which all rebellion is fruitless, subjected the proudest tyrants to this control. No elevation of power,—no depravity, however consummate,—no innocence, however spotless, can render man wholly independent of the praise or blame of his fellow-men. These governments were, in other respects, one of the most beautiful and interesting parts of our ancient system. The perfect security of such inconsiderable and feeble states, their undisturbed tranquillity amidst the wars and conquests that surrounded them, attested, beyond any other part of the European system, the moderation,

the justice, the civilization, to which Christian Europe had reached in modern times. Their weakness was protected only by the habitual reverence for justice, which, during a long series of ages, had grown up in Christendom. This was the only fortification which defended them against those mighty monarchs to whom they offered so easy a prey. And till the French revolution, this was sufficient. Consider, for instance, the situation of the republic of Geneva: think of her defenceless position, in the very jaws of France; but think also of her undisturbed security, of her profound quiet, of the brilliant success with which she applied to industry and literature, while Louis XIV. was pouring his myriads into Italy before her gates; call to mind, if ages crowded into years have not effaced them from your memory, the happy period when we scarcely dreamt more of the subjugation of the feeblest republics of Europe, than of the conquest of her mightiest empire, and tell me if you can imagine a spectacle more beautiful to the moral eye, or a more striking proof of progress in the noblest principles of true civilization. These feeble states, these monuments of the justice of Europe, the asylum of peace, of industry, and of literature, the organs of public reason, the refuge of oppressed innocence and persecuted truth, have perished with those ancient principles which were their sole guardians and protectors. They have been swallowed up by that fearful convulsion, which has shaken the uttermost corners of the earth. They are destroyed and gone for ever. One asylum of free discussion is still inviolate. There is still one spot in Europe where man can freely exercise his reason on the most important concerns of society; where he can boldly publish his judgment on the acts of the proudest and most powerful tyrants. The press of England is still free. It is guarded by the free constitution of our forefathers. It is guarded by the hearts and arms of Englishmen; and I trust I may venture to say, that if it be to fall, it will fall only under the ruins of the British empire. It is an awful consideration, gentlemen. Every other monument of European liberty has perished. That ancient fabric, which has been gradually reared by the wisdom and virtue of our fathers, still stands—it stands, thanks be to God! solid and entire—but it stands alone, and it stands amidst ruins."

He sketches the following vivid picture of the leading actors in the French revolution: "Some of them, indeed—the basest of the race—the sophists, the rhetors, the poet-laureates of murder—who were cruel only from cowardice and calculating selfishness, are perfectly willing to transfer their venal pens to any government that does not disdain their infamous support. These men, republicans from servility, who published rhetorical panegyrics on massacre, and who reduced plunder to a system of ethics, are as ready to preach slavery as anarchy. But the more daring—I had almost said, the more respectable ruffians—cannot so easily bend their heads under the yoke. These fierce spirits have not lost 'the unconquerable will, the study of revenge, immortal hate.' They leave the luxuries of servitude to the mean and dastardly hypocrites, to the Belials and Mammons of the infernal faction. They pursue their old end of tyranny under their old pretext of liberty. The recollection of their unbounded power renders every inferior condition irksome and vapid, and their former atrocities form, if I may so [illegible] a sort of moral destiny, which irresistibly impels them to the

perpetration of new crimes. They have no place left for penitence on earth; they labour under the most awful proscription of opinion that ever was pronounced against human beings. They have cut down every bridge by which they could retreat into the society of men. Awakened from their dreams of democracy, the noise subsided that deafened their ears to the voice of humanity; the film fallen from their eyes which hid from them the blackness of their own deeds, haunted by the memory of their inexpiable guilt; condemned daily to look on the faces of those whom their hand made widows and orphans, they are goaded and scourged by these real furies, and hurried into the tumult of new crimes, which will drown the cries of remorse; or, if they be too depraved for remorse, will silence the curses of mankind. Tyrannical power is their only refuge from the just vengeance of their fellow-creatures; murder is their only means of usurping power. They have no taste, no occupation, no pursuit, but power and blood. If their hands are tied, they must at least have the luxury of murderous projects. They have drank too deeply of human blood, ever to relinquish their cannibal appetite. Such a faction exists in France. It is numerous, it is powerful, and it has a principle of fidelity stronger than any that ever held together a society. They are banded together by despair of forgiveness, by the unanimous detestation of mankind. They are now contained by a severe and stern government. But they still meditate the renewal of insurrection and massacre, and they are prepared to renew the worst and most atrocious of their crimes, that crime against posterity and against human nature itself; that crime of which the latest generations of mankind may feel the fatal consequences—the crime of degrading and prostituting the sacred name of liberty! I must own, that, however paradoxical it may appear, I should almost think not worse, but more meanly of them, if it were otherwise, I must then think them destitute of that, which I will not call courage, because that is the name of a virtue—but, of that ferocious energy which alone rescues ruffians from contempt. If they were destitute of that which is the heroism of murderers, they would be the lowest as well as the most abominable of beings."

The following is the peroration of this noble burst of oratory: "In the court where we are now met," said Mr Mackintosh, "Cromwell twice sent a satirist on his tyranny to be convicted and punished as a libeller; and in this court, almost in sight of the scaffold streaming with the blood of his sovereign, within hearing of the clash of his bayonets which drove out parliaments with contumely, two successive juries rescued the intrepid satirist from his fangs, and sent out, with defeat and disgrace, the usurper's attorney-general from what he had the insolence to call his court. Even then, gentlemen, when all law and liberty were trampled under the feet of a military banditti,—when those great crimes were perpetrated on a high plan, and with a high hand against those who were the objects of public veneration, which more than any thing else upon earth overwhelm the minds of men, break their spirits, and confound the moral sentiments, obliterate the distinctions between right and wrong in the understanding, and teach the multitude to feel no longer any reverence for that justice which they thus see triumphantly dragged at the chariot wheels of a tyrant,—even then, when this unhappy country, triumphant indeed abroad, but enslaved at home, had

no prospect but that of a long succession of tyrants, wading through slaughter to a throne,—even then, I say, when all seemed lost, the unconquerable spirit of English liberty survived in the hearts of English jurors. That spirit is, I trust in God, not extinct; and if any modern tyrant were, in the drunkenness of his insolence, to hope to awe an English jury, I trust and believe that they would tell him, 'Our ancestors braved the bayonets of Cromwell; we bid defiance to yours.' Contempsi Catilinæ gladios, non pertimescam tuos."

Soon after this splendid forensic exhibition Mr Mackintosh was appointed recorder of Bombay, and knighted before his departure for India. "Though few men," says Mr Campbell, "have been more spoken of, yet very little has been hitherto said of the extraordinary eminence with which he filled that important office. The annals of his recordership would, of themselves, form a great chapter in judicial biography. In some of the trials at which he presided, his zeal for the wronged appellant, his perseverance in the detection of guilt, and the intellectual strength with which he tore to pieces the meshes of legal chicanery, unmasked the face of fraud, and took trembling innocence under the sacred protection of the judge's ermine, excite an interest that is absolutely dramatic, nay, that is more than dramatic; for the scene is all truth, and the real triumph of reason and benevolence. On the bench at Bombay he immediately showed himself a great master—perhaps among the greatest that ever lived—in one of the most important of human sciences, 'Criminal Jurisprudence.' That he owed his skill in this science to vast and laborious preparation was his constant boast; and if any boast can be justified, it is that of genius confessing the debts it has owed to labour. In his first charge to the grand jury of Bombay, July 17th, 1804, he speaks of the intense pains which he had taken to prepare himself for this new field of action, where every object in society on which he had to reflect, was as remote from our own in point of manners, habits, laws, and notions of morality, as the locality of India is from our native soil. Already it might be said, to his praise, though to our regret, that we had at that time a judge in the remotest part of the empire, who was not more remote in the locality of his bench than in the level and grandeur of his mind, from the mass of his brother judges at home, who clung, and who still cling, both as legislators and lawyers, to their darling principle of 'ad terrorem.'

"In his first address to the jury of Bombay, to which we have alluded, he said that it had been one of his chief employments to collect every information about the character and morality of the people that were to be intrusted to his care, and about the degree and kinds of vice that were prevalent in their community. He compared himself, in this preliminary occupation, to a physician appointed in an hospital, who would first examine the books of the establishment, in order to make himself acquainted with the complaints that were most frequently to call for cure. To his deep regret he found that the most besetting sin of the native East Indians was that of perjury. More apposite remarks on the subject could scarcely be made than those which I shall quote from his speech on this occasion.—'The prevalence of perjury,' he said, 'is, perhaps, a more certain sign of the dissolution of moral principle than other more daring and ferocious crimes, more terrible to the imagina-

tion, and of which the immediate consequences are more destructive to society. Perjury indicates the absence of all the common restraints which withhold men from crimes. It supposes the absence of all fear of human justice, and bids defiance also to all human laws; it supposes also either a contempt for public opinion, or, what is worse, a state of society which has ceased to brand with disgrace actions that ought to be infamous: it is an attack on religion and law in the very point of their union.'

"The warmth of his zeal, however, against this and every other crime, was always accompanied with enlightened philanthropy. 'Though it be reasonable,' he says, 'to examine the character of those over whom we have authority, and to calculate the mischievous consequences of crimes by just representations of their nature and tendency, it is very useless, and very unreasonable to indulge ourselves in childish anger and childish invective. When we are speaking of the moral diseases of great nations, the reasonable questions always are, how they have been produced, and how they are to be cured.'

"Let us see how he proceeded in attempting the remedy of this perjurious disposition of the Indians, and how he awarded the punishment to the crime of perjury. He had already from his judgment-seat declared to the grand jury that he had the strongest repugnance to capital punishment; and that he had no high opinion of the efficacy of transportation, either for reformation or for example. A native woman had been fully convicted of being guilty of wilful and corrupt perjury, while giving evidence on a trial of two individuals for murder, her testimony having been totally different from that which she had originally given before the coroner. During her examination as a witness, Sir James asked her whether she thought there was any harm in false swearing. She answered that she understood the English had a great horror of it, but that there was no such horror in her country. The reason of her silence as to the murder (in which she was probably the principal agent) she said was, that in her country, Ahmedabad, a fine of five rupees was imposed upon any one who spoke of a murder. Here, then, we have a striking instance of the effect of laws upon the manners of a people; the very law holding murder in such abhorrence, as not to allow the mention of the crime, rendered its accomplishment more easy. Sir James sentenced this woman to five years' imprisonment, during which period she had to stand once a-year in the pillory, in front of the court-house, with labels on her breast and back, explanatory of the crime of which she had been guilty, and of the resolution of the court to adopt the most rigorous means for the extirpation of this offence.

"One of his most eloquent addresses was made on the trial of two young (native) officers, who were convicted of having conspired to way-lay and assault by night two Dutchmen from Cochin, under very aggravated circumstances. There was no doubt of the culprits having designed the commission of murder; but their design had been apparently formed under the influence of intoxication; and it seems liable to suspicion, that they were both of them desperadoes, in whose temperament there was some admixture of insanity. Whatever might be the grounds of his lenity, Sir James was determined that they ought not to be put to death; though I infer from connected circumstances, that he took care that after their punishment of incarceration, they

should not be let loose on society without some watch being placed over them, or some one being made their surety. The benevolence of his unwillingness to spill their blood, will not be lessened in our consideration, when we learn, that he had himself very nearly fallen a victim to those ruffians. Expecting to be called up to receive sentence of death, they had got knives, and were resolved to sacrifice their sentencer. Most fortunately their design was discovered; but the discovery made no alteration in Sir James's conduct towards them. 'It has been my fate,' he said, 'in this place, to be obliged to justify the lenity rather than the severity of the penalties inflicted here. I think it is likely to continue so; for I have more confidence in the certainty than in the severity of punishment. I conceive it to be the first duty of a criminal judge to exert and to strain every faculty of his mind to discover in every case the smallest possible quantity of punishment that may be effectual for the ends of amendment and example; I consider every pang of the criminal, not necessary for these objects, as a crime in the judge. I was employed,' he added, addressing himself to the culprits, 'in considering the mildest judgment which public duty would allow me to pronounce on you, when I learned from undoubted authority that your thoughts towards me were not of the same nature. I was credibly, or rather certainly informed, that you had admitted into your minds the desperate project of destroying your own lives at the bar where you stand, and of signalizing your suicide by the previous destruction of at least one of your judges. If that murderous project had been executed, I should have been the first British magistrate who ever stained with his blood the bench on which he sat to administer justice. But I could never have died better than in the discharge of my duty. When I accepted the office of a minister of justice, I knew that I ought to despise unpopularity, and slander, and even death itself. Thank God, I do despise them; and I solemnly assure you, that I feel more compassion for the gloomy and desperate state of mind which could harbour such projects, than resentment for that part of them which was directed against myself. I should consider myself as indelibly disgraced, if a thought of your projects against me were to influence my judgment.' After a most impressive admonition to return to a better state, he pronounced judgment upon them, to be imprisoned for twelve months."

After seven years' residence in India, Sir James was obliged by ill health to return to England. In 1813 he was elected member for the county of Nairn, and in 1818 for Knaresborough. His first great speech in parliament was on the subject of Buonaparte's escape from Elba; but the sphere in which he chiefly and most beneficially distinguished himself was the amendment of the criminal law, in which he followed the footsteps of the lamented Romilly. The following extracts from his speeches on this subject will illustrate his views and the ability with which he expounded them: "If a foreigner were to form his estimate of the people of England from a consideration of their penal code, he would undoubtedly conclude that they were a nation of barbarians. This expression, though strong, was unquestionably true; for what other opinion could a humane foreigner form of us when he found that in our criminal law there were two hundred criminal offences against which the punishment of death was denounced, upon twenty of which

only that punishment was ever inflicted,—that we were savage in our threats, and yet were feeble in our execution of punishments,—that we cherished a system which in theory was odious, but which was impotent in practice from its very severity,—that in cases of high treason, we involved innocent children in all the consequences of their father's guilt, —that in cases of corruption of blood we were even still more cruel, punishing the offspring when we could not reach the parent,—and that on some occasions we even proceeded to wreak vengeance upon the bodies of the inanimate dead? If the same person were told that we were the same nation which had been the first to give full publicity to every part of our judicial system,—that we were the same nation which had established the trial by jury, which, blameable as it might be in theory, was so invaluable in practice,—that we were the same nation which had found out the greatest security which had ever been devised for individual liberty, the writ of habeas corpus, as settled by the act of Charles II.,—that we were the same nation which had discovered the full blessings of a representative government, and which had endeavoured to diffuse them throughout every part of our free empire, he would wonder at the strange anomalies of human nature which could unite things that were in themselves so totally incompatible. If the same foreigner were, in addition to this, told that the abuses which struck so forcibly on his attention were the abuses of the olden time, which were rather overlooked than tolerated, he might, perhaps, relent in his judgment, and confer upon us a milder denomination than that of barbarians; but if, on the contrary, he were told that influence and authority, learning and ingenuity, had combined to resist all reformation of these abuses as dangerous innovations,—if he were informed that individuals, who, from their rank and talents, enjoyed not an artificial but a real superiority, rose to vindicate the worst of these abuses, even the outrages on the dead, and to contend for them as bulwarks of the constitution and landmarks of legislation, he would revert to his first sentiments regarding us, though he might, perhaps, condemn the barbarism of the present instead of the barbarism of the past generation.

"I must be allowed to say, that there is a peculiar species of legislative injustice, in the application of the punishment of death to many crimes. The punishment of death is the punishment inflicted upon the highest crime known; and it is impossible that it can be justly applied, unless it be reserved for crimes of the highest enormity. If equal punishment be inflicted on unequal crimes,—gross, scandalous, flagrant, notorious injustice must be the consequence; and it must be a fault in every system of legislation, if it do not confine the highest penalty to the highest crime. By acting upon the contrary system, we produce a disproportion between the punishment and the offence for which it is inflicted. This is the peculiar fault of British legislation, that it does not make a distinction between a crime of the first class and that of an inferior degree; and that a similar discrimination is not made in the punishment appropriated to each. To make myself better understood, I shall just refer to the case of imprisonment for debt. The punishment of imprisonment is called by some jurists a divisible punishment; that is, it may be divided into different proportions, and thus applied to different kinds of crimes; but that is not, and cannot be, the case

with regard to the punishment of death. Death is the highest punishment which can now be inflicted for any crime. The feelings of this latter age do not allow of the barbarous aggravations of death practised by our ancestors, and we hang alike the sheep-stealer and the parricide.

"I do not suppose that any man will justify the horrible aggravations and refinements of cruelty by which our ancestors increased the severity of the punishment of death; but as long as the present system of equal visitation for unequal guilt continues, we are the authors of the most crying injustice. If our ancestors inflicted more than mere death, by adding the cruelty of torture, at least they had the excuse that they thereby observed something like a scale of punishments. Our ancestors, even in the remotest times, endeavoured to make the punishment in some degree bear a proportion to the crime. It is true that, in times of barbarous feeling, they put men to death by cruel and detestable means; but in so doing, they provided a scale of crime and punishment. Though we have, thank God, abolished that savage and unchristian practice, we have failed to establish a descending scale; and since it is impossible now to inflict more than death for the greatest crimes, our only resource is to inflict less than death for offences of minor aggravation. There are various crimes placed at a great distance, both as to enormity and depravity, below the crime of murder; and yet the punishment of death is indiscriminately inflicted upon all of them."

He afterwards proceeded to observe on the degree of terror which, it is assumed, the punishment of death excites in the minds of criminals, and the feeling with which the spectators behold its infliction. "The philosophic criminal," said he, "may even imagine that at least there is something dignified in dying well, and that part of the infamy of his punishment may be compensated by the firmness of his endurance. He may feel that the infamy attached to it may be absorbed and extinguished in the blaze of a death boldly and patiently suffered, with a magnanimity and heroism worthy of a better cause. It is for that reason, among others, that I think the punishment of death ill adapted to the crime of forgery; and it is to be recollected that it is not mere justice, but manifest, signal, and conspicuous justice, which is necessary to satisfy the public. Hence it may be laid down as a maxim, with very few exceptions, that the acts to which the punishment of death should be applied, should not only be in the highest degree dangerous to society, but should be attended with circumstances of violence and blood, leaving a deep impression on the mind of the community, and reviving indignation at the offender at the recollection of his crime. It is only to such fearful offences that the punishment of death should be applied. I do not mean to undervalue the guilt of forgery; but I contend that, according to the general feeling of mankind, it is not that species of crime which, by subsequent reflection upon its circumstances, excites sentiments of indignation, or recalls a sense of the justice of the punishment."

Sir James's character as a parliamentary speaker was thus sketched by Mr Lytton Bulwer: "He never spoke on a subject without displaying, not only all that was peculiarly necessary to that subject, but all that a full mind, long gathering and congesting, has to pour forth upon

any subject. The language, without being antithetic, was artificial and ornate. The action and voice were vehement, but not passionate; the tone and conception of the argument of too lofty and philosophic a strain for those to whom, generally speaking, it was directed. It was impossible not to feel that the person addressing you was a profound thinker delivering a laboured composition. Sir James Mackintosh's character as a speaker, then, was of that sort acquired in a thin house, where those who have stayed from their dinner have stayed for the purpose of hearing what is said, and can, therefore, deliver up their attention undistractedly to any knowledge and ability, even if somewhat prolixly put forth, which elucidates the subject of discussion. We doubt if all great speeches of a legislative kind would not require such an audience, if they never travelled beyond the walls within which they were spoken. The passion, the action, the movement, of oratory which animate and transport a large assembly, can never lose its effect when passion, action, movement, are in the orator's subject,—when Philip is at the head of his Macedonians, or Catiline at the gates of Rome. The emotions of fear, revenge, horror, are emotions that all classes and descriptions of men, however lofty or low their intellect, may feel:—here, then, is the orator's proper field. But again; there are subjects, such as many, if not most, of those discussed in our house of commons, the higher bearings of which are intelligible only to a certain order of understandings. The reasoning proper for these is not understood, and cannot therefore be sympathized with, by the mass. In order not to be insipid to the few, it is almost necessary to be dull to the many. If our houses of legislature sat with closed doors, they would be the most improper assemblies for the discussion of legislative questions that we can possibly conceive. They would have completely the tone of their own clique. No one would dare or wish to soar above the common-places which find a ready echoing cheer: all would indulge in that vapid violence against persons which the spirit of party is rarely wanting to applaud. But as it is, the man of superior mind, standing upon his own strength, knows and feels that he is not speaking to the lolling, lounging, indolently listening individuals stretched on the benches around him: he feels and knows that he is speaking to, and will obtain the sympathy of, all the great and enlightened spirits of Europe: and this bears and buoys him up amidst any coldness, impatience, or indifference, in his immediate audience. When we perused the magnificent orations of Mr Burke, which transported us in our cabinet, and were told that his rising was the dinner-bell in the house of commons,—when we heard that some of Mr Brougham's almost gigantic discourses were delivered amidst coughs and impatience,—and when, returning from our travels, where we had heard of nothing but the genius and eloquence of Sir James Mackintosh, we encountered him ourselves in the house of commons,—on all these occasions we were sensible, not that Mr Burke's, Mr Brougham's, Sir James Mackintosh's eloquence was less, but that it was addressed to another audience than that to which it was apparently delivered. Intended for the house of commons only, the style would have been absurdly faulty; intended for the public, it was august and correct. There are two different modes of obtaining a parliamentary reputation: a man may rise in the country by what is said of him in the house of commons, or he may rise in the house of com-

mons by what is thought and said of him in the country. Some debaters have the faculty, by varying their style and their subjects, of alternately addressing both those without and within their walls, with effect and success. Mr Fox, Mr Pitt, Mr Sheridan, Mr Canning were, and Lord Brougham is of this number. Mr Burke and Sir James Mackintosh spoke to the reason and the imagination rather than to the passions; and this, together with some faults of voice and manner, rendered these great orators (for great orators they were) more powerful in the printed reports than in the actual delivery of their speeches. We ourselves heard Sir James Mackintosh's great, almost wonderful, speech upon reform. We shall never forget the extensive range of ideas, the energetic grasp of thought, the sublime and soaring strain of legislative philosophy, with which he charmed and transported us; but it was not so with the house in general. His Scotch accent, his unceasing and laboured vehemence of voice and gesture, the refined and speculative elevation of his views, and the vast heaps of hoarded knowledge he somewhat prolixly produced, displeased the taste and wearied the attention of men who were far more anxious to be amused and excited than instructed or convinced. We see him now! his bald and singularly-formed head working to and fro, as if to collect, and then shake out his ideas; his arm violently vibrating, and his body thrown forward by sudden quirks and starts, which, ungraceful as they were, seemed rather premeditated than inspired. This is not the picture which Demosthenes would have drawn of a perfect orator, and it contains some defects that we wonder more care had not been applied to remedy."

Sir James died in 1832. His literary productions consist of numerous articles, some of them very brilliant, in the Monthly and the Edinburgh Reviews; a Dissertation on Ethical science, prefixed to the Encyclopædia Britannica; a Life of Sir Thomas More; and two volumes of the History of England, in Lardner's Cyclopædia; and a posthumous historical volume on the English Revolution of 1688. As a metaphysician, Sir James was acute and sagacious beyond any of his contemporaries, but too refined and cautious in stating his conclusions; as a historical writer he rather acts the part of a commentator on what other historians have written than that of an original writer. His excessive cautiousness throws an air of doubt or inconclusiveness over his pages, which is by no means agreeable to the reader.

"Sir James," says Mr Campbell, "was, in his person, well-made, and above the middle stature. He was regularly handsome in youth, and even in the decline of life, and under afflicted health, was a person of prepossessing and commanding appearance. His countenance had a changeful mixture of grave and gay expression, a shrewdness combined with suavity, that heightened and accorded with the charm of his conversation. No man was a greater master of conversation; he overlaid you with monologue, but overpaid whatever you said to him with insinuating correction; or else, if he approved of your remarks, he amended them by rich and happy illustration. A certain thinness and sharpness of voice was the chief defect of his elocution; and sometimes there was, perhaps, an over-northern keenness and sharpness in his metaphysics; but still the world will produce no such mental lights again."

II.—ECCLESIASTICAL SERIES.

Hugh Blair, D. D.

BORN A. D. 1718.—DIED A. D. 1800.

DR HUGH BLAIR was born in Edinburgh, on the 7th day of April, 1718. His views from his earliest youth were turned towards the church, and his education received a suitable direction. After the usual grammatical course at school, he entered the humanity class in the university of Edinburgh in October, 1730, and spent eleven years at that celebrated seminary, assiduously employed in the literary and scientific studies prescribed by the church of Scotland to all who are to become candidates for her licence to preach the gospel. During this important period, he was distinguished among his companions both for diligence and proficiency; and obtained from the professors, under whom he studied, repeated testimonies of approbation. One of them deserves to be mentioned particularly, because, in his own opinion, it determined the bent of his genius towards polite literature. An essay 'On the Beautiful,' written by him when a student of logic in the usual course of academical exercises, had the good fortune to attract the notice of Professor Stevenson, and, with circumstances honourable to the author, was appointed to be read in public at the conclusion of the session.

At this time Dr Blair commenced a method of study which contributed much to the accuracy and extent of his knowledge, and which he continued to practise occasionally, even after his reputation was fully established. It consisted in making abstracts of the most important works which he read, and in digesting them according to the train of his own thoughts. History, in particular, he resolved to study in this manner; and, in concert with some of his youthful associates, he constructed a very comprehensive scheme of chronological tables, for receiving into its proper place every important fact that should occur. The scheme devised by this young student for his own private use was afterwards improved, filled up, and given to the public by his learned friend Dr John Blair, prebendary of Westminster, in his valuable work, 'The Chronology and History of the World.'

In the year 1739, Dr Blair took his degree of A. M. On that occasion he printed and defended a thesis, 'De Fundamentis et Obligatione Legis Naturæ,' which contains a short but masterly discussion of this important subject, and exhibits in elegant Latin an outline of the moral principles which have been since more fully unfolded and illustrated in his sermons. The university of Edinburgh, about this period, numbered among her pupils many young men who were soon to make a distinguished figure in the civil, the ecclesiastical, and the literary history of their country. With most of them Dr Blair entered into habits of intimate connexion, which no future competition or jealousy occurred to interrupt, which held them united through life in their views of public good, and which had the most beneficial influence on their own im-

provement, on the progress of elegance and taste among their contemporaries, and on the general interests of the community to which they belonged.

On the completion of this academical course, he underwent the customary trials before the presbytery of Edinburgh, and received from that body a licence to preach the gospel, on the 21st of October, 1741. His public life now commenced with very favourable prospects. The reputation which he brought from the university was fully justified by his first appearances in the pulpit; and, in a few months, the fame of his eloquence procured for him a presentation to the parish of Colessie in Fife, where he was ordained to the office of the holy ministry on the 23d of September, 1742. But he was not permitted to remain long in this rural retreat. A vacancy in the second charge of the Canongate of Edinburgh furnished to his friends an opportunity of recalling him to a station more suited to his talents; and though one of the most popular and eloquent clergymen in the church was placed in competition with him, a great majority of the electors decided in favour of this young orator, and restored him in July, 1743, to the bounds of his native city. In consequence of a call from the town-council and general session of Edinburgh, he was translated from the Canongate to Lady Yester's, one of the city churches, on the 11th of October, 1754. And on the 15th day of June, 1758, he was promoted to the high church of Edinburgh.

Hitherto his attention seems to have been devoted, almost exclusively, to the attainment of professional excellence, and to the regular discharge of his parochial duties. No production of his pen had yet been given to the world by himself, except two sermons preached on particular occasions, some translations, in verse, of passages of scripture for the psalmody of the church, and a few articles in the Edinburgh Review; a publication begun in 1755, and conducted for a short time by some of the ablest men in the kingdom. But standing as he now did at the head of his profession, and released, by the labour of former years, from the necessity of weekly preparation for the pulpit, he began to think seriously on a plan for teaching to others that art which had contributed so much to the establishment of his own fame. With this view, he communicated to his friends a scheme of lectures on composition; and having obtained the approbation of the university, he began to read them in the college on the 11th of December, 1759. To this undertaking he brought all the qualifications requisite for executing it well; and along with them a weight of reputation, which could not fail to give effect to the lessons he should deliver. For, besides the testimony given to his talents by his successive promotions in the church, the university of St Andrews, moved chiefly by the merit of his eloquence, had, in June, 1757, conferred on him the degree of D. D., a literary honour which, at that time, was very rare in Scotland. Accordingly, his first course of lectures was well attended, and received with great applause. The patrons of the university, convinced that they would form a valuable addition to the system of education, agreed in the following summer to institute a rhetorical class under his direction, as a permanent part of their academical establishment. And on the 7th of April, 1762, his majesty was graciously pleased "to erect and endow a professorship of rhetoric and belles lettres in the university of Edinburgh, and to appoint Dr Blair, in consideration of his approved qualifications, regius

professor thereof, with a salary of £70." These lectures he published in 1783, when he retired from the labours of the office.

The great objects of his literary ambition being now attained, his talents were for many years consecrated solely to the important and peculiar employments of his station. It was not till the year 1777 that he could be induced to favour the world with a volume of the sermons which had so long furnished instruction and delight to his own congregation. But this volume being well received, the public approbation encouraged him to proceed. Three other volumes followed at different intervals; and all of them experienced a degree of success, of which few publications can boast. By a royal mandate to the exchequer of Scotland, dated 25th July, 1780, a pension of £200 a year was conferred on their author, which continued unaltered till his death.

In that department of his professional duty which regarded the government of the church, Dr Blair was steadily attached to the cause of moderation. From diffidence, and perhaps from a certain degree of inaptitude for extemporary speaking, he took a less public part in the contests of ecclesiastical politics than some of his contemporaries; and, from the same causes, he never would consent to become moderator of the general assembly of the church of Scotland. But his influence among his brethren was extensive: his opinion, guided by that sound uprightness of judgment which formed the predominant features of his intellectual character, had always been held in high respect by the friends with whom he acted; and, for many of the last years of his life, it was received by them almost as a law.

Dr Blair had been naturally of a feeble constitution of body; but as he grew up, his constitution acquired greater firmness and vigour. Though liable to occasional attacks from some of the sharpest and most painful diseases that afflict the human frame, he enjoyed a general state of good health; and, through habitual cheerfulness, temperance, and care, survived the usual term of human life. For some years he had felt himself unequal to the fatigue of instructing his very large congregation from the pulpit; and, under the impression which this feeling produced, he has been heard at times to say with a sigh, "that he was left almost the last of his contemporaries." Yet he continued to the end in the regular discharge of all his other official duties, and particularly in giving advice to the afflicted, who, from different quarters of the kingdom, solicited his correspondence. His last summer was devoted to the preparation of twenty more sermons; and, in the course of it, he exhibited a vigour of understanding and capacity of exertion equal to that of his best days. He began the winter, pleased with himself on account of the completion of this work; and his friends were flattered with the hope that he might live to enjoy the accession of emolument and fame which he expected it would bring. But the seeds of a mortal disease were lurking unperceived within him. On the 24th of December, 1800, he complained of a pain in his bowels, which, during that and the following day, gave him but little uneasiness; and he received as usual the visits of his friends. On the afternoon of the 26th, the symptoms became violent and alarming:—he felt that he was approaching the end of his appointed course: and retaining to the last moment the full possession of his mental faculties, he expired on the morning of the 27th, with the composure and hope which become a Christian pastor.

Thus far have we abridged the memoir usually prefixed to the doctor's sermons. The following more discriminating critique on these once celebrated discourses is, we think, from the vigorous pen of the author of 'Essays on Decision of Character.'

"We have been reading again," says the reviewer, "some of the most noted of those performances. And they possess some obvious merits of which no reader can be insensible. The first is, perhaps, that they are not too long. It is not impertinent to specify this first, because we can put it to the consciences of our readers, whether, in opening a volume of sermons, their first point of inspection relative to any one which they are inclined to choose for its text or title, is not to ascertain the length. The next recommendation of the doctor's sermons is a very suitable, though scarcely ever striking, introduction, which leads directly to the business, and opens into a very plain and lucid distribution of the subject. Another is a correct and perspicuous language; and it is to be added, that the ideas are almost always strictly pertinent to the subject. This, however, forms but a very small part of the applause which was bestowed on these sermons during the transient day of their fame. They were then considered by many as examples of true eloquence; a distinction never perhaps attributed, in any other instance, to performances marked by such palpable deficiencies and faults.

"In the first place, with respect to the language, though the selection of words is proper enough, the arrangement of them in the sentence is often in the utmost degree stiff and artificial. It is hardly possible to depart further from any resemblance to what is called a living or spoken style, which is the proper diction at all events for popular addresses, if not for all the departments of prose composition. Instead of the thought throwing itself into words, by a free, instantaneous, and almost unconscious action, and passing off in that easy form, it is pretty apparent there was a good deal of handicraft employed in getting ready proper cases and trusses, of various but carefully measured lengths and figures, to put the thoughts into, as they came out, in very slow succession, each of them cooled and stiffened to numbness in waiting so long to be dressed. Take, for example, such sentences as these: 'Great has been the corruption of the world in every age. Sufficient ground there is for the complaints made by serious observers, at all times, of abounding iniquity and folly.' 'For rarely, or never, is old age contemned, unless when, by vice or folly, it renders itself contemptible.' 'Vain, nay, often dangerous, were youthful enterprises, if not conducted by aged prudence.' 'If, dead to these calls, you already languish in slothful inaction,' &c. 'Smiling very often is the aspect, and smooth are the words of those who inwardly are the most ready to think evil of others.' 'Exempt, on the one hand, from the dark jealousy of a suspicious mind, it is no less removed, on the other, from that easy credulity which,' &c. 'Formidable, I admit, this may justly render it to them who have no inward fund,' &c. 'Though such employments of fancy come not under the same description with those which are plainly criminal, yet wholly unblameable they seldom are.' 'With less external majesty it was attended, but is, on that account, the more wonderful, that under an appearance so simple, such great events were covered.' There is also a perpetual recurrence of a

form of the sentence, which might be occasionally graceful, or tolerable, when very sparingly adopted, but is extremely unpleasing when it comes often; we mean that construction in which the quality or condition of the agent or subject, is expressed first, and the agent or subject itself is put to bring up the latter clause. For instance, 'Pampered by continual indulgence, all our passions will become mutinous and headstrong.' 'Practised in the ways of men, they are apt to be suspicious of design and fraud,' &c. 'Injured or oppressed by the world, he looks up to a Judge who will vindicate his cause.'

"In the second place, there is no texture in the composition. The sentences appear often like a series of little independent propositions, each satisfied with its own distinct meaning, and capable of being placed in a different part of the train, without injury to any mutual connection, or ultimate purpose, of the thoughts. The ideas relate to the subject generally, without specifically relating to one another. They all, if we may so speak, gravitate to one centre, but have no mutual attraction among themselves. The mind must often dismiss entirely the idea in one sentence, in order to proceed to that in the next; instead of feeling that the second, though distinct, yet necessarily retains the first still in mind, and partly derives its force from it; and that they both contribute, in connection with several more sentences, to form a grand complex scheme of thought, each of them producing a far greater effect, as a part of the combination, than it would have done as a little thought, standing alone. The consequence of this defect is, that the emphasis of the sentiment and the crisis or conclusion of the argument comes no where; since it cannot be in any single insulated thought, and there is not mutual dependence and co-operation enough to produce any combined result. Nothing is proved, nothing is enforced, nothing is taught, by a mere accumulation of self-evident propositions, most of which are necessarily trite, and some of which, when they are so many, must be trivial. With a few exceptions, this appears to us to be the character of these sermons. The sermon, perhaps, most deserving to be excepted, is that 'On the Importance of Religious Knowledge to Mankind,' which exhibits a respectable degree of concatenation of thought and deduction of argument. It would seem as if Dr Blair had been a little aware of this defect, as there is an occasional appearance of remedial contrivance; he has sometimes inserted the logical signs *for* and *since*, when the connection or dependence is really so very slight or unimportant that they might nearly as well be left out.

"If, in the next place, we were to remark on the figures introduced in the course of these sermons, we presume we should have every reader's concurrence that they are, for the most part, singularly trite; so much so, that the volumes might be taken, more properly than any other modern book that we know, as comprising the whole commonplaces of imagery. A considerable portion of the produce of imagination was deemed an indispensable ingredient of eloquence, and the quota was therefore to be had in any way and of any kind. But the guilt of plagiarism was effectually avoided, by taking a portion of what society had long agreed to consider as made common and free to all that want and choose. When occasionally there occurs a simile or metaphor of the writer's own production, it is adjusted with an artificial

nicety bearing a little resemblance to the labour and finish we sometimes see bestowed on the tricking out of an only child. It should, at the same time, be allowed, that the consistency of the figures, whether common or unusual, is in general accurately preserved. The reader will be taught, however, not to reckon on this as a certainty. We have just opened on the following sentence: 'Death is the gate which, at the same time that it closes on this world, opens into eternity.' (Sermon on Death.) We cannot comprehend the construction and movement of such a gate, unless it is like that which we sometimes see in place of a stile, playing loose in a space between two posts; and we can hardly think so humble an object could be in the author's mind, while thinking of the passage to another world.

"With respect to the general power of thinking displayed in these sermons, we apprehend that discerning readers are coming fast toward an uniformity of opinion. They will all cheerfully agree that the author carries good sense along with him wherever he goes; that he keeps his subjects distinct; that he never wanders from the one in hand; that he presents concisely very many important lessons of sound morality; and that in doing this he displays an uncommon knowledge of the more obvious qualities of human nature. He is never trifling or fantastic; every page is sober, and pertinent to the subject; and resolute labour has prevented him from ever falling in a mortifying degree below the level of his best style of performance. He is seldom below a respectable mediocrity, but, we are forced to admit, that he very rarely rises above it. After reading five or six sermons we become assured that we most perfectly see the whole compass and reach of his powers, and that, if there were twenty volumes, we might read on through the whole without ever coming to a bold conception, or a profound investigation, or a burst of genuine enthusiasm. There is not in the train of thought a succession of eminences and depressions, rising towards sublimity, and descending into familiarity. There are no peculiarly striking short passages, where the mind wishes to stop awhile, to indulge its delight, if it were not irresistibly carried forward by the rapidity of the thought. There are none of those happy reflections back on a thought just departing which seem to give it a second and a stronger significance, in addition to that which it had most obviously presented. Though the mind does not proceed with any eagerness to what is to come, it is seldom inclined to revert to what is gone by; and any contrivance in the composition to tempt it to look back with lingering partiality to the receding ideas, is forborne by the writer; quite judiciously, for the temptation would fail.

"A reflective reader will perceive his mind fixed in a wonderful sameness of feeling throughout a whole volume; it is hardly relieved a moment, by surprise, delight, or labour, and at length becomes very tiresome; perhaps a little analogous to the sensations of a Hindoo while fulfilling his vow, to remain in one certain posture for a month. A sedate formality of manner is invariably kept up through a thousand pages, without the smallest danger of ever luxuriating into a beautiful irregularity. We never find ourselves in the midst of any thing that reminds us of nature, except by that orderly stiffness which she forswears, or of freedom, except by being compelled to go in the measured paces of a dull procession. If we manfully persist in reading on,

we at length feel a torpor invading our faculties, we become apprehensive that some wizard is about turning us into stones, and we can break the spell only by shutting the book. Having shut the book, we feel that we have acquired no definable addition to our ideas; we have little more than the consciousness of having passed along through a very regular series of sentences and unexceptionable propositions; much in the same manner as perhaps, at another hour of the same day, we have the consciousness or remembrance of having just passed along by a very regular painted palisade, no one bar of which particularly fixed our attention, and the whole of which we shall soon forget that we have ever seen.

"The last fault that we shall allege, is some defect on the ground of religion; not a deficiency of general seriousness, nor an infrequency of reference to the most solemn subjects, nor an omission of stating sometimes, in explicit terms, the leading principles of the theory of the Christian redemption. But we repeatedly find cause to complain that, in other parts of the sermon, he appears to forget these statements, and advances propositions which, unless the reader shall combine with them modifications which the author has not suggested, must contradict those principles. On occasions, he clearly deduces, from the death and atonement of Christ, the hopes of futurity, and consolations against the fear of death; and then, at other times, he seems most cautious to avoid this grand topic when adverting to the approach of death, and the feelings of that season; and seems to rest all the consolations on the review of a virtuous life."

James Macknight, D.D.

BORN A. D. 1721.—DIED A. D. 1800.

THIS distinguished Biblical critic was born on the 17th of September, 1721. His father was minister of Irvine, in Ayrshire. He received his theological education at Glasgow and Leyden, and became minister of the parish of Maybole in 1753. In 1756 he published a 'Harmony of the Gospels,' which was very favourably received; and soon after a work entitled 'The Truth of the Gospel History,' which still further advanced his reputation as a theologian.

In 1769 he was translated to the parochial charge of Jedburgh, and, in 1772, to one of the Edinburgh charges. From the period of his settlement in Edinburgh, he addressed himself with unremitting assiduity to the preparation of his last and most important work, on the Apostolical Epistles, which was first published in 1795, in 4 vols. 4to. This is a truly valuable work. It is Arminian in sentiment, but is replete with able and accurate criticism.

Dr Macknight died on the 13th day of January, 1800.

Alexander Geddes, D.D.

BORN A. D. 1737.—DIED A. D. 1802.

Dr Geddes was born at Arradowl, in the county of Banff, September 4th, 1737, O. S. His father was the second of four brothers, respectable but not opulent farmers, all of whom still adhered to the ancient religion of the district. His first schoolmistress was a Mrs Sellar, whose notice of him, he was accustomed to say, was the earliest mental pleasure he remembered to have felt. He was next put under the care of Mr Shearer, a young man from Aberdeen, whom the laird had engaged to educate his two sons, and with whom the subject of this memoir, and the late Roman Catholic Bishop Geddes, of Edinburgh, were admitted to take lessons. He was afterwards removed to Sealan, an obscure Roman Catholic seminary in the Highlands, at which those young persons were brought up who had been devoted to the priesthood, and who were destined to finish their studies at some foreign university. At this seminary, we have reason to believe, young Geddes laid the foundation of that superior skill in the learned languages for which he was afterwards so eminently distinguished. In October, 1758, he was sent from Sealan to the Scotch college in Paris, where he arrived about the end of December, after having narrowly escaped shipwreck in his passage. Mr Gordon was then principal of the college. In a few days after his arrival he began to attend the lectures in the college of Navarre, and entered immediately into rhetoric. He soon got at the head of the class, although there were two veterans in it. Vicaire was then professor, and contracted a friendship for him which lasted all his life.

At the beginning of next schoolyear, he should have entered on a course of philosophy; but was persuaded to study philosophy at home at intervals, and to enter in divinity. He attended the lectures of M. M. Buré and De Saurent at the college of Navarre, and L'advocat, for Hebrew, at the Sorbonne. L'advocat was particularly attentive to him, and wished much to have him remain at Paris: but other counsels prevailed, and he returned to Scotland in the year 1764. On his arrival at Edinburgh, he was sent to Dundee, to officiate amongst the Catholics in the county of Angus. But he did not remain long in that station; being removed in May, 1765, to Traquaire, where he resided nearly three years as domestic chaplain to the earl of Traquaire. Of this connection he was always accustomed to speak with satisfaction and gratitude, as having afforded him much leisure for literary pursuits, and the use of a well furnished library admirably adapted to assist him in his favourite studies.

He left Traquaire in the autumn of 1768; and, after a few weeks' stay in Angus, returned to Paris, where he remained the following winter, during which he was mostly in the king's and other libraries, making extracts from rare books, particularly Hebrew ones. In the spring of 1769, he returned to Britain; and undertook the charge of a considerable Roman Catholic congregation at Auchinhabrig in Banffshire; where, in the summer of 1770 he projected and built a new

chapel on the same spot where the old one stood; and soon after made the old house at Auchinhabrig one of the most neat and convenient belonging to the Roman Catholic clergy in Scotland. This and other unavoidable expenses encumbered him with debt; from which he was, however, relieved by the generosity of the late duke of Norfolk. He then thought that a little farm would help him to live more comfortably; but the result was quite the reverse; he was obliged to borrow money to stock it, and the failure of three successive crops plunged him into deeper and deeper difficulties. Another chapel, too, which he built at Fochabers, added considerably to his burdens. The publication of his 'Satires' that year, brought him in some money, but not enough. Still, however, he had spirit and hopes, and he was not in the end disappointed. In 1779, he left Auchinhabrig, after having continued during ten years in the assiduous discharge of the various duties belonging to his pastoral office. When he retired, it was with the most sincere and unfeigned regret of all those among whom he had ministered. The attention which he paid to the instruction of the young had never been surpassed, and but rarely equalled by any of his predecessors.

His great learning—which began now to be universally known among the literati of the North—obtained for him, in the year 1780, a diploma, creating him Doctor of Laws, from the university of Aberdeen,—an honour that had never, since the Reformation, been conferred by that body on a Roman Catholic.

About this period Dr Geddes went to London, and officiated for a few months as priest in the Imperial ambassador's chapel, till it was suppressed at the end of the year 1780, by an order from the emperor Joseph II. Dr Geddes afterwards preached occasionally at the chapel in Duke street, Lincoln's inn Fields, till Easter, 1782, when, it is believed, he totally declined the exercise of clerical functions.

It was at a much earlier period than this that he formed a design of giving a new translation of the whole Bible. About the year 1760 he began to read with this view; he was then acquainted with only two versions of that book, the vulgar Latin, and the vulgar English; with the latter he became dissatisfied because it was too literal. "When," he says, "from the ancient I turned to the modern versions, my opinion was soon strengthened into conviction. There were seven modern versions to which I had then access—the French, the Italian, the Dutch; and in Latin, those of Munster, Castalio, Junius, and Pagninus. Of these seven, the one which I opened with prejudice, was the one which I read through with the greatest pleasure. I had been taught to consider Castalio's translation as a profane burlesque of holy writ. What was my surprise to find, that he had seized the very spirit of the original, and transfused it into elegant Latin. I saw, indeed, and was sorry to see, that, through his excessive refinement, a part of the simplicity of his original had evaporated in the operation; and, in this respect, his version is inferior to the Vulgate: but still the spirit of the original is there; whereas, that of his contrast, Pagninus, appears like an almost breathless body, dragging along its limbs in the most awkward and clumsy manner; yet this Pagninus has been the general model of vernacular versions."

Dr Geddes now resolved to execute a *free* translation of the Scrip-

tures. After he had spent much of his life in Biblical studies, he complains of having met with a long and cruel interruption to them, and says, "I had but little hopes of ever being in a situation to resume them, when Providence threw me into the arms of such a patron as Origen himself might have been proud to boast of—a patron, who, for these ten years past, has, with a dignity peculiar to himself, afforded me every conveniency that my heart could desire, towards the carrying on and completing of my arduous work."

While Lord Petre's generosity secured to our author all the comforts of life, and all the means necessary to proceed with his work, it was nevertheless inadequate to indemnify him in the expenses of the press. The subscribers were few in comparison of the magnitude of his undertaking; and the volumes were finished in a style so handsome, and even expensive, that little or perhaps scarcely any profit could have accrued to the author had the whole impression been sold. In the year 1792, the first volume of this work, dedicated to his patron, Lord Petre, and containing the first six books of the Old Testament, was published. This, he informed the public, had been delayed more than a year by a combination of causes and circumstances, which he could neither foresee nor prevent; the principal of which was a long series of bad health, and a lowness of spirits which accompanied it. "A dangerous fever," says he, "and its lasting consequences put a stop to the press-work for a whole year. This was to be submitted to with Christian resignation; but the rubs I have received from human malignancy are a trial of patience not easily borne. Will it be readily believed that these rubs have chiefly been raised by professed Catholics,—by members of that very body which I principally meant to serve,—by mine own brethren, if brethren they may be called, who 'sit down and speak against their brother, and slander their own mother's son!' Ignorance, envy, and malice, in the various shapes of Monks, Friars, and Witlings, have been busy these ten years in depreciating my labours, and assassinating my reputation."

Soon after the publication of this volume, three Vicars Apostolic, styling themselves the bishops of Rama, Acanthos, and Centuriæ, issued a Pastoral Letter, addressed to their respective flocks, warning them against the reception and use of Dr Geddes' version. This episcopal stretch of power, as Dr Geddes conceived it to be, occasioned a correspondence between him and the bishop of Centuriæ; in the course of which the prelate, availing himself of the authority belonging to his office, declared the doctor suspended from the exercise of his ecclesiastical functions, unless within the course of a few days he should signify his submission to an injunction contained in the Pastoral Letter. The doctor was not a whit deterred by this threat, and in a short time afterwards he published a much longer letter to the bishop with a short preface addressed to the English Catholics, in which he says: "I trust ye will not deem it presumption in me to grapple with the bishops; indeed, I would boldly grapple with popes, if popes dared to injure me. Our Catholic ancestors frequently grappled with them, and sometimes came off victorious. A pope,—and consequently a bishop,—may do wrong, and if he do wrong, may be told of it even by an inferior."

was not till the year 1797, that the second volume of the 'Trans- was given to the world. It was dedicated to her royal highness

the duchess of Gloucester, as an "early, spontaneous, and liberal encourager of the work." In the preface to this volume, Dr Geddes boldly controverts the doctrine of the absolute and plenary inspiration of the scriptures; he considers the Hebrew historians to have written from such human documents as they could find, and that consequently they were liable to mistakes. In the scale of merit, he ranks them much lower than the more celebrated historians of Greece and Rome, because, after carefully perusing them, and properly appreciating their value, he was unable, as he thought, to find in the Hebrew writers that elegance, correctness, and lucid order, which were to be found in the Greeks and Romans. In his volume of 'Critical Remarks,' published in the year 1800, he entered into a vindication of his theory.

Besides the translation of the early books of the Bible, and the 'Critical Remarks,' Dr Geddes wrote 'The Prospectus of a New Translation of the Bible,' 4to. 1786.—'A Letter to the Bishop of London on the same subject,' 1787. His proposals came out in 1788. In the year 1790, he published a 'General Answer to the Queries, Counsels, and Criticisms respecting the intended Translation.' In 1793, he wrote an 'Address to the Public on the Publication of his New Translation;' and in the succeeding year, his letter to, and correspondence with, the bishop of Centuriæ, were published. As a controversialist, Dr Geddes distinguished himself in the year 1787, by a 'Letter to Dr Priestley, in defence of the Divinity of Jesus Christ;' and, a 'Letter to a Member of Parliament, on the expediency of a general repeal of all penal statutes that regard religious opinions.' In a 'Modest Apology for the Roman Catholics of Great Britain,' published in the spring of 1800, Dr Geddes displayed much zeal in defence of the tenets to which he adhered, and great moderation when descanting upon the injuries to which himself and brethren were subject, by the continuance of persecuting laws. In pursuing his great work, Dr Geddes intended next to have presented the world with a new translation of the book of Psalms. During the last whole year of his life, his studies and literary labours were greatly interrupted by a long series of painful affliction, yet in every interval of ease he applied to a work in which his heart was engaged. He had already printed in octavo size one hundred and four of the Psalms, and had prepared completely for the press as far as the 118th Psalm, when he was arrested by a most painful and excruciating disorder, which terminated his life on the 26th of February, 1802.

Dr John Mason Good published 'Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Dr Geddes,' in 1803. The following is a portion of the biographer's general sketch of the doctor's character: "In his corporeal make he was slender, and in the bold and formidable outlines of his countenance, not highly prepossessing on a first interview; but never was there a face or form through which the soul developed itself more completely than through his own. Every feature, and indeed every limb, was in harmony with the entire system, and displayed the restless and indefatigable operations of the interior of the machine. A play of cheerfulness beamed uniformly from his cheeks, and his animated eyes rather darted than looked benevolence. Yet such was the irritability of his nerves, that a slight degree of opposition to his opinions, and especially when advanced by persons whose mental powers did not warrant such oppo-

sition, put to flight in a moment the natural character of his countenance, and cheerfulness and benevolence were exchanged for exacerbation and tumult. Of this physical and irresistible impulse in his constitution, no man was more thoroughly sensible than himself; and if no man ever less succeeded in subduing it, no man ever took more pains to obtain a victory. Let us, however, fairly strike the balance, and we shall find, that if such a peculiar construction of body had its evil, it also had its advantage; and that the very irritability of soul which occasionally hurried him, against his consent, into a violence of controversy not perfectly consistent with the polished manners of the day, hurried him a thousand times oftener, and with a thousand times more rapidity, because assisted instead of opposed by his judgment, into acts of kindness and benevolence. The moment he beheld the possibility of doing good by his own exertions, the good was instantly done, although it were to a man who, perhaps, had causelessly quarrelled with him a few hours before. It was not in his nature to pause, with our academic and cold-blooded philosophers of the present day, that he might first weigh the precise demand of moral or political justice, and inquire into the advantage that would accrue to himself, or in what manner the world at large might be benefited either by a good action or a good example; it was stimulus enough for him that distress existed, and that he knew it,—and it afterwards afforded him satisfaction enough, that he had removed or mitigated it. In intellectual talents, he had few equals, and fewer still who had improved the possession of equal talents in an equal degree. To an ardent thirst after knowledge, in all its multitudinous ramifications, he added an astonishing facility in acquiring and retaining it: and so extensive was his erudition, that it was difficult to start a subject into which he could not enter, and be heard with both attention and profit. But theology was the prime object of his pursuits, the darling science of his heart, which he had indefatigably studied from his infancy, and to which every other acquisition was made to bend. From his verbal knowledge of the Bible, he might have been regarded as a living concordance; and this not with respect to any individual language alone, or the various and rival renderings of any individual language, but a concordance that should comprise the best exemplars of the most celebrated tongues into which the Bible has ever been translated. As an interpreter of it, he was strictly faithful and honest to the meaning, or what he apprehended to be the meaning, of his original; and though, in his critical remarks upon the text, he allowed himself a latitude and boldness which injured his popularity, and drew down upon his head a torrent of abusive appellations, how seldom have we seen a man systematically educated in the characteristic tenets of any established community whatsoever, and especially of the church of Rome, who, when he has once begun to feel his independence, and has determined to shake off his fetters, and to think for himself, has not flown much further from the goal at which he started."

John Erskine, D.D.

BORN A. D. 1721.—DIED A. D. 1803.

THE grandfather of Dr Erskine was Lieutenant Colonel John Erskine, son of Henry, second Lord Cardross, who suffered severely during the tyrannical reign of Charles the Second, on account of his attachment to presbyterian principles. Colonel Erskine, who escaped to Holland under circumstances of jeopardy during the reign of James the Second, was one of the most zealous supporters of the revolution in 1688, a warm friend of the Hanover succession, and a determined and conscientious adherent to the church of Scotland. Many anecdotes are still told of this respectable gentleman, illustrative of his peculiarities as a man, his unbending politics as a whig, and his conduct as a Christian. His father was the eldest son of the colonel, and was bred to the profession of the law. He was for many years professor of Scots law in the university of Edinburgh, and while in this office published 'Institutes of the Law of Scotland,' which continues to this day the standard book of reference in the courts of that country.

Mr Erskine, his eldest son, was born on the 2d of June, 1721. His mother was the daughter of the Hon. James Melville, of Balgarvie, in the county of Fife. He received the rudiments of his classical education, assisted by a private tutor, at the school of Cupar, in Fife, where his grandmother lived; and at the high-school of Edinburgh, and entered the university there some time between 1733 and 1737. At that period several of the chairs were occupied by men of considerable eminence. Sir John Pringle, who was afterwards president of the Royal society of London, was professor of moral philosophy; and of his lectures in this important department, Dr Erskine speaks with high approbation, in the appendix to his sermon on the death of Dr Robertson.

Dr Erskine was not originally destined for the ministry. It was the wish of his family that he should devote his life to the practice of the law; a profession in which his father had acquired distinguished reputation, and where, had he applied himself, he had every encouragement to expect its honours and emoluments. Indeed he attended the law classes after his course of philosophy was finished, and no doubt afterwards experienced the benefit of these studies. But nothing could divert his mind from the great object to which he determined to devote his time and his talents. His attachment to the ministry of the gospel conquered the pride of family, the love of honour, and the temptation of riches. It would appear that he had considerable difficulty in obtaining his father's consent; though there is no foundation whatever for the assertion of Warburton, in one of his letters to Hurd, that his father disinherited him on this account. In a letter to Dr Doddridge, he had communicated a copy of the reasons which he had assigned to his father in justification of his choice. To this the doctor refers in his answer, dated Northampton, June 11th, 1743:—"The account which you gave to your worthy father, of the motives which determined your resolution to enter on the ministry, in that excellent letter which you

favoured me with a copy of, abundantly convinces me that you were indeed under a divine guidance in that resolution. And I cannot but look on it as a great token for good to the church, that a gentleman of your distinguished abilities, (of which the pamphlet you sent me is a valuable specimen,) and of your elevated circumstances in human life, should be willing to engage in so laborious a work as the ministry, in the midst of the various discouragements which attend it. I hope God will abundantly bless your labours for the good of souls; and I will venture to tell you from my own experience, that if he does so, instead of repenting of your choice, you will rejoice in it through the course of your life, and in the nearest prospect of eternity."

The anonymous pamphlet referred to in this letter, was written by Dr Erskine when he was little more than twenty years of age, and more than two years before he was licensed to preach. It was entitled, 'The law of nature sufficiently propagated to the heathen world; or, an inquiry into the ability of the heathens to discover the being of a God, and the immortality of human souls, in some miscellaneous reflections, occasioned by Dr Campbell's (the professor of divinity in the university of St Andrews) late treatise on the necessity of revelation: 1741.' The work of Dr Campbell's, to part of which this is a reply, though written professedly to serve the cause of Christianity, was considered by many a covert attack upon it. It produced a considerable ferment in the church of Scotland, and an attempt was made to convict the professor of heresy; but which was defeated by the strength of those whom Warburton terms, the paganized divines, in the general assembly. The position examined by Dr Erskine, is not, perhaps, the most dangerous of Campbell's doctrines; but as a part of his system, which maintained, "that the religion of nature is our most valuable property, and the only sure means of our lasting happiness," it deserved consideration. Whether Dr Erskine has succeeded in his attempt to overthrow the argument of his opponent or not, it must be admitted that his pamphlet discovers a large portion of solid learning, extensive reading, and acute reasoning. This treatise was the means of leading to a correspondence with Warburton, to whom Dr Erskine had sent it, which continued at intervals during the whole period of that prelate's life, and through the entire course of which, the bishop treated his presbyterian correspondent with a degree of respect and kindness, he scarcely showed to any other individual.

Dr Erskine was licensed to preach the gospel, by the presbytery of Dunblane, in the year 1743, and preached his first public sermon in the church of Torryburn, of which parish he was afterwards patron, from Psalm lxxxiv. 10, a passage remarkably suitable to his own circumstances and feelings. He had before this communicated his determination to enter into the ministry to Warburton, and some time after received from him an answer, part of which we shall extract, as an illustration of the kind of intercourse that subsisted between two individuals, the opposite of each other in almost every thing but acuteness and strength of mind; and to show the opinion which Dr Erskine seems to have entertained of some of the doctrines of his own church. It is dated Newark, February 20th, 1744. "I heartily felicitate you on your choice of the better part. You have an advantage that numbers may envy, in going to divinity from the study of civil

law. I am pleased too with your new choice on another account; you will now be at leisure to digest those just and noble thoughts which you have on the most important subject of antiquity, and I beg leave to urge and press you to pursue them. One who can write with that learning, precision, and force of reason, with which you have confuted Campbell, ought never to have his pen out of his hand. What you say of the state of learning and religion among you is very curious, but very melancholy. I find there is not a reigning folly or perversity among our clergy, but yours have got it. The paganized divines you speak of, are what formerly passed among us under the name of Latitudinarian, of late, Bangorian divines. But Socinus lies at the root. I think Toland was not much out when he said, the Mahometans were a sort of Christians, and not the worst sort neither. In another thing too, they perfectly agree with ours, and that is, in the large extent of their consciences, as well as thoughts. However, I think the next you mention, are of a still more dangerous sort of madmen, with their γραμματοφοβια, those who fear to touch upon letters at all. Indeed the other sort have shown, that

> 'Their shallow draughts intoxicate the brain;
> But drinking largely sobers them again.'"

In May, 1744, Dr Erskine was appointed to the charge of the parish of Kirkintulloch, containing a large population, in the neighbourhood of Glasgow.

In the year 1741, 2, and 8, Mr Whitefield had visited Scotland, in consequence of pressing solicitation; and here, as in all other places, he was received with distinguished attention. He was admitted to the pulpits of many of the established clergy, (a privilege he could not now enjoy,) and, among the rest, to that of Dr Erskine. The doctor was well acquainted with his labours, while he had been student of divinity at Edinburgh. He warmly espoused his cause, and considered himself bound to defend the character and principles of that much injured man. On a visit to the west country, where his labours at a former period had been eminently blessed, he was cordially welcomed to the pulpit of Dr Erskine, and of some of his pious friends on the same side of the church. This liberality was not relished by some of his clerical brethren. A motion was made at a meeting of the synod at Glasgow, in October, 1748, with special reference to Mr Whitefield, who had just been in that district, 'That no minister in their bounds should employ a stranger of doubtful character, till after consulting his presbytery.' This produced an animated and prolonged debate, in which Dr Erskine took an active part, and of which he afterwards published a short account, without his name.

No circumstance relating to Dr Erskine is more interesting than the extensive correspondence which he maintained with eminent men in all parts of the world, about the state and progress of religion and learning, and particularly of divine knowledge. With America, his intercourse began at a very early period, and perhaps there were few of its most celebrated writers, or preachers, or men of eminence in civil life, with whom he did not exchange books and letters. For more than half a century he was the centre of one of the most extensive religious circles in Great Britain, or perhaps in the world. This was the effect of his

anxiety to collect information, to diffuse the knowledge of divine truth, and to promote the interests of the kingdom of Christ among men. The celebrated Jonathan Edwards was one of his earliest and most esteemed transatlantic correspondents. For that devoted servant of Jesus Christ, he entertained the highest affection and respect: from his writings he had derived great instruction, and no man did so much to promote their circulation in his own country. To assist him in carrying on the Arminian controversy, Dr Erskine sent him many useful books, and, by his advice and exhortations, powerfully contributed to the production of some of his most valuable publications. In the trying circumstances attending Mr Edwards' dismission from his charge in Northampton, Dr Erskine felt deeply interested, and both by his sympathy, and by setting on foot a subscription for pecuniary relief, manifested his love to this excellent man, who in a very painful situation conducted himself with much Christian patience and fortitude.

Some attempt having been made to still the popular clamour on the subject of philosophical liberty and necessity, raised in Scotland by the publication of Lord Kames's (then Mr Home) Essays, by introducing the sentiments of President Edwards, along with those of Calvin, Turretine, and other orthodox divines, to justify the views of Kames; Mr Edwards addressed a letter to Dr Erskine, which was afterwards published by him, as a letter from Mr Edwards to a minister of the church of Scotland. In this letter he states the difference between the Christian doctrines of predestination and free agency, and the infidel doctrines of necessity and liberty, with great acuteness. It is justly considered one of the ablest specimens of metaphysical reasoning in our language. The controversy then agitated in Scotland, though carried on with great keenness, would lead to too long details for our limits. It is only proper, in justice to Lord Kames, to state, that he afterwards deserted the sentiments contained in his Essays.

In 1753, Dr Erskine was translated from Kirkintulloch, to the burgh of Culross, where he remained till 1758, when he was called to Edinburgh, by the magistrates and kirk sessions, who then elected the ministers of that city. A short time before Dr Erskine had entered the ministry, a most important secession had taken place from the established church, the effects of which are more evident now than at its commencement. The resumed exercise of the rights of patronage, restored by Queen Anne's Tory ministry, the progressive corruption of doctrine, and the departure of the church of Scotland from the principles for which it had suffered and struggled from the restoration to the revolution, drove some of its most popular ministers from its bosom, and formed a body to which Scotland owes the preservation of Calvinistic doctrine in many places. The first secession took place in 1733, and was completed in 1740, by the deposition of eight of the seceding ministers. This event was deeply regretted by the religious part of the community, though much good, as well as some evils, have resulted from it. In 1751, another rent was made by the deposition of the Rev. Thomas Gillespie, minister of Carnock, for refusing to be present and active at a violent settlement. This laid the foundation of the relief body. Gillespie was a man of singular piety, and sustained the shock with great Christian firmness. Various attempts were afterwards made to get him restored, in which Dr Erskine took an active part.

In 1767, Dr Erskine and Dr Robertson were united in the charge of the Old Grey Friars parish; a connexion which subsisted till the death of Dr Robertson in 1793. It is not easy to conceive two individuals who differed more in spirit, preaching, and various parts of Christian character, than these two men, both eminent, though in very different respects. Dr Robertson, a man of the finest taste and talents, and of the most winning and courteous manners, but devoted to the pursuit of literary renown; the leader of the anti-evangelical party in the church, and who considered Christianity chiefly of importance, as it subserved the interests of worldly aggrandisement and political influence. Dr Erskine, a man deeply versed in religious knowledge, devoted to his Master's work, and alive to every thing which involved his glory; who regarded Christianity as a revelation which chiefly relates to things invisible and eternal; dead to the world, and ambitious only of the approbation of God; who was looked up to as the father of the orthodox clergy, and as the friend of all good men;—in every point of view, it was a singular combination. That Dr Erskine had some way of reconciling his mind to the propriety of a situation, the irksomeness of which he must have felt, in which he every Lord's day listened to doctrines very different from his own, and had to co-operate where there could be no cordial agreement, we are bound to believe. But it often gave rise, it is said, to rather awkward collisions. The story is told that his colleague one morning had given his audience a very flattering picture of virtue, concluding with declaring his conviction, that if ever perfect virtue should appear on the face of the earth, the world would fall down and worship it. Dr Erskine took an opportunity, as it is reported, of adverting to the same subject in the afternoon, and with equal confidence, and much greater truth, declared, that when the most perfect virtue that ever adorned humanity, descended to the earth, the world, instead of admiring it, cried, "Crucify it, crucify it."

Some time before his union in office with Dr Robertson, Dr Erskine was engaged in a controversy with Mr John Wesley. He published anonymously a small pamphlet entitled, 'Mr Wesley's principles detected;' in which he endeavours to expose the enthusiasm, the erroneous doctrines, and religious management of that gentleman. Whether it be owing to the peculiar character of the Scots population, the nature of Wesleyan Methodism, or the unsuitableness of its advocates, so it is, Mr Wesley's system has gained less footing in Scotland than in any other part of the world where it has been attempted to plant it. Mr Wesley was too prudent to enter the lists of theological warfare with Dr Erskine; but endeavoured to smooth over the affair by a very flattering and complimentary letter to him.

The melancholy event of the American war deeply interested Dr Erskine, both as a Christian, and as a subject of Great Britain. He considered the war as on both sides unnatural, unchristian, and impolitic. He published several pamphlets before its commencement, and during its progress, which are written with ability, and candour, but which need only now to be thus glanced at. In the Catholic controversy in 1779 and 1780, he took an active part. He dreaded the progress of popery, both at home and abroad, and thought it his duty to warn his countrymen against its dangerous doctrines, and insidious wiles. The bill of 1780, for relieving the Roman Catholics, produced

in Scotland a violent ferment. Dr Erskine was opposed to the bill, not as an enemy to religious liberty, or as adverse to all classes of religious persons, of whatever sentiments, enjoying the same privileges; but because he considered popery both as a political and a persecuting system.

On the subject of the Catholic controversy, Dr Campbell, of Aberdeen, took the opposite side to Dr Erskine, and published a very masterly 'Address to the people of Scotland, upon the alarms that have been raised in regard to Popery.' The general assembly, on the other hand, supported the views of Dr Erskine, and deliberately decided against the Catholic claims.

Besides the publications already noticed, and various others of less general interest, Dr Erskine was the author of two volumes of sermons, the one published by himself in 1798, and the other edited after his death by Sir Harry Moncrieff, and published in 1804. These volumes contain specimens of his preaching, from 1745 to 1802.

The sermons of Dr Erskine are distinguished not by studied elegance of language, or by the higher graces of eloquence; but by a native simplicity of style, and an energy of sentiment of far higher importance. They discover a mind mighty in the scriptures, intimately acquainted with human nature, powerfully influenced by the love of Christ, and deeply concerned that his hearers should feel the same. They contain none of those injudicious accommodations of scripture language, which tend to bring the word of God into contempt; nothing of that vain and conceited parade of learning, which only excites disgust, and no attempts to surprise by novelty of argument, or brilliancy of illustration. They are at the same time by no means trite or common-place discourses—the dullest of all the labours of the press. Rich in Christian sentiment, and happy in scriptural illustration, to those who love divine truth, they will be found at once instructive, pungent, consoling, and persuasive.

He died January the 19th, 1803, in the eighty-second year of his age, exhausted by pain, infirmity, and age, and worn out by incessant labour, and no doubt by many and severe afflictions; under which, though far remote from stoical insensibility, he was always greatly too reserved and silent.

Dr Erskine possessed talents, both natural and acquired, considerably above most of his contemporaries, though he never employed them for the purpose of display. His learning was extensive, various, and solid, devoted to the noblest purposes, and combined with unaffected humility and simplicity of manners. He was a modest and unassuming, but by no means a bashful man. As a public speaker he was too little attentive to those external recommendations, which give the great charm to many preachers. His pronunciation was uncommonly broad, and his gestures and action awkward and inelegant. As a Christian, and a man of honour, he was true to his principles, and decided in his attachments. He could act in difficult circumstances a very determined part; and could show to both his friends and his adversaries, that he would neither be flattered into compliance, nor frightened into submission. As a public character, and minister of the gospel, he had few equals, and no superior; the man of God appeared in all he did and said. At the bed of the sick, and the dying, when

bending over the couch of poverty and disease, he shone with peculiar lustre. Alive to all that afflicted humanity, and acquainted with all that could comfort the mourner, and cheer the dying, he there poured from the fulness of his heart the treasures of heavenly consolation. His character is thus described by Dr Davidson, one of his oldest and most intimate friends, in a sermon preached to his congregation, the second Lord's day after his death. "Though Dr Erskine sought not fame, and even shrunk from it, yet his uniform character, his public professional labours, his disinterested and active benevolence, and his few, though important, publications, gained him such estimation in the minds of good men, both at home and abroad, as falls to the lot of but a small number of the human race. As a scholar, as a gentleman, as a friend, as a philanthropist, as a Christian, as a pastor, who can be mentioned as excelling Dr Erskine? In rejoicing with those who rejoiced, in weeping with those who wept, in enlivening and enlightening his friends with his cheerful and interesting conversation, and in speaking a word in season to the afflicted Christian, he was surpassed by none. Who was weak, and he was not weak? Who was offended, and he did not burn? In his character were concentrated extensive learning, fervent piety, purity of doctrine, energy of sentiment, enlarged benevolence, uniformly animated by an ardent zeal for the glory of his Master, and for the salvation of men. In a good cause he was inflexible; in friendship invariable; in discharging the duties of his function indefatigable. In his public ministrations he was indeed a 'workman that needed not to be ashamed, rightly dividing the word of truth.'"

Archbishop Moore.

BORN A. D. 1731.—DIED A. D. 1805.

THIS prelate was of humble origin. His father was a butcher in the city of Gloucester,—a poor but respectable man. He was educated at the free school of his native city, and some friends procured him an humble situation in Pembroke college, Oxford, whence he afterwards removed to Christ-church, in that university.

While at college he applied himself with great assiduity to his studies, and acquired universal respect by the modesty of his demeanour, the regularity of his conduct, and his classical attainments. With these qualifications he had, however, no higher prospect than that of a country curacy; had not one of those fortunate circumstances which the individual can neither command nor influence paved the way to his subsequent exaltation.

Mr Bliss, the Savilian professor of geometry, and astronomer-royal, was in the habit of visiting the duke of Marlborough, at Blenheim. On one of these occasions the duke requested Mr Bliss to recommend a young man as private tutor to his son. While Bliss was in vain endeavouring to recollect a person qualified for that situation, young Moore happened to be strolling in the park. He was of the same college as the professor, who entertained a sincere respect for him, and immediately recommended him to his grace, as well qualified to under-

take the charge. The duke, in consequence, sent for Mr Moore, who readily accepted his proposal. In 1769, his grace procured him a golden prebend in the cathedral at Durham; in 1771, he personally solicited for him, of the king, the deanery of Canterbury, which he obtained; and in 1775 Dr Moore was elevated to the see of Bangor.

On the death of Dr Cornwallis, in 1783, the see of Canterbury was successively offered to the bishops Lowth and Hurd; but the former declined it on account of his advanced age and love of lettered ease, and the latter from affection to his own diocese of Worcester. It is reported that his majesty, on this, desired each of those prelates to recommend to him one of the bishops, as the fittest in their judgment to fill the metropolitan chair; and that they both, without any previous knowledge of each other's opinion, named Dr Moore. It has, however, been asserted by others, that his advancement to the primacy was the effect of the same patronage which first raised him in the church. Be this as it may, Dr Moore was raised to the archiepiscopal see of Canterbury, and a more worthy prelate could not have been selected for that elevated dignity. While occupying the first station in the church, he avoided all other activity but that of Christian piety and spiritual duty. He seldom took any part in political disputes; neither did he adopt any steps to inflame the minds of dissenters on the one hand, or to alarm the friends of orthodoxy on the other. When any measure was agitated in the house of peers, in which the interests of the church were concerned, his grace never failed to acquit himself with ability and moderation. During his primacy, an extension of toleration took place; the Catholics were greatly relieved in England, and bishops were appointed in America.

Dr Moore afforded the public very little opportunity to appreciate his literary talents, having printed only two sermons; one preached before the lords, on the 30th of January, 1771; and the other on the fast-day, in 1781. His grace died on the 19th of January, 1805.[1]

Dean Kirwan.

BORN A. D. 1754.—DIED A. D. 1805.

This celebrated preacher was descended from an ancient and respectable Roman Catholic family, and born in Galway about the year 1754. He was sent in early youth to the college of English Jesuits at St Omers, in whose classic shades, as he often declared, he imbibed the noble ambition of benefiting mankind.

At the age of seventeen he embarked for the Danish island of St Croix, in the West Indies, under the protection of his father's cousin-german, who had large possessions there; but after enduring for six years a climate pernicious to his delicate constitution, and spectacles of oppression and cruelty shocking to his feelings, he returned to Europe in disgust. By the advice of his maternal uncle, then titular primate of Ireland, he repaired to the university of Louvain, where he received priest's orders, and was soon after honoured with the chair of natural

[1] Monthly Magazine.

and moral philosophy; but in 1778 he was called from the sequestered pursuits of science to the cure of souls, as chaplain to the Neapolitan ambassador at the British court.

Before a small but respectable congregation he soon attained celebrity; but he was then only qualifying himself for greater exertions, and with that view assiduously attended those splendid exhibitions of public speaking which were at that time so often made in the senate and at the bar. Amidst this blaze of eloquence, the church alone continued cold, and, however enlightened by an improved philosophy, had seldom been warmed but by the fiery breath of polemical divinity.

To rouse devotion from this profound lethargy, was a daring novelty, which demanded the powers of a Kirwan. Fortunately for the interests of humanity, he felt his force, and seized the glorious opportunity. After two years' retirement in the bosom of his family, he in the year 1787 resolved to conform to the established religion,—a determination which was greatly promoted by the conviction—as he himself declared—that he should thus obtain more extensive opportunities of doing good. He was, in consequence, introduced by the Rev. Dr Hastings, archdeacon of Dublin, to his first Protestant congregation in St Peter's church, where he preached on the 24th of June in that year.

The first sermon of so distinguished a convert naturally attracted an overflowing congregation, who expected that, according to immemorial usage, he would reprobate the doctrine and practices of the church from which he had withdrawn, but, instead of "pulling down the altar at which he had sacrificed," he exhibited an example of Christian meekness, liberality, and conciliation, in the choice of a subject utterly unconnected with controversy. Nor did he, upon any subsequent occasion, profane the pulpit by religious or political intolerance, or even in his most confidential communications, breathe a syllable of contempt or reproach against any religious persuasion whatever.

For some time after his conformity, he preached every Sunday in St Peter's church, and the collections for the poor on every occasion rose four or five fold above their usual amount. Before the expiration of his first year, he was wholly reserved for the distinguished and difficult task of preaching charity sermons, and on the 5th of November 1788, the governors of the general daily schools of several parishes entered into a resolution—"That from the effects which the discourses of the Rev. Walter Blake Kirwan, from the pulpit, have had, his officiating in the metropolis was considered a national advantage, and that vestries should be called to consider the most effectual method to secure to the city an instrument, under Providence, of so much public benefit." In the same year he was preferred by the archbishop of Dublin, to the prebend of Howth, and in the next to the parish of St Nicholas-without, the joint income of which amounted to about £400 a-year. These were his only church-preferments, until the year 1800; when the late Marquis Cornwallis, then lord-lieutenant, preferred him to the deanery of Killala, worth £400 a-year, at which time he resigned the prebend of Howth.

His ardour was not abated by promotion, nor his meekness corrupted by admiration; though, whenever he preached, such multitudes assembled, that it was necessary to defend the entrance of the church by guards and palisadoes. He was presented with addresses and pieces

of pass from every pulpit and the freedom of several corporations: his portrait was painted and engraved by the most eminent artists, and what was infinitely more grateful to his feelings, the collections at his sermons far exceeded any that ever were known in a country distinguished for commercial benevolence. Even in times of public calamity and distress, his irresistible powers of persuasion repeatedly produced contributions exceeding a thousand or twelve hundred pounds at a sermon: and his hearers, not content with emptying their purses into the plate, sometimes threw in jewels or watches, as earnest of further benefactions. The native warmth of his character breathed through all his discourses, and animated his conversation. His action was various and emphatic, without seeming studied or outrageous; his voice full and melodious, and his utterance successively solemn, earnest, melting, and impassioned, without the least appearance of affected modulation. His glance was piercing, his countenance austere and commanding, and his whole delivery was in perfect unison with the evangelical style and spirit of his discourses, which bore a strong impression of vigorous original conception and glowing zeal, illuminated by sound judgment and a profound knowledge of human nature.

He seems cautiously to have abstained from polishing any part of his sermons too highly, to blend with such extemporaneous effusions as occasional circumstances suggested, many of which burst from him with a rapid and overwhelming impetuosity, that hurried away the passions of his auditory in resistless ecstasy. From this masculine strain of impassioned exhortation, conveyed in diction not florid, but elevated, and with a voice and manner not theatrical, but impressive, resulted effects proportionably solid; and contributions—amounting almost to prodigality—produced foundations which promise to be permanent monuments of national beneficence. The following beautiful panegyric was pronounced by Mr Grattan in the Irish parliament, on the 19th of June 1792: "And what has the church to expect? what is the case of Dr Kirwan? This man preferred our country and our religion, and brought to both, genius superior to what he found in either. He called forth the latent virtues of the human heart, and taught men to discover in themselves a mine of charity, of which the proprietors had been unconscious. In feeding the lamp of charity, he has almost exhausted the lamp of life. He came to interrupt the repose of the pulpit, and shakes one world with the thunder of the other. The preacher's desk becomes the throne of light. Round him a train, not such as crouch and swagger at the levee of princes; not such as attend the procession of the viceroy, horse, foot, and dragoons; but that wherewith a great genius peoples his own state,—charity in ecstasy, and vice in humiliation,—vanity, arrogance, and saucy empty pride, appalled by the rebuke of the preacher, and cheated, for a moment, of their native improbity and insolence.——What reward? St Nicholas-within, St Nicholas-without! The curse of Swift is upon him: to have been born an Irishman and a man of genius, and to have used it for the good of his country."

This excellent man died, with signal piety and resignation, at his house at Mount Pleasant, near Dublin, on the 27th of October, 1805. His funeral was attended to his own church of St Nicholas-without, by children of all the parish schools in Dublin, and his pall was borne by gentlemen of the first distinction.

Sir Jonah Barrington attributes to him a want of philanthropic qualities,—a high opinion of himself, which overwhelmed every other consideration,—and an intractable turn of mind entirely repugnant to the usual means of acquiring high preferment. He describes his figure and countenance as having been unprepossessing; his air discontented; and his features so sharp as to be almost repulsive. "His manner of preaching," continues Sir Jonah, "was of the French school: he was vehement for a while, and then becoming, or affecting to become, exhausted, he held his handkerchief to his face; a dead silence ensued; he had skill to perceive the precise moment to recommence,—another blaze of declamation burst upon the congregation, and another fit of exhaustion was succeeded by another pause. The men began to wonder at his eloquence; the women grew nervous at his denunciations. His tact rivalled his talents, and, at the conclusion of one of his finest sentences, a 'celestial exhaustion,' as I heard a lady call it, not unfrequently terminated his discourse—in general, abruptly."

William Paley, D. D.

BORN A. D. 1743.—DIED A. D. 1805.

THIS very eminent man was born in the neighbourhood of Peterborough, in July, 1743. His father was then incumbent of Helpstone, but soon afterwards accepted the mastership of Giggleswick school, near Settle in Yorkshire.

Young Paley remained under his father's tuition until his sixteenth year, when he was sent to Cambridge, and admitted a sizar of Christ college. During the first period of his undergraduateship he was remarkable more for indolence and drollery than for genius and application; but he acquired great celebrity by the ability which he displayed in keeping his first act. "I spent," says he, "the first two years of my undergraduateship happily, but unprofitably. I was constantly in society, where we were not immoral, but idle, and rather expensive. At the commencement of my third year, however, after having left the usual party at rather a late hour in the evening, I was awakened, at five in the morning, by one of my companions, who stood at my bed-side, and said, 'Paley, I have been thinking what a fool you are. I could do nothing, probably, were I to try, and can afford the life I lead: you could do every thing, and cannot afford it. I have had no sleep during the whole night, on account of these reflections; and am now come solemnly to inform you, that if you persist in your indolence, I must renounce your society!' I was so struck with the visit, and the visitor, that I lay in bed great part of the day, and formed my plan. I ordered my bed-maker to prepare my fire every evening, in order that it might be lighted by myself. I arose at five, read during the whole of the day, except such hours as chapel and hall required, allotted to each portion of time its peculiar branch of study; and, just before the closing of the college gates, (nine o'clock,) I went to a neighbouring coffee-house, where I constantly regaled on a mutton chop, and a dose of milk punch; and thus, on taking my bachelor's degree, I became senior wrangler."

He attained this latter honour in January, 1763. After taking his bachelor's degree he became second usher in an academy at Greenwich, in which situation he remained nearly three years. In June, 1766, he was elected to a fellowship of Christ church, and returning to the university, became one of the tutors of his college. In this situation he delivered lectures on metaphysics, morals, and the Greek Testament, and, subsequently, on divinity.

In 1771, he strenuously opposed the application of John Horne Tooke for the degree of M. A., on the ground that Tooke had apparently renounced all religion. During the same year, a Spanish musician, named Ximenes, of whom Lord Sandwich was a warm patron, obtained leave to give a concert in the hall of Christ college; but Paley peremptorily insisted that it should not take place unless a satisfactory assurance were given, that a certain lady, then under the protection of his lordship, and who had been openly distributing tickets, would not attend it. About this period, he occasionally preached at St Mary's. It has been stated, that he officiated there when Pitt visited Cambridge, soon after his elevation to the premiership, and that he took occasion to rebuke the numerous members of the university who had been guilty of mean adulation towards the youthful minister, by selecting the following text for his discourse:—"There is a lad here, which hath five barley loaves and two small fishes; but what are they among so many?"

In 1774, Paley corrected the press of an edition of Dr Waring's 'Miscellanea Analytica,' although he appears never to have entertained any great predilection for the mathematics. In the following year he was collated by his friend, Bishop Law, to the rectory of Musgrove in Westmoreland; and soon after was presented to the vicarage of Dalston in Cumberland, and the living of Appleby.

In 1782, Dr Law was created bishop of Clonfert; and the archdeaconry of Carlisle, which he vacated, was given to Dr Paley, who accompanied his friend to Dublin and Clonfert, and preached the sermon at his consecration. About this period he exchanged the living at Appleby for a stall in the cathedral of Carlisle, by which his clerical dignity was increased and his income enlarged.

It was while his residence was divided between Carlisle and Dalston, that Paley undertook to write his first and most celebrated work, 'The Elements of Moral and Political Philosophy.' It would perhaps never have been produced by a just confidence in his own talents, if that had not been aided by the encouragement of Dr John Law, who having, while they were connected together at college, enjoyed frequent opportunities of looking into Paley's lectures, had early conceived an idea that they might be expanded into a most useful treatise. This he had often suggested to his friend, but Paley always objected the little attention that was paid by the public to these subjects, and was afraid he might print a book that would not be bought. But a living becoming vacant, Dr Law gave it to him on receiving a promise that he would consider it as a compensation for the hazard of printing, and immediately set about preparing his work for the press. Accordingly, in 1785 'The Elements of Moral and Political Philosophy' appeared. It was read with universal admiration, and editions were multiplied with a rapidity entirely unexpected by the author. With all its defects, this is a most valuable and acute work. His fundamental princi-

ple, that "the utility of any moral rule alone it is which constitutes the obligation to it," is most decidedly objectionable, and has been sufficiently refuted by various ethical writers.

In 1790, he published his 'Horæ Paulinæ,' in which, with profound sagacity, he illustrates and enforces the credibility of the Christian revelation, by showing the numerous coincidences between the Epistles of Paul and the Acts of the Apostles,—coincidences which no possible hypothesis but that of their veracity can account for.

In 1793 appeared his 'View of the Evidences of Christianity,' which has since become a standard work with students in divinity, and its great merits and usefulness have been universally acknowledged. In consequence of these important services to the cause of Christianity and of mankind, Dr Paley was deservedly rewarded with new honours. The bishop of London gave him a prebend of St Paul's: the sub-deanery of Lincoln was presented to him at the same time by Dr Tomline (then Dr Prettyman,) the bishop of Lincoln; and, within a few weeks, the valuable living of Bishop-Wearmouth, supposed to be worth £1500 per annum, was added by the bishop of Durham.

Dr Paley fixed his residence at Bishop-Wearmouth in 1795; but his office of sub-dean of Lincoln obliged him to reside in that city three months in the year. He now undertook and proceeded slowly with his last work, entitled 'Natural Theology; or Evidences of the Existence and Attributes of a Deity collected from the Appearances of Nature,' which was published in 1802. He died on the 25th of May, 1805.

It is in the character of a defender of the faith, says an able essayest, "that we would hold up Paley to almost unmingled admiration; in any other character his praise may be more qualified. We think it next to impossible for a candid unbeliever to read the 'Evidences' of Paley, in their proper order, unshaken. His 'Natural Theology' will open the heart, that it may understand, or at least receive, the scriptures, if any thing can. It is philosophy in its highest and noblest sense; scientific, without the jargon of science; profound, but so clear that its depth is disguised. There is nothing of the 'budge doctor' here; speculations which will convince, if aught will, that 'in the beginning God created the heaven and the earth,' are made familiar as household words. They are brought home to the experience of every man, the most ordinary observer on the facts of nature with which he is daily conversant. A thicker clothing, for instance, is provided in winter for that tribe of animals which are covered with fur. Now, in these days, such an assertion would be backed by an appeal to some learned Rabbi of a Zoological society, who had written a deep pamphlet, upon what he would probably call the Theory of Hair. But to whom does Paley refer us? To any dealer in rabbit skins. The curious contrivance in the bones of birds, to unite strength with lightness, is noticed. The bore is larger, in proportion to the weight of the bone, than in other animals; it is empty; the substance of the bone itself is of a closer texture. For these facts, any 'operative' would quote Sir Everard Home, or Professor Cuvier, by way of giving a sort of philosophical éclat to the affair, and throwing a little learned dust in the eyes of the public. Paley, however, advises you to make your own observations when you happen to be engaged in the scientific operation of picking the leg or wing of a chicken. The very singular

correspondence between the two sides of any animal, the right hand answering to the left, and so on, is touched upon, as a proof of a contriving Creator, and a very striking one it is. Well! we have a long and abstruse problem in chances worked out to show that it was so many millions, and so many odd thousands to one, that accident could not have produced the phenomenon; not a bit of it. Paley (who was probably scratching his head at the moment) offers no other confirmation of his assertion, than that it is the most difficult thing in the world to get a wig made even, seldom as it is that the face is made awry. The circulation of the blood, and the provision for its getting from the heart to the extremities, and back again, affords a singular demonstration of the Maker of the body being an admirable Master both of mechanics and hydrostatics. But what is the language in which Paley talks of this process?—technical?—that mystical nomenclature of Diaforius, which frightens country patients out of their wits, thinking, as they very naturally do, that a disease must be very horrid which involves such very horrid names? Hear our anatomist from Giggleswick: 'The aorta of a whale is larger in the bore than the main-pipe of the water-works at London Bridge; and the roaring in the passage through that pipe is inferior, in impetus and velocity, to the blood gushing from the whale's heart.' He cares not whence he fetches his illustrations, provided they are to the purpose. The laminæ of the feathers of birds are kept together by teeth that hook into one another, 'as a latch enters into the catch, and fastens a door.' The eyes of the mole are protected by being very small, and buried deep in a cushion of skin, so that the apertures leading to them are like pin-holes in a piece of velvet, scarcely pervious to loose particles of earth. The snail without wings, feet, or thread, adheres to a stalk by a provision of sticking-plaster. The lobster, as he grows, is furnished with a way of uncasing himself of his buckler, and drawing his legs out of his boots when they become too small for him. In this unambitious manner does Paley prosecute his high theme, drawing, as it were, philosophy from the clouds. But it is not merely the fund of entertaining knowledge which the 'Natural Theology' contains, or the admirable address displayed in the adaptation of it, which fits it for working conviction; the 'sunshine of the breast,' the cheerful spirit with which its benevolent author goes on his way (κυδει γαιων), this it is that carries the coldest reader captive, and constrains him to confess within himself, and even in spite of himself, 'it is good for me to be here.' Voltaire may send his hero about the world to spy out its morbid anatomy with a fiendish satisfaction, and those may follow him in his nauseous errand who will, but give us the feelings of the man who could pour forth his spirit in such language as this: 'It is a happy world after all; the air, the earth, the water, teem with delighted existence. In a spring noon, or a summer's evening, on whichever side I turn mine eyes, myriads of happy beings crowd upon my view. "The insect youth are on the wing." Swarms of new-born flies are trying their pinions in the air. Their sportive motions, their wanton mazes, their gratuitous activity, their continual change of place without use or purpose, testify their joy, and the exultation they feel in their lately discovered faculties.'"

"Mr Blanco White read the 'Natural Theology,' and was thereby induced to read the 'Evidences.' This is precisely what we have been

arguing for; thus let the blow be followed up. The truth of Christianity depends upon the truth of its leading facts. Here are a number of transactions recorded, which do not relate to an obscure clan in some wild and sequestered corner of the earth, but such as are said to have happened in a most civilized age, and amongst a well known people. They involve the customs, the rites, the prejudices of many nations and languages; they are full of allusions to their institutions, domestic, civil, political, religious; they constantly lay themselves open to a scrutiny on the minutest points of geography, of history, of chronology. They not unfrequently make mention of individuals,—of individuals not so famous as to be spoken of with safety on public report alone, nor yet so obscure as to admit of being spoken of at random without detection. They not seldom refer to the accidents of the day, a tumult, a conspiracy, a dearth. What room is there here for the application of tests to ascertain their veracity! If they endure such tests, (as they do,) the cumulative argument is little short of demonstration. But this very same history, of which the component parts are marked by characters of truth thus various, tells of miracles. What is to be done with these? Yet, if these be true, then is not preaching vain, nor faith vain. The 'Horæ Paulinæ' is but one of these many departments of evidence; but it is, perhaps, the most satisfactory, and certainly the most ingenious of them all."[1]

Paley is described, by a writer in the 'New Monthly Magazine,' as having been a thick, short, square-built man; with a face which, though animated and cheerful, could not but at first sight appear ugly; with bushy brows, snub nose, and projecting teeth; with an awkward gait and movement of the arms, and a decent and dignified, but by no means excessive, protuberance of the belly; wearing a white wig, and a court coat, but without a cassock,—for to this part of the dress of a dignified ecclesiastic, he had a particular dislike, calling it 'a black apron, such as the master-tailors wear in Durham.' His utterance was indistinct, and his dialect remarkably provincial: "When the persons with whom he conversed were near him, he talked between his teeth; but there was a variety and propriety in his tones,—an emphasis, so pronounced, and so clearly conveying his meaning,—assisted, too, by an intelligent smile, or arch leer,—that not only what was really witty appeared doubly clever, but his ordinary remarks seemed ingenious."

Bishop Horsley.

BORN A.D. 1733.—DIED A.D. 1806.

THIS celebrated prelate was born in London, in the parish of St Martin's, of which his father was incumbent. He was educated at Westminster school, whence he was sent to Cambridge, where he took the degree of LL.B. in 1758.

He early attained distinguished proficiency in mathematical studies. His edition of Apollonius, printed at the Clarendon press in 1769, obtained for him a high rank amongst the geometricians of his country.

[1] Quarterly Review.

In 1773 he was chosen secretary of the Royal society. In 1774 he was presented by the earl of Aylesford, to whom he had acted as tutor, with the rectory of Aldbury; and, in the same year, he received the degree of LL.D. from Oxford. Bishop Lowth, soon after this, appointed him his private chaplain, and gave him a prebendal stall in St Paul's.

In 1778 he preached his celebrated Good-Friday sermon in St Paul's cathedral, in which, with equal acuteness and force, he attacked the Necessarian hypothesis. In 1781 he was appointed archdeacon of St Alban's. At a visitation, held 22d May, 1783, he delivered a charge to the clergy of his archdeaconry, in which he severely animadverted upon Priestley's 'History of the Corruptions of Christianity.' In this discourse, Horsley maintains that the opinions of Dr Priestley on the subject in question are in general the same with those of Daniel Zuicker, a Prussian divine of the preceding century, viz. that the first race of Christians were Unitarians; the second, Arians. The arguments, too, by which both Priestley and Zuicker support their assertions, Dr Horsley shows to be the same; and he then proves to our conviction that the faith of the first Christians was not Unitarian. It follows, of course, and he shows by additional evidence, that what was believed by the first race of Christians could be no invention of the second. He farther shows that the notion of a Trinity, more or less removed from the purity of the Christian faith, is found to have been a leading principle in all the ancient schools of philosophy, and in the religions of almost all nations. Dr Priestley's assumption, that the doctrine of our Lord's divinity was an innovation of the Platonic Christians of the second century, being overthrown by direct proof that this pretended innovation was a part of the faith of the first Christians, all secondary arguments became insignificant: our author, however, reviews some of these, and shows their frivolity. Dr Horsley goes on to show that the notion of the gradual progress of opinions, from the mere Unitarian doctrine to the Arian, and from the Arian to the Athanasian faith, is wholly groundless. Dr Priestley instantly replied to the archdeacon, in a series of letters, in which he repeated all his former assertions. Horsley rejoined with still greater force and severity. Dr Priestley continued the combat in another series of letters, to which the archdeacon again replied. The controversy here closed on the part of the latter; who signified that it was an endless task to contend upon an exhausted topic, with one who was never disposed to cease disputing till he had obtained the last word. In 1789 Dr Horsley collected these tracts, and printed them in one volume octavo, with some additions, particularly a sermon on the incarnation, preached at Newington, on Christmas-day 1785; and which, having a material relation to the controversy in question, he thought proper to insert in this collection.

While this dispute was going on, Dr Horsley was engaged in another which made nearly as much noise as the first, at least in the scientific world. When Sir Joseph Banks was chosen president of the Royal society, on the resignation of Sir John Pringle, the mathematical and philosophical members of the Newtonian school were disgusted at the extraordinary preference which was shown to subjects, as they conceived, of an inferior nature to those which ought to engage the atten-

tion of their learned society. It has been said that cabals were formed by those members of the old stamp against the president and his friends; but of this no proof was ever brought forward. In 1784, however, the latter ventured upon a step which could not fail to fan the smothering flame into a blaze. The council thought proper to dismiss the learned Dr Hutton from the office of Latin secretary for foreign correspondence upon the very frivolous pretence that it was improper such a post should be filled by a person who did not reside in the metropolis. The scientific members took fire at this treatment of one of the ablest and most respectable of their body. Accordingly, in several meetings of the society, attempts were made to lessen the influence of their president, and to reinstate Dr Hutton in his place, but without success. In this contest between philosophy and the virtuosi, Dr Horsley made the most conspicuous figure. Finding, however, that his labours, and those of his learned associates, were in vain, he forsook (to express it in his own forcible language) "that temple, where philosophy once reigned, and where Newton presided as her officiating minister."

In 1786, Dr Horsley obtained, without either solicitation or even expectancy, a prebend in the cathedral church of Gloucester. His friend, on this occasion, was Lord Thurlow, then chancellor; who, without being personally known to Dr Horsley, or receiving any application on his behalf, resisted every request that was made for this valuable preferment, and bestowed it upon the man whom he justly considered as having merited it the most.

In 1788, Dr Horsley was elevated to the episcopal bench, on the translation of Dr Smallwell from the see of St David's to that of Oxford. Lord Thurlow, on this occasion, was again his steady and unsolicited patron; and made it a point to bring in his friend, in opposition to candidates who were backed by all the force of ministerial influence. His conduct in the see of St David's was highly praiseworthy. Of all the bishoprics, no one exhibited more poverty or more ignorance on the part of the clergy than this. Many of the curacies, when his lordship entered upon the government of this extensive diocese, did not exceed ten pounds per annum, and some of the churches were actually served for five! What was still worse, the multitude of candidates for orders increased yearly; so that Wales poured her superfluous clergy into England, to the disgrace of the cloth, and the real injury of such as were regularly bred. A reform was therefore necessary, but it required a strong and persevering mind to accomplish it. Dr Horsley was not to be daunted by any obstacles. He obtained an accurate and minute state of his diocese. He then gave notice to the beneficed clergy, who did not reside, that they would be compelled to residence, or to allow their curates a more liberal salary. By these means, he remedied that shameful abuse of one man's serving several churches on the same day; directing that a curate should serve two only, and those within a moderate distance of each other. Having regulated the condition of the clergy, he proceeded to a stricter course with respect to candidates for holy orders, admitting none without personally examining them himself, and looking very narrowly into the titles which they produced. With all this vigilance, his lordship acted to them as a tender father, encouraging them to visit him during his stay in the country, which was usually for several months in the year, assisting them with

advice, and administering to their temporal necessities with a liberal and paternal hand.

In 1793, Bishop Horsley was translated from the see of St David's to that of Rochester, with the deanery of Westminster. In 1796 he printed, without his name, a profound and elegant dissertation on the Latin and Greek Prosodies.—In this learned performance he shows an uncommon acquaintance with the nature and construction of the ancient languages, and approves himself a powerful advocate for the use of the Greek accents. In the year 1800 was published, 'The Substance of the Bishop of Rochester's Speech in the House of Peers, May the 23d, in the Debate on the third reading of the Bill for the Punishment, and more effectual Prevention, of the crime of Adultery.' This speech combines all the energy of diction and vigorous turn of thought that characterizes the rest of his productions; but many of his arguments are founded on doubtful constructions. In the same year appeared his 'Critical Disquisitions on the eighteenth chapter of Isaiah, in a Letter to Edward King, Esq.' He likewise published, in the year 1800, a charge to the clergy of his diocese, delivered at his second general visitation, in which he indignantly reprobates the principles of the French philosophers and German illuminati, and expresses some apprehension concerning the progress of Methodism in his own country. In 1801, he published an octavo volume, entitled 'Elementary Treatises on the Fundamental Principles of Practical Mathematics, for the use of Students.' Although published first, this is the last in order of three volumes of Elementary Geometry which this prelate sent forth from the Clarendon press. The other two volumes were in Latin, and the last of them made its appearance in 1803. The first volume contains the twelve books of Euclid, with the author's corrections; the second, Euclid's data, a book on the properties of the sphere, Archimedes on the dimensions of the circle, and Dr Keil's elegant treatise on the nature and use of logarithms; and the third, in English, consisted, according to the title, of Elementary Treatises.

In 1802, this indefatigable prelate published a new translation of the prophet Hosea, with notes critical and explanatory, which evince profound erudition and patient perseverance. He was, in the same year, on the demise of Dr Bagot, translated to the more lucrative see of St Asaph. In 1804 was published, the substance of his speech on the 23d July, on the bill for the relief of certain incumbents of livings in London. In behalf of this measure, the bishop argued with fairness and ability. Soon afterwards appeared his sermon on 'Christ's Descent into Hell, and the intermediate State,' from 1 Peter iii. 18—20, which was intended to have formed part of the appendix to the second edition of his translation of Hosea. In 1805, Dr Horsley printed a critical essay 'On Virgil's two Seasons of Honey, and his Season of sowing Wheat; with a new and compendious Method of investigating the Risings and Settings of the Fixed Stars;' and on the 5th of December, in the same year, he preached, in the cathedral of St Asaph, a sermon, which he afterwards published, under the title of 'The Watchers and the Holy Ones.'

This indefatigable prelate died on the 4th of October, 1806. As a polemical theologian he holds a foremost place. It is deeply to be regretted, however, that he should have frequently expressed himself in a

tone of imperious dogmatism, and that his political principles were of the very worst and most servile school.

Archbishop Markham.

BORN A. D. 1719.—DIED A. D. 1806.

DR MARKHAM, who was descended from an English family, is said to have been a native of Ireland. The precise epoch of his birth is not exactly ascertained; but he is supposed to have been born in 1719 or 1720; and it is certain that he came over to this country at a very early period of life, as he was entered at Westminster school whilst a little boy. After distinguishing himself at this seminary by his Latin verses, young Markham repaired to Oxford, and became a member of Christ church, over which he himself was fated afterwards to preside. Here again his taste for Latin poetry obtained for him countenance and protection, and we find him, at twenty-five years of age, obtaining the degree of M. A.

About five years after this period, he became head-master of Westminster school; and although he did not enjoy that office like his celebrated precursor, Dr Busby, for half-a-century, yet, during a long and busy period,[1] he discharged the important functions assigned to him, with an uncommon degree of reputation.

On November 20th, 1752, he proceeded B. C. L. and on the 24th of the same month, was created D. C. L. We are unacquainted with the motives that induced Dr Markham to take his degrees in civil law, instead of divinity; but the fact is as above stated, and this circumstance seems to favour the conjecture, that he had not at that period resolved to dedicate himself to the church. In the course of time, however, higher prospects opened to his view, and he was enabled, whilst wielding the ferula of the pedagogue, to discern the mitre that seemed to hover over Dean's yard. In 1759, at a time when he still pursued his scholastic occupations, Dr Markham was enabled to taste the sweets of preferment; and the very first mark of favour conferred on him, rendered him at once a dignitary of the Anglican church, in consequence of his nomination to a stall in Durham cathedral. In 1765, after he had ceased to be head-master of Westminster school, he obtained the deanery of Rochester, which he vacated two years after for the still more enviable situation of dean of Christ church.

The uninterrupted leisure of a university afforded ample opportunity for the subject of this memoir to indulge a taste for literature, and to attempt wholesome reforms in the college now committed to his care. He is said, however, to have been of an indolent disposition, and to have felt but little passion for fame, yet, at this very period, several of his contemporaries[2] were beginning to render their names celebrated by

[1] Fourteen years.

[2] Of these, Dr Horne, then fellow of Magdalen college, distinguished himself by his controversial and miscellaneous writings, and died bishop of Norwich in 1792. Sir William Blackstone, created D. C. L. of All Souls, in 1750, soon acquired fame in a different line, and, after obtaining great applause as Vinerian professor, a circumstance which led to the composition of the 'Commentaries on the Laws of England,' he be

their labours, and at length attained a degree of reputation, which it was not in his—even after he had acquired his archiepiscopal honours—to emulate. But although he did not acquire fame, yet he assuredly gratified every other reasonable wish that ambition could suggest.

In 1769 he was selected by the archbishop of Canterbury to preach before the synod of his province: soon after, it was determined to advance Dr Markham to a seat on the episcopal bench; and accordingly, in 1771, he was consecrated bishop of Chester. This was but a prelude to an appointment of a very different, but very important nature, for in February of the same year, his lordship was selected to the high and confidential situation of preceptor to the heir-apparent. That he possessed learning and talents sufficient for that purpose, and in addition to this, had also acquired the habits of a teacher at an early period of life, was allowed by all: but there were not wanting some on the other hand, who censured the choice, and maintained that the political principles of his lordship were not exactly calculated for a prince of Wales, who could succeed to the crown of England on 'revolution principles' alone. Be this as it may, we have every reason to suppose that the bishop of Chester, assisted by Dr Cyril Jackson, afterwards dean of Christ church, conducted himself in his arduous task with becoming propriety until the summer of 1776, when he was succeeded by Dr Hurd, since bishop of Worcester. This change was rather sudden, and, as has been said, unexpected: but certain it is, that his majesty always entertained a high sense of the services of Dr Markham, and seized every opportunity to express his gratitude. The political principles of the then bishop of Chester were publicly avowed in a speech, delivered in parliament, and appear to have savoured of the obsolete creed of passive-obedience and non-resistance. But they proved no bar either to his own advancement, or that of his family. In 1777 Dr Markham was translated to the archbishopric of York, and was thus rewarded with the second dignity in the Anglican church, which he held during the almost unexampled period of thirty years, without censure, and even without animadversion.

We have perused the debates during the regency, without being able to find the name of the learned prelate prefixed to any speech. It was otherwise, however, during the trial of Mr Hastings,—to whom he had doubtless great obligations, for the governor-general had appointed one of his sons to the respectable and profitable situation of president at Benares, in 1781, when he was only twenty-one years of age. On the one hundred and third day of the trial, when Mr Burke, who had formerly lived in habits of intimacy with the archbishop, was conducting the cross-examination of Mr Wombwell, "relative to the salaries and pensions that had been paid to English gentlemen at Oude, from the Nabob's treasury," the archbishop of York, after evincing no small degree

came one of the twelve judges. Dr Robert Lowth, nearly at the same time, acquired a large portion of well merited reputation, by his 'Prælections on Hebrew Poetry,' his 'First Institutes of Grammar,' and his 'Translation of Isaiah.' After enjoying in succession the bishoprics of Limerick, St David's, and Oxford, he obtained that of London, and, perceiving the approaches of old age, had magnanimity enough to refuse the primacy. Such were the means by which these three great men aspired to, and obtained celebrity, whilst the dean of Christ church overwhelmed, perhaps, with his former fatigues at Westminster, followed a less extended and less laborious career.

of impatience, exclaimed with a very strong and pointed emphasis, that the conduct of the manager was 'illiberal!' This sally escaped without reply, although not without observation; and at a subsequent period, when the interrogations of Mr Auriol took place, the archbishop started up with much feeling, and said, "It was impossible for him silently to listen to the illiberal conduct of the managers; that he examined the witness as if he were examining, not a gentlemen, but a pickpocket; that the illiberality and inhumanity of the managers, in the course of this long trial, could not be exceeded by Marat and Robespierre, had the conduct of the trial been committed to them." The situation of Mr Burke, on this occasion, may be far more easily conceived than described. Whoever recollects the irritability of his temper, and the violent gusts of passion to which this celebrated man was occasionally subject, must wonder at his self-command at a moment like the present, when the honour of the committee of impeachment, and the dignity of the commons of England, were thus outraged. His only reply was: "that he had not heard one word of what had been spoken, and that he should act as if he had not."

On Tuesday, May 28th, 1793, Mr Baker, knight of the shire for Hertford, rose in his place, and complained of a gross libel, in the 'World' of the preceding day. "It attributed words," he added, "to a certain person, which he thought impossible for the person named to have used. The libel would therefore rest upon the asserters; but wherever it should ultimately rest, it would be for that house, by a future proceeding, to show that they would not suffer their character to be traduced by any man, however high, or however low." He concluded by giving notice, that he would on a future day read the paper, and make a motion thereon; but Mr C. Townshend having observed, "that the reverend prelate alluded to, had just met a severe misfortune in the death of his daughter," the notice was first waved and at length wholly omitted. Notwithstanding this, on Friday, March 20th, 1794, when the article of the accusation respecting the acceptance of presents, came under the consideration of the house of peers in Westminster-hall, the archbishop took an opportunity to remark on the conduct that had been observed respecting the prisoner at the bar. He stated, "that in his time he had been a great reader of ancient history, and the present conversation reminded him of the case of Cato the Censor, one of the honestest and best men that the Roman republic had ever produced. Yet that great man, after having filled the first offices of the state with the highest reputation, was impeached; he was impeached forty times, and was attacked by a factious demagogue of his day, relative to an item of an account. When last impeached, he was eighty years of age, and he reminded his prosecutors, that a generation of men, who had not witnessed his services, were prosecuting him for trifles. What was the case of one Mr Hastings? No consideration for his high character, no consideration for his splendid and important services, for the esteem, love, and veneration, which he was held in by the millions that he governed for so many years. No, my lords," the prelate added with warmth, "he is treated, not as if he were a gentleman, whose cause is before you, but as if you were trying a horse-stealer!" The lord-chancellor on this said, "That there was no noble lord present who felt greater respect for the talents and virtues of the learned prelate than he

did, or who was more disposed to consider with attention any thing that fell from so respectable a quarter; but in the present stage of the proceeding, their lordships were precluded from saying one word of the services of Mr Hastings, and still more were they precluded from taking them into consideration. They were trying the case alleged, not the person of Mr Hastings."

Dr Markham died in 1806. He was tall in point of size; in his manners lofty and commanding. The archiepiscopal office lost none of its dignity in such a representative. He is said to have possessed a certain "constitutional indolence," which prevented the display of his talents, in a manner calculated to render his name celebrated, and his acquirements useful; to his credit, however, be it recollected, that at the age of eighty, he attended the exercises at Westminister school on all public occasions, and seemed to take delight in the progress of the scholars. The following anecdote is told of his mastership. The son of a nobleman, on his first entrance into the school, approached the doctor, and, perhaps, with a little conscious dignity, inquired if there was not a proper place for the students of noble families; and if there was, in what part of it he was to be seated. Dr Markham, who, although he possessed that professional dignity arising from rectitude of principle, had not a single spark of pride, turned his eyes upon his youthful tyro, and in a moment took the measure of his mind, in which he discerned something that he determined to eradicate: "You, Sir," said he, "with more confidence, and consequently less respect for me, than you ought, on this important occasion, to feel, inquire for your proper place in this school: it is, therefore, my duty to inform you, that here the only distinctions that are made are those which arise from superior talents and superior application; the youth that wishes to obtain eminence, must endeavour by assiduity to deserve it; therefore, your place, at present, is on the lowest seat of the lowest form; you will rise in academical rank, according to your scholastic merit; and I shall be extremely glad to see your genius and application carry you, in a very short time, to the head of your form, and indeed, to the head of the school. May each of your transitions be, therefore, distinguished by literary exertions, the only means by which you can here arrive at literary honours."

The archbishop's works consist of 1. a 'Concio ad Cleros.' 2. A Latin speech, on presenting Dr Thomas as Prolocutor to the Convocation. 3. Several single sermons, among which, one preached before the society for propagating the gospel in foreign parts, excited much attention, and, in the language of a writer of that day, was thought of an "intolerant complexion."[1]

Bishop Douglas.

BORN A. D. 1721.—DIED A. D. 1807.

Dr John Douglas, bishop of Salisbury, was born in 1721. He was the son of Archibald Douglas, a respectable merchant at the port of

[1] Abridged from memoir in the 'Monthly Magazine' for January, 1808.

Pittenweem, in Fifeshire. His grandfather—a younger brother of the family of Douglas of Talliquilly, in the shire of Kinross, one of the oldest branches of the house of Douglas—was a clergyman of the episcopal church of Scotland, and the immediate successor of Bishop Burnet, in the living of Salton, in East Lothian; from which preferment he was ejected, at the Revolution, when presbyterianism was established in Scotland.

The bishop was for some years at school at Dunbar. In 1736, he was entered a commoner of St Mary's hall, Oxford. He remained there till 1738, when he removed to Baliol college, on being elected an exhibitioner on Bishop Warner's foundation. In 1741 he took his bachelor's degree; and in 1742, in order to acquire a facility of speaking French, which he had previously learnt grammatically, he went abroad, and remained for some time at Montreal, in Picardy, and afterwards at Ghent. On his return to college, in 1743, he took his master's degree; and having been ordained deacon in 1744, was appointed to officiate as chaplain to the 3d regiment of foot guards, which he joined when serving with the combined army in Flanders. During the time he remained with the army, he employed himself in the study of modern languages. He was not an inactive spectator of the battle of Fontenoy, which happened April 29th, 1745, as, on that occasion, he was employed in carrying orders from General Campbell to the English, who guarded the village in which he and the other generals were stationed. In September, 1745, he returned to England, with that détachment of the army which was ordered home on the breaking out of the rebellion; and having no longer any connection with the guards, he went back to Baliol college, where he was elected one of the exhibitioners on Mr Snell's foundation.

In 1747 he was ordained priest, and became curate of Tilchurst, near Reading, and afterwards of Dunstew, in Oxfordshire, where he was residing, when, at the recommendation of Dr Charles Stuart, and Lady Allen, a particular friend of the bishop's mother, he was selected by Lord Bath as a tutor, to accompany his son, Lord Pulteney, on his travels.

After accompanying his pupil through various parts of the continent, Dr Douglas quitted his charge, and returned to England. The death of this young nobleman, which happened on the 12th of February, 1763, severely afflicted his father. The melancholy intelligence was conveyed to him by Dr Douglas, and the communication of it was attended with very affecting circumstances. Having served some campaigns in Portugal, Lord Pulteney was proceeding on his return through Spain, when he was seized with a fever and died at Madrid, there being no assistance to be procured but that of an ignorant Irish physician. On the day when the intelligence of this unhappy event reached Lord Bath's house, the bishop of Rochester, the bishop of Bristol, and Dr Douglas, had met there to dine with his lordship, and congratulate him on the prospect of his son's return. Lord Bath being accidentally detained at the house of lords, did not arrive until they had all assembled; and whilst they waited for him, the despatch was received. They agreed not to disclose the news until the evening. Lord Bath talked of nothing during dinner but of his son, of his long absence, and of the pleasure he should have in seeing him settled at home, and married,—an

event exceedingly desirable to so fond a father, with such a title an estate, and no other child to inherit them. When the servants were withdrawn, his lordship filled out a glass of wine to the bishop of Lichester, who sat next him, and desired the prelate to drink "to the health of Lord Pulteney, and his safe return." The bishop of Bath said, with some solemnity, "My lord, I drink your good health."—"No! no!" said Lord Bath—"you are to drink to Lord Pulteney's good health."—"My lord, rejoined the bishop, I drink to your good health, and may God support you under your afflictions!" Upon which Dr Douglas, bursting into tears, related the matter. "It was," says Bishop Newton, "a moving, melancholy sight, to see that great and good old man in the agonies of grief on so sad and just an occasion, and might have moved those who were less interested about the parties than we were." Lord Pulteney, though not equal perhaps in talents to his father, yet had assiduously cultivated a naturally good understanding, and would have done honour to his rank had his life been spared.

In October, 1749, Dr Douglas took possession of the living of Eaton-Constantine, and the donation of Uppington, in Shropshire, on the presentation of Lord Bath. In November, 1750, he published his first literary work, 'The Vindication of Milton' from the charge of plagiarism brought against him by Lauder. In the same year he was presented by Lord Bath to the living of High Ercall, and vacated that of Eaton-Constantine. He only resided occasionally on his livings; at the desire of Lord Bath, he took a house contiguous to Bath house, where he passed the winter months. In the summer he generally accompanied Lord Bath in his excursions to Shrewsbury, Tunbridge, Cheltenham, and Bath, and in his visits to the duke of Cleveland's, Lord Lyttleton's, Sir H. Bedingfield's, &c.

In the spring of 1754, he published the 'Criterion of Miracles,' in the form of a letter to an anonymous correspondent, since known to have been Dr Adam Smith. In 1755 he wrote a pamphlet, entitled 'An Apology for the Clergy,' against the Hutchinsonians, &c; and shortly afterwards another pamphlet, entitled 'The Destruction of the French foretold by Ezekiel,' against the same sects; being an ironical defence of them against the attack made on them in the former pamphlet, and a burlesque of their style of expounding the scriptures. In 1756 he published his first pamphlet against Archibald Bower; and in the autumn of that year, a pamphlet entitled 'A Serious Defence of the Administration;' being an ironical justification of their introducing foreign troops to defend this country. In 1757 he published 'Bower and Tillemont compared;' within a very short time afterwards, 'A full Confutation of Bower's Three Defences;' and, in the spring of 1758, 'The complete and final Detection of Bower.' In the Easter term of this year he took his doctor's degree, and was presented by Lord Bath to the living of Kenley, in Shropshire. In 1759 he published 'The Conduct of a late Noble Commander candidly considered,' in defence of Lord George Sackville. In the same year he wrote and published 'A Letter to two great Men on the Approach of Peace,'—a pamphlet which excited great attention, and always passed for having been written by Lord Bath. In 1760 he wrote the preface to the translation of 'Hooke's Negotiations.' He was this year appointed one of his

majesty's chaplains. In 1761 he published 'Seasonable Hints from an honest Man,' as an exposition of Lord Bath's sentiments. In November, 1762, he was, through the interest of Lord Bath, made canon of Windsor. In December of that year, on the day on which the preliminaries of peace were to be taken into consideration in parliament, he wrote the paper called 'The Sentiments of a Frenchman,' which was printed on a sheet of paper, pasted upon the walls in every part of London, and distributed among the members as they entered the house. In 1763, he superintended the publication of Henry, Earl of Clarendon's Diary and Letters, and wrote the preface which is prefixed to those papers. In 1764 Lord Bath died, and left him his library; but General Pulteney wishing that it should not be removed from Bath House, he relinquished his claim, and accepted £1000 in lieu of it. General Pulteney left it to him again at his death, and he again gave it up to the late Sir William Pulteney for the same sum.

In 1764, he exchanged his livings in Shropshire for that of St Austin's and St Faith's in Wothing-street, London. In April, 1765, he married Elizabeth, daughter of H. Rooke, Esq. During this and the preceding year, as also in 1768, he wrote several political papers, which were printed in the 'Public Advertiser,' and all the letters which appeared in that paper in 1770 and 1771, under the signatures of Tacitus and Manlius, were written by him. In 1773 he assisted Sir John Dalrymple in arranging his MSS. In 1776 he was removed from the chapter of Windsor to that of St Paul's. During this and the subsequent year, he was employed in preparing Captain Cook's journal for publication, which he undertook at the urgent request of Lord Sandwich, then first lord of the admiralty. In 1777 he assisted Lord Hardwicke in arranging his miscellaneous papers, which came out in the following year. In 1778 he was elected a member of the Royal and Antiquarian societies. In 1781 he was again applied to by Lord Sandwich, to reduce into a shape fit for publication, the journal of Captain Cook's third and last voyage. The introduction and notes were supplied by him. In this year he was elected president of Sion college for the year, and preached the Latin sermon before that body. In 1786 he was elected one of the vice-presidents of the Antiquarian society; and in 1787 one of the trustees of the British Museum.

In September of this year, he was appointed bishop of Carlisle; and in 1788, succeeded to the deanery of Windsor, for which he vacated his residentiaryship of St Paul's. In 1789 he preached before the house of lords, and of course published the sermon, on the anniversary of King Charles's martyrdom. In June, 1791, he was translated to the see of Salisbury. In 1793 he preached the anniversary sermon before the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, which is prefixed to the annual printed account of their proceedings. Such were his habits of incessant application to the last hour of his long protracted life, that few men could have read more, for he never deemed any space of time too short to be employed in reading, nor was he ever seen by any of his family—except when strangers were present—without having a book or a pen in his hand.

He retained his faculties to the last, and till within two days of his death amused himself some hours each day by reading. After a life thus devoted to the cause of literature and religion, and not spent in

solitary seclusion from the world, but in the midst of its most active and busy scenes, he drew his last breath on the 18th of May, 1807, without a struggle and without a pang, in the arms of his son.

Bishop Hurd.

BORN A. D. 1720.—DIED A. D. 1808.

RICHARD HURD was born at Congreve, in Staffordshire, on the 13th of January, 1720. His parents were, according to his own statement, "plain, honest, and good people,—farmers, but of a turn of mind that might have honoured any rank and any education." After passing some time at two provincial schools, he was admitted, in 1733, of Emanuel college, Cambridge, where he took the degree of B. A. in 1738, and proceeded M. A. in 1742, during which year he was elected to a fellowship; shortly after, he took deacon's orders, and became B. D. in 1774.

The society of Emanuel college presented him to the living of Thurcaston in Leicestershire. In the retirement of his country-parish he prepared his edition of the 'Ars Poetica,' which he dedicated to Warburton. That prelate soon recognised his fine scholarship, and made him archdeacon of his diocese; he also procured his appointment to the preachership of Lincoln's inn, on the vacancy occasioned by his own resignation.

The twelve discourses which he delivered at the lecture which had been founded by his patron for the illustration of the prophecies, added to the high reputation which he already enjoyed. They attracted the attention of William, earl of Mansfield; and, at the request of that nobleman, Dr Hurd was appointed to succeed the archbishop of York as preceptor to their royal highnesses the prince of Wales and the duke of York.

In 1774 his majesty, with circumstances of grace and regard which peculiarly marked his perfect approbation, conferred on him the bishopric of Lichfield and Coventry. In 1781 the king appointed him clerk of the closet. In the same year he was translated to the see of Worcester; and in 1783, on the death of Archbishop Cornwallis, he had the offer of the primacy, which, however, he declined, "as a charge not suited to his temper and talents, and much too heavy for him to sustain, especially in such troubled times. Several much greater men than myself," added he, "have been contented to die bishops of Worcester; and I wish for no higher preferment."

The remainder of his life was passed, with very few intervals of absence, in his diocese, where he enjoyed an almost filial affection and respect from all around him. His serious employment consisted in the strictest discharge of the spiritual and temporal duties of his station; and his amusements, in literary composition, and the revisal of his former works. He died unmarried at Hartlebury, on Saturday, the 6th of June, 1808, in the eighty-ninth year of his age.

His first publication was Horace's epistle to the Pisos, 1749, which was reprinted, together with the epistle to Augustus, in 1753, in two octavo volumes, with an English commentary and notes. This work,

various editions of which have since appeared, is esteemed one of the most acute and classical pieces of criticism in the language. His 'Letters on Chivalry and Romance' were republished in 1765, together with his 'Moral and Political Dialogues,' in three small volumes.[1] About the same time, Mr Hume put forth his essay on the 'Nature and History of Religion,' which Dr Hurd answered with a boldness and perspicuity which suited his calling and his talents. Hume, in his rejoinder, charges him with "all the illiberal petulance, arrogance, and scurrility of the Warburtonian school."

The twelve discourses at Bishop Warburton's lectures for the Lincoln's-inn chapel, were published in 1772. Some passages in them were attacked by Mr Evanson. In the same year he published 'Select Works of Abraham Cowley,' with a preface and notes, in two small octavo volumes. In 1776, he published a volume of sermons preached at Lincoln's-inn chapel, between the years 1765 and 1776; to which, in 1781, he added two more.

His largest work appeared in 1788: this was an edition of the works of Bishop Warburton, in seven volumes, quarto, with a supplemental volume in octavo. For the deficiencies of this collection, he was attacked by Dr Parr; who, to supply the prelate's omissions, printed a volume entitled, 'Tracts by Warburton and a Warburtonian.' The last literary labour undertaken by Hurd was the arrangement for publication of Warburton's correspondence.

John Whitaker.

BORN A. D. 1735.—DIED A. D. 1808.

JOHN WHITAKER was born at Manchester about the year 1735. He went early to Oxford, where he was elected fellow of Christ church, and where he discovered those originalities and peculiarities of mind which afterwards so strongly marked him as an author and as a man. His vigour of intellect at once displayed itself among his acquaintance; but, whilst his animated conversation drew many around him, a few were repelled from the circle by his impatience of contradiction. The character of his genius, however, was soon decidedly manifested in literary composition. In 1771 Mr Whitaker published his 'History of Manchester,' in quarto, a work—distinguished above all other works of the class—for acuteness of research, bold imagination, independent sentiment, and correct information. Nor does its composition less merit applause, whether with respect to the arrangement of the materials, the style, or the language. With regard to the general subject, it may be observed, that Mr Whitaker was the first writer who could so light up the region of antiquarianism as to dissipate its obscurity, even to the eyes of ordinary spectators. The discoveries of our anti-

[1] "Some of these pieces had appeared before, without a name, and their success probably led the ingenious author to publish a complete and enlarged edition. These dialogues evince a profound knowledge of the English history and constitution, and breathe a warm attachment to the cause of liberty. It is said that the king, one day pointing to these dialogues, observed, 'These made Hurd a bishop. I never saw him till he came to kiss hands.'"—*Monthly Magazine.*

quaries, indeed, have been attended with no brilliant success; but Whitaker's 'Manchester' is one of the few books in which the truth of our island-history has been elucidated by the hand of a master.

It is rather singular that this work was—in the order of merit as well as time—the first of Mr Whitaker's publications. In proportion as he advanced in life his imagination seems, by a strange inversion of what is characteristic of our nature, to have gained an ascendancy over his judgment; and we perceive more of fancy and of passion,—of conjecture and hypothesis,—in some of his subsequent productions. His 'Genuine History of the Britons asserted,'—an octavo volume, published in 1782,—may be regarded as a sequel to his previous work. It contains a complete refutation of Macpherson, whose 'Introduction to the History of Great Britain and Ireland' is full of palpable mistakes and misrepresentations.

In 1773 we find Mr Whitaker filling the office of the morning preacher at Berkeley chapel, London, to which office he had been appointed by Mr Hughes; but about the end of the following year he was removed from that situation. This gave occasion to the publication of 'The Case between Mr Whitaker and Mr Hughes, relative to the Morning-preachership of Berkeley chapel;' in which Mr Whitaker relates some remarkable particulars, and declares himself "unalterably determined to carry the matter into Westminster hall!" He actually used his utmost efforts to bring his determination into action; but the fervour of his resentment threw him off his guard, and he expressed himself so indiscreetly that his 'Case' was considered as a libel by the court of king's bench. During his residence in London he had an opportunity of conversing with several of our most celebrated writers, among whom were Dr Johnson and the historian of the Roman empire. It does not appear that the former of these parties was much attached to Whitaker. With Gibbon Mr Whitaker was well-acquainted. The manuscript of the first volume of 'The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire' was submitted to his inspection; but, to his surprise, when he read the same volume in print, he found that chapter, which has been so obnoxious to the Christian world, then for the first time introduced to his notice!

About the year 1778 he succeeded, as fellow of Corpus Christi college, to the rectory of Ruan-Lanyhorne, Cornwall, one of the most valuable livings in the gift of that college, where he had proceeded to his degree of B. D. It might have been expected that retirement and leisure would greatly favour the pursuits of literature, and that, though 'the converser'—to use an expression of Mr Whitaker—had disappeared, the author would break forth with new energies. But Ruan-Lanyhorne was, for several years, no tranquil seat of the Muses. Mr Whitaker had proposed a tithe-composition to his parishioners by no means unreasonable. This they refused to pay; but he was steady to his purpose. A rupture ensued between the parties; the tithes were demanded in kind; disputes arose upon disputes, animosities were kindled, and litigations took place. It was long before harmony was restored to Ruan-Lanyhorne. In 1783 Mr Whitaker published a volume of 'Sermons.' That he should have published so little in the line of his profession is perhaps to be regretted: his 'Origin of Arianism' is a controversial tract full of erudition and ingenious argumenta-

tion. Another tractate of Mr Whitaker's was an essay on 'The Real Origin of Government,' expanded into a considerable treatise, from a sermon which he had preached before Bishop Butler, at his lordship's primary visitation. In the meantime the antiquary was not at rest. His 'Mary Queen of Scots,' published in 1787, in three octavo volumes; his 'Course of Hannibal over the Alps,'—his 'Ancient Cathedral of Cornwall,'—his 'Supplement to Mr Polwhele's Antiquities of Cornwall,'—all furnish good evidence of an imagination continually occupied in favourite pursuits. In criticism we find him, for the most part, candid and good-natured,—not sparing of censure, nor yet lavish of applause,—and affording us, in numerous instances, the most agreeable proofs of genuine benevolence. It was his critique on Gibbon that contributed greatly to the reputation of 'The English Review,' in which Mr Whitaker was the author of many valuable articles. To his pen, also, 'The British Critic,' and 'The Antijacobin Review,' were indebted for various pieces of criticism. The last work upon which Mr Whitaker employed his pen was the life of St Neot, the eldest brother of King Alfred.

Amidst his ardent and indefatigable researches into the antiquities of London, his friends detected the first symptoms of bodily decay. A journey which he made to London in connection with this enterprise, —his vast exertions there in procuring information,—and his exciting intercourse with literary characters,—brought on a debility which he little at first regarded, till it alarmed him in a stroke of paralysis. From this he never recovered to such a degree as to be able to resume, with any good effect, his studies or occupations. He died in 1808

Bishop Porteous, D.D.

BORN A. D. 1731.—DIED A. D. 1809.

BEILBY PORTEOUS, one of the youngest of a family of nineteen children, was born at York in 1731. His parents, of English extraction, were natives of North America. He had no other advantage of education in early life than that which was afforded by a common north-country grammar-school. At the usual age he removed to Cambridge, where he recommended himself by his studiousness and regularity, and gave no unpromising proof of talents and industry. The year after he took his bachelor's degree he was elected fellow of the college to which he belonged. He supplied the deficiency of his income at this time by undertaking the care of some private pupils; and, as he became more known, he acquired an increasing character for respectability of conduct and literary talents. His only publications during the academical part of his life seem to have been his poem on Death, which obtained the Seatonian prize, and a sermon preached before the university on the character of King David. The poem is one amongst the very few written for the Seatonian prize which have not sunk into oblivion soon after their appearance. It is written in all parts with feeling and in many with taste: the plan of it is well conceived; the descriptions are strong, glowing, and spirited; the language now and then borders on the harsh and uncouth, and the rhythm is at times not quite harmo-

nious. Few poems so good ever proceeded from any person who has remained without celebrity for poetical merit. The sermon on King David was occasioned by a licentious pamphlet, called 'The History of the Man after God's own Heart,' which had made a dangerous impression on the public mind, by a false representation of David's character, and of the reasons for which he was approved by God. This sermon introduced him to the notice of Archbishop Secker, who appointed him one of his domestic chaplains.

Here, then, in 1762, commenced a new era in his life. At Lambeth he had the advantage of pursuing his studies with the assistance of a good library. Archbishop Secker proved a kind friend and a liberal benefactor; he gave him some preferment after he had resided with him two years, by which he was enabled to marry, and shortly after he added the rectory of Lambeth. At this time he took his doctor's degree at Cambridge, and preached a sermon before the university, which was afterwards sent to the press. The preacher had lamented the want of sufficient attention to theology amongst the different academical studies. These observations happened to catch the attention of a gentleman in Norfolk, Mr Norris, who was induced to form and endow a permanent professorship for the purpose of giving theological lectures to the students, and also to institute an annual premium for the best essay on some theological subject. Archbishop Secker died in 1768. Dr Porteous, actuated by grateful remembrance of a person who had proved to him the kindest and the best of friends, and in discharge of a trust reposed in him by will, revised and edited his sermons, lectures, and other writings. To these he prefixed a review of the archbishop's life and character, written with elegance and judgment.

After the death of Archbishop Secker, Dr Porteous divided his residence between Lambeth and another living which he held in Kent, and performed with exemplary diligence the duties of a parish priest. He was promoted in 1776 to the bishopric of Chester. This preferment was perfectly unsolicited, and wholly unexpected till a short time before it took place. Another biographer informs us that his promotion was owing to the queen, who obtained much popularity by contributing to elevate so deserving a character. Having performed the diocesan duties of Chester for eleven years he was promoted, in 1787, to the bishopric of London. He is said to have left his former diocese with reluctance, having attached himself to it by much intercourse of civility amongst the clergy and other inhabitants, and projected several plans of improvement which he was unwilling to break off. His appointment appears to have been owing to the express recommendation of Mr Pitt, who considered him to possess the best qualifications for the situation. Subjoined to a copy of Mr Pitt's letter, informing him of his appointment, the following words were found written with the bishop's own hand: "I acknowledge the goodness of a kind Providence, and am sensible that nothing but this could have placed me in a situation so infinitely transcending my expectations and deserts."

In attending to the immediate business of his diocese his diligence was unwearied. The charge which he delivered to the clergy at his first visitation in the diocese of Chester is printed among his tracts. In this he enlarges with earnestness on the studies and habits most suited to the clerical character, enforces particularly the advantages of

personal residence, and recommends an attention to decorum as to dress and appearance, no less than to matters of more essential importance. The personal residence of the clergy, indeed, was at all times a primary object of his consideration. By keeping this constantly in view during the long period of his presiding over the diocese of London, he effected an important change in this respect; insomuch, that, at the time of his decease, where accidental circumstances did not interpose, an adequate accommodation was provided in every parish, and the proper minister was actually resident. In his primary charge to the diocese of London, which is also printed, he recommended, besides this momentous object of parochial residence, an increase of salary to the curates employed; and he also wished to direct the attention of the clergy to an improvement in church psalmody, as he knew that the dissenters made great use of music to allure congregations. Another subject, which he was always earnest in recommending, was the instruction of the poorer classes: as a means of effecting this, he promoted the establishment of Sunday schools; and, while he was bishop of Chester, addressed a letter to his clergy, forcibly pointing out the advantages of such institutions, and the good effects to be expected from their more extensive adoption. That attention, moreover, to the calls of duty which Bishop Porteous was so earnest in enforcing upon others, he was most forward to pay himself. In particular, for the purpose of checking indifference to religious duties and dissipation of manners, which appeared to him to be fixing themselves by firmer roots in our national character, he determined to deliver, at St James' church, his course of lectures upon St Matthew's gospel. The success which attended them exceeded his expectations: the church was always crowded, the audience appeared to feel what he said, and went away gratified and improved. He ever after expressed great satisfaction at the effect which these lectures appeared to have on the public. The last public act of his life was directed towards the observance of the Sabbath. The account shall be given in his own words: "I had for some time past observed in several of the papers an account of a meeting, chiefly of military gentlemen, at a hotel at the west end of the town, which was regularly announced as held every other Sunday during the winter season. This appeared to me, and to every friend of religion, a needless and wanton profanation of the Christian Sabbath, which, by the laws both of God and man, was set apart for very different purposes; and the bishops and clergy were severally censured for permitting such a glaring abuse of that sacred day to pass without notice or reproof. I determined that it should not, and therefore thought it best to go at once to the fountain-head, to the person of the highest and principal influence in the meeting, the prince of Wales. I accordingly requested the honour of an audience, and a personal conference with him on the subject. He very graciously granted it, and I had a conversation with him of more than half an hour. He entered immediately into my views, and confessed that he saw no reasons for holding the meeting on Sundays more than on other days of the week; and he voluntarily proposed that the day should be changed from Sunday to Saturday, for which he said he would give immediate orders."

Of the more public transactions to which he devoted his zeal and attention, the most important were the improvement of the condition of

the West India slaves, and the abolition of that inhuman trade itself. The first step towards the latter measure, was Sir William Dolben's bill in 1788, for regulating the number of slaves conveyed in each ship, and alleviating the miseries of the voyage. The bishop was so anxious during the progress of the bill, that he attended the house of lords, from Fulham, every day for a month. And in the long and arduous struggle which preceded the final abolition, he was always foremost amongst the strenuous supporters of the cause. "Next to the great and paramount concern of religion," says Mr Hodgson, "it was the object of all others nearest to his heart. He never spoke of it but with the utmost enthusiasm and animation. He spared no pains, no fatigue of mind or body, to further its accomplishment. He not only expressed his sentiments on every occasion that presented itself publicly and strongly in parliament, but was indefatigable in urging all, over whom he had any influence, to conspire and co-operate in what he considered the general cause of civilized man against a most intolerable system of cruelty and oppression. In short, the best years of his life, and all his talents and powers were applied and devoted to it; and I believe the happiest day beyond comparison, that he ever experienced, was the day of its final triumph." The bishop himself, in his reflections on the final abolition, says: "The act which has just passed will reflect immortal honour on the British parliament and the British nation. For myself, I am inexpressibly thankful to a kind Providence for permitting me to see this great work, after such a glorious struggle, brought to a conclusion. It has been for upwards of four and twenty years the constant object of my thoughts; and it will be a source of the purest and most genuine satisfaction to me during the remainder of my life, and above all, at the final close of it, that I have had some share in promoting to the utmost of my power the success of so important and so righteous a measure."

Such were the unwearied exertions of the bishop to fulfil the duties of his high station in the church, to extend the influence of religion, and to compass the ends of the purest philanthropy. He lived to his 78th year, and retained the full possession of his faculties.

Bishop Porteous is said, by Mr Hodgson, to have mixed with peculiar pleasantness and freedom in the private intercourse of society; he had particularly the talent of dissipating all reserve and restraint in persons around him, and of placing them perfectly at their ease. He was ever fond of promoting lively and cheerful conversation; he expressed himself in common society with facility and perspicuity, and his colloquial remarks were characterized by correct judgment and accurate information.

In estimating the moral qualities of his mind, his great characteristic was an unfeigned warmth of benevolence. The main plans and objects of his life were conceived and pursued in this spirit. He entered into them not merely from the cooler considerations of duty, but with an earnestness and a glow of feeling which showed that his whole heart and soul were in the business. In private acts of munificence, the same feeling seem to have marked his conduct. His charities, Mr Hodgson tells us, were so extensive, that he can hardly speak of them without risking the charge of exaggeration. The poor and the necessitous always found in him a warm and ready friend; he was disposed

to deal out his donations with discrimination, but often ran the risk of being imposed upon, for the chance of relieving real distress. He was ever a liberal contributor to charitable institutions. Besides this, he made some donations on a larger scale during his life, than is often observed in the example even of the most wealthy and munificent. Among these was the transferring of near £7000 stock for the relief of the poorer clergy in the diocese of London, and the erection and endowment of a chapel of ease at Tunbridge in Kent, at a very considerable expense.

He was unalterably attached to the church of England from principle, and the firmest persuasion of its superior excellence; and held its articles, homilies, and liturgy, to be essentially and fundamentally scriptural. He was a true friend to the discipline of the church, and supported it with firmness on just occasions. In the cant language of the day, he was often styled a Methodist: but as far as disapprobation of wild fanaticism and enthusiastic pretensions to immediate inspiration could exempt a man from this imputation, no one was ever more free from it. On some points connected with the relative state of the church and dissenters, he differed from many of his brethren; particularly in the zealous support which he invariably afforded the 'British and Foreign Bible society.' That his views in this were truly benevolent, cannot admit of the slightest doubt; some, indeed, have questioned whether this conduct was as much guided by sound discretion as it was prompted by real goodness of heart; but this is foreign to our present business.

He was not friendly to the claims of the Irish Catholics, although he never publicly expressed his sentiments on the subject. The following opinion is produced from his private papers by Mr Hodgson: "If the petition from the Catholics of Ireland had been for a more complete toleration in matters of religion, though it can hardly, I think, be more complete than it is, there was not an individual in the house who would have given a more cordial assent to the petition, than myself. I am, and ever have been, a decided friend to liberty of conscience. The truth is, it is an application for political power, and that power, I for one am not disposed to grant them, because I believe it would be difficult to produce a single instance where they have possessed political power in a Protestant country, without using it cruelly and tyrannically."

The bishop's reputation, as a preacher, was deservedly high. Independently of the sterling merit which his discourses possessed, he had the best external qualifications for excellence as a pulpit orator. His voice was clear and sonorous; he had the power of modulating it with good effect: his delivery was correct and chaste; his manner dignified and impressive. Above all, he appeared to feel as he spoke: there was an animation and earnestness about him, without the smallest tincture of art or affectation, which came home to the bosom of his hearers, and gave effect to every word.

Mr Hodgson does not claim for him the credit of profound erudition or comprehensive research. He appears, indeed, to have possessed a mind, less formed for a close and patient investigation of any one subject, than for a diffused attention to several. We would characterize him rather as a just thinker, than a deep one. In regard to theological

attainments, we should describe him as a clergyman well informed in the studies of his profession. He is said by his biographer to have been, to a certain degree, a Hebrew scholar, well versed in ecclesiastical history, in the evidences of religion, and in the different systems of theology; and we have no doubt that his knowledge in all these was sufficiently respectable. His apprehension seems to have been quick, his taste correct, and his memory retentive. The distinguishing and prominent feature of his mind, was a rich and exuberant imagination, which gives a peculiar warmth and colouring to his style. He did not excel in analysis or nice discrimination, nor was he remarkable for a keen penetrating sagacity. As a reasoner, he is not distinguished by a close and logical accuracy; still his arguments are generally so well conceived, and always so dressed out with expression, as forcibly to strike the attention.

Bishop Percy.

BORN A. D. 1728.—DIED A. D. 1811.

THOMAS PERCY, D. D. dean of Carlisle, and lastly bishop of Dromore, was a descendant of the family of the earls of Northumberland, or, as stated by Boswell, the heir-male of the ancient Percies. He was born at Bridgenorth, in Shropshire, in the year 1728; and educated at Christ church college, Oxford. In consequence of his connection with the family of the late duke of Northumberland he became his chaplain. In the year 1769 he was nominated one of the chaplains to his majesty; in 1778 he was promoted to the deanery of Carlisle; and in 1782 to the bishopric of Dromore, in the county of Down, where he expired, September 30th, 1811, at the advanced age of eighty-three.

He commenced his literary career in 1761, by publishing, 'Han Kiou Chouan, a translation from the Chinese Miscellanies,' and, in the following year, by 'Five Pieces of Runic Poetry,' freely paraphrased from the Icelandic. In 1764 appeared his version of the Song of Solomon, which was succeeded, in the following year, by his most popular work, 'Reliques of Ancient English Poetry.' He also published 'A Key to the New Testament;' translations of 'Mallett's Northern Antiquities;' 'The Hermit of Warkworth,' a poem; and a curious and valuable record belonging to the Percy family, entitled, 'The Northumberland Household Book.'

The antiquarian researches and literary effusions of Dr Percy are to be contemplated as the relaxations of an ardent mind. The first of these afforded him relief from his more serious avocations; and the latter introduced him to the friendship of scientific men, whose company gilded those hours in which it was absolutely necessary to unbend and seek those pleasures that arise from select society. In the early part of his life, Dr Percy became acquainted with most of the men of learning and genius that then adorned our literature. His 'Reliques of Ancient Poetry,' open to the learned new sources of investigation. While his admirable arrangement of some that were mere fragments, and his elegant mode of supplying their deficiences, systematized the whole in a manner that at once informed and delighted the

general reader. The beautiful ballad of 'The Friar of Orders Grey,' upon which Goldsmith founded his interesting poem of 'The Hermit,' was among the remains of antiquity that Dr Percy completed in the manner above-mentioned. The song of 'Oh Nannie, wilt thou gang wi' me,' was also his composition.

Dr Johnson once praised Pennant very highly; Dr Percy, who had measured the extent of his genius, and had, from local knowledge, reason to think meanly of some parts of his travels, ventured, with rather more eagerness than was usual to him, to express his opinion; opposition roused Johnson, and humiliation seems to have fanned the flame it was intended to smother; be this as it may, this trifling dispute produced the following letter, which does the memory of both parties honour.

"To JAMES BOSWELL, ESQ.

"Sir,—The foolish debate betwixt Dr Percy and me, is one of those foolish controversies which begin upon a question of which neither party cares how it is decided, and which is, nevertheless, continued to acrimony by the vanity with which every man resists confutation. Dr Percy's warmth proceeded from a cause, which, perhaps, does him more honour than he would have derived from juster criticism. His abhorrence of Pennant proceeded from his opinion that Pennant had wantonly and indecently censured his patron. His anger made him resolve that for having been once wrong, he never should be right. Pennant has much in his notions that I do not like, but still I think him a very intelligent traveller. If Percy is really offended, I am sorry, for he is a man whom I never knew to offend any one; he is a man very willing to learn, and very able to teach; a man out of whose company I never go without having learned something. It is true that he vexes me sometimes, but I am afraid it is by making me feel my own ignorance: so much extension of mind, and so much minute accuracy of inquiry, if you survey your whole circle of acquaintance, you will find so scarce, if you find it at all, that you will value Percy by comparison. Lord Hailes is somewhat like him: but Lord Hailes does not, perhaps, go beyond him in research, and I do not know that he equals him in elegance. Percy's attention to poetry has given grace and splendour to his studies of antiquity. A mere antiquarian is a rugged being.—Upon the whole you see, that what I might say in sport or petulance to him, is very consistent with full conviction of his merit. I am, dear Sir, your most, &c.

"SAM. JOHNSON."

Bishop Cleaver.

BORN A. D. 1742.—DIED A. D. 1815.

THIS prelate was born in the year 1742. He received his early education under his father, at the village of Twyford, Bucks. At an early age he was sent to Oxford; and, in 1764, he obtained a fellowship of Brazen-nose college, which he afterwards exchanged for the living of Cottingham in Northamptonshire.

When Earl Temple became viceroy of Ireland, in 1782, Mr Cleaver accompanied him to that country in the capacity of chaplain. He returned with his patron from Ireland in the following summer, and soon after obtained the headship of his college.

In early life Dr Cleaver had acted as tutor in the Grenville family: and to this house he was indebted for his promotion in the church. In 1784 he obtained a prebend in Westminster; and in 1787 he was elevated to the see of Chester on the translation of Dr Porteous to London. In 1800 he succeeded Dr Warren in the see of Bangor; and in 1806, was translated to the see of St Asaph, on the death of Bishop Horsley. He died in 1815.

Bishop Cleaver was a good classical scholar. His edition of Homer is remarkable for its accuracy. He published a volume of sermons, from which it is abundantly obvious that he was of the most moderate school of theology.

William Vincent, D. D.

BORN A. D. 1739.—DIED A. D. 1815.

DR VINCENT was the son of a London merchant. He was educated at Westminster, and was elected to Trinity college, Cambridge, in 1757. In 1762 he was appointed a teacher of Westminster school, and in 1788 he became master of that seminary. During Mr Addington's premiership he was made dean of Westminster.

His first publications consisted of single sermons, preached on different public occasions; these were succeeded by a few tracts on classical subjects; but his great work was his dissertation on the voyage of Nearchus to the Euphrates as collected from Arrian.

Dr Vincent died on the 21st of December, 1815. The following character of him appeared in the 'Gentleman's Magazine:'—"Those who have gone through college at Westminster, know well how to appreciate his (Dr Vincent's) services as second master; not, indeed, with reference to his exertions in the school, for they were confined to the under persons, but with respect to higher, greater, and more important duties. At Westminster school, the care of the king's scholars is confided to the vigilance and superintendence of the second master. He has the care of college; and in his hands are the preservation of its discipline, the guardianship of its morals, and the charge of its religious instruction. With a steadiness and fidelity rarely equalled, Dr Vincent discharged these difficult functions; but perhaps there never existed a man that rivalled him in the art of attracting from boys attention to his lectures. Four times a week, each year, preparatory to receiving of the sacrament, Dr Vincent explained the nature of that religious ceremony, its institution, its importance, and its benefits. And we believe such was his happy mode of imparting instruction, that there never was known an instance of any boy treating the disquisition with levity, or not showing an eagerness to be present at, and to profit by, the lesson. A clear sonorous voice; a fluent, easy, yet correct delivery; an expression at once familiar and impressive, rendered him a delightful speaker. These advantages he possessed also in common conversation; but he

displayed them more especially on public occasions, and never to greater advantage than in the pulpit. As sub-almoner, it was in the course of his duty to preach twice a year at the chapel-royal, before their majesties; and most certainly no divine in the course of the king's long reign, more recommended himself at that place, as a forcible, eloquent, and sound preacher, than Dr Vincent. On becoming dean of Westminster, he of course resigned the head mastership;—a step highly necessary to his future health, already not a little impaired by continual confinement, and almost total abstinence from exercise. But before he relinquished this station, in which he had attached to himself all those who had had the good fortune to be under his tuition, he still more increased his popularity with Westminster-men, by the publication of his 'Defence of Public Education.' This little work owed its origin to an attack, supposed to proceed from the pen of Dr Rennell, the master of the Temple, on the system of instruction pursued at public schools, particularly in the important matter of religion. Dr Vincent on this occasion took up the gauntlet in support of his own seminary; and most successfully vindicated it from the charge of neglect on this great point, by detailing specifically the stated exercises of prayer and sacred instruction in use at Westminster. After this period, Dr Vincent divided his time between his deanery and his living of Islip, to which he was presented by the church of Westminster, being always resident at either the one or the other; and during that period he frequently honoured the 'Gentleman's Magazine' by his valuable correspondence. There is not a doubt but that his release from the fatigues and anxiety of the school, and the ease and relaxation of mind which he enjoyed from his well-earned preferment, tended to the prolongation of his valuable life. After all, it was in the bosom of his family that Dr Vincent was seen to the greatest advantage. His mornings were dedicated to reading; his evenings to the society of his friends. In this tranquil and peaceful circle he endeared himself to all around him by the benignity of his disposition, the affability of his demeanour, and the charms of his conversation. Here were laid open that singleness of heart, and simplicity of mind, which none could appreciate justly but those who saw and were conversant with him in the free and familiar hours of domestic privacy. With qualifications which would have conferred dignity on the highest station in the church, and with an ambition, perhaps, not wholly averse from rank and elevation, Dr Vincent nevertheless loved quiet and retirement."

The following is a list of the dean's works;—1. 'A Letter to the Right Reverend Dr Richard Watson, King's Professor of Divinity in the University of Cambridge,' 8vo. 1780. Anonymous. 2. 'Considerations on Parochial Music,' 8vo. 1787. 3. 'A Sermon preached before the Sons of the Clergy,' 4to. 1789. 4. 'A Sermon preached at St Margaret's,' Westminster, for the Grey-coat School in that parish. This being a very loyal discourse, above 20,000 copies were distributed by the association at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, in the Strand; it was also reprinted at Bath, Canterbury, and Gloucester. 5. 'The Origination of the Greek Verb, an Hypothesis,' 8vo. This was republished, and enlarged under the title of 'The Greek Verb analysed.' 2d Edit. 6. 'De Legione Manliana, Quæstio ex Livio desumpta, et Rei Militaris Romanæ studiosis proposita, auctore

Gulielmo Vincent,' 1795. 7. 'The Voyage of Nearchus to the Euphrates; collected from the original journal preserved by Arrian,' 4to. 1799. 8. 'The Periplus of the Erythrean Sea,' 1800. Part I. 4to. 9. 'A Defence of Public Education,' addressed to the Most Reverend the Lord Bishop of Meath, in answer to a charge, annexed to his lordship's discourse, preached at St Paul's on the anniversary meeting of the charity children in 1799. 1801. 10. 'A Sermon preached before the Honourable House of Commons, at St Margaret's, Westminster, on Sunday, June 1, 1802, being the day appointed for a general thanksgiving.' 11. 'The Periplus of the Erythrean Sea,' Part II. 4to. 1805. 12. 'The Voyage of Nearchus, and the Periplus of the Erythrean Sea, translated from the Greek,' 1809. 13. 'Observations on the Geography of Susiana' have been printed in Mr Valpy's 'Classical Journal,' No. xviii. The dean also reviewed several articles in the 'British Critic,' particularly that relative to the controversy about the Troad; and inserted many articles occasionally in the 'Gentleman's Magazine.'

Jeremiah Joyce.

BORN A. D. 1763.—DIED A. D. 1815.

THIS ingenious writer was indebted to his own industry alone for his education and rise in life. He was originally designed for the trade of a glazier; but having by indefatigable perseverance made himself a reputable scholar, he entered the dissenting ministry, and published several useful works of an elementary class. "He was first known to the public," says a writer in the Monthly Magazine, "in consequence of the audacious attempt made by Messrs Pitt and Dundas on the lives of several undaunted friends of parliamentary reform; and Mr Joyce was specially marked for the vengeance of those unprincipled ministers, by the circumstance of his being tutor to the sons of Earl Stanhope, then a leader among the patriotic reformers. Indeed, the arrests and the subsequent state trials were said to have arisen from Mr Joyce having written a laconic note to Mr Tooke, about a literary work then on the eve of publication, in which he asked the question, 'Shall you be ready by Wednesday?' This note miscarried, and on Tuesday the arrests took place. Mr Joyce has often been heard to declare, that he did not personally know more than six, and had never spoken to more than three or four of the twelve strangers, to each of whom a grand jury were induced, under the misdirection of a judge, to find a true bill against, as jointly engaged in a conspiracy of treason! After the honourable acquittals of Messrs Hardy, Tooke, and Thelwall, the law-officers of the crown, in pure shame, dismissed Mr Joyce and the others without trial, but also without compensation for many months' false imprisonment, under charges which endangered their lives, and so deeply afflicted the feelings of the relatives of some of them, as to cause their premature deaths.

Earl Stanhope, who felt a wound through the sides of his son's preceptor, gave a splendid entertainment on the return of Mr Joyce to Chevening; but some family events soon rendering the continuance of his services unnecessary, he settled in London, and began that career

of literary industry which has often gratified the public, and is likely to prove so useful to the rising generation. One of the first employments in which he was thus engaged was as a coadjutor of the late Dr George Gregory, in his compendious Cyclopedia; and, the great success of that work having excited the avidity of other booksellers, Mr Joyce was engaged by the body of them, who then met at the Chapter coffee-house, to compile a new work on the plan of Gregory's, and it appeared under the name of the late William Nicholson. Both works having rapidly succeeded each other, and being completed within thirty months, the co-labourer in one, and the sole compiler of the other, became justly celebrated for his industry and learning, and we may add, for his zeal and integrity; but such great exertions brought on a severe attack of disease, from which he never fully recovered. Soon after, Mr Joyce completed his popular 'Elements of Arithmetic,' of which repeated editions of 10,000 have been sold, and it has long been adopted in the principal schools, as the best in the language. His next publication was his well-known 'Scientific Dialogues,' followed in the same line of composition, by his 'Dialogues on Chemistry and on the Microscope.' His other works were his 'Letters on Natural Philosophy,' his 'Introduction to the Arts and Sciences;' and lastly, he cooperated with Messrs Shepherd and Carpenter, in a well-planned work, called 'Systematic Education,' which has been favourably received. For many years he contributed the meteorological report to this magazine, even that in the present number, and often illustrated its pages by his contributions on matter of fact and useful subjects. One of his last communications was the account of his late brother, in our magazine for May; and at that time, and till within two hours of his death, he was in as good health as he had been for several years past. The qualities of his mind are to be estimated by the variety and extent of his labours; and in regard to those of his heart, we, who knew him well, can assert, that an honester or better man never lived. He has left an amiable widow, and a large young family, to deplore their irreparable loss in the produce of his unceasing industry, in the example afforded by his virtuous character, and in the valuable precepts and instructions with which he was so well-qualified to guide them to happiness."

Thomas Cogan.

BORN A. D. 1736.—DIED A. D. 1818.

THOMAS COGAN was born in the year 1736, at Rowell, in Northamptonshire, and was a descendant of an old and respectable family in that place. His father was an apothecary,—a man of repute in his profession, and respected for his good character. To literature and books he was much inclined, and had a particular fondness for metaphysical inquiries. A few pamphlets on some of the abstruser topics of mental philosophy, published at different times, prove the extent of his researches, and the industry and zeal with which he pursued them.

With these propensities in the father, it is to be supposed that he would feel a lively interest in the education of his son. After being

initiated into some of the simpler rudiments of learning, young Cogan was sent to Kibworth, in Leicestershire, and put under the charge of Dr Aikin. At this school he remained till he was fourteen years of age, when he returned to his father's house, and continued at home during the two or three succeeding years. About this time he began to think of preparing himself for the Christian ministry; and with the design of prosecuting a course of theological studies, he entered the academy at Mile End, where Dr Conder was teacher in divinity. For some reason, however, growing out of the management of the institution, Cogan soon became dissatisfied, and removed to Hoxton academy.

How long he remained in this seminary, or at what time he entered the ministerial office, is not known. In the year 1759, we find him preaching in Holland; and it is supposed that he acted as an assistant-preacher with Mr Snowden, at Rotterdam, who was minister of an English church founded there on the principles of the Dutch establishment. This station, however, he did not retain long, for in 1762 he had returned to his own country, and was settled over a congregation in Southampton. What length of time he held this situation is uncertain, but it seems that difficulties arose between him and the people concerning some of his opinions, which ultimately induced him to request a dismission. By his parents he had been taught the principles of Calvinism, but he subsequently embraced Unitarian sentiments, and perceiving his congregation troubled with suspicions of his heresy, he followed the dictates of wisdom and prudence in desiring to be released from the pastoral connexion.

Being thus freed from engagments at home, he went over again to Holland, where he filled the office of colleague with a clergyman in a congregation, composed of English residents. At this period the symptoms of a pulmonary complaint, with which he had been long slightly affected, began to exhibit a more alarming aspect, and to admonish him of the danger to which he was exposing himself by the exertions required in public speaking. In looking around for a new pursuit congenial with his inclination, and suited to his health, his thoughts were turned to the medical profession. After his mind had become settled in this choice, he commenced his new studies with a zeal and devotedness, which could hardly fail to insure him success. He made a short visit to England, where he gratified his friends by preaching a few discourses, and then went back to Holland, and became a regularly matriculated student of medicine at the university of Leyden. He completed the usual course at Leyden, and, when he took his degree, exhibited a thesis on the 'Influence of the Passions in causing and healing diseases.' This dissertation was the basis of his future works on the passions, which have given him considerable fame as a practical metaphysician and ethical philosopher.

Being thus qualified for entering on his profession, he commenced practice in Holland, where he seems already to have formed an extensive acquaintance, and contracted intimate friendships. He married the daughter of a wealthy merchant in Amsterdam, by the name of Groen, and established himself for a time as a practising physician in that city. Encouraged by his growing reputation, however, he went over to London, where his practice became so extensive, and his labours so burdensome, that he found his health gradually impaired, and he yielded

again to what he deemed the call of duty, in relinquishing the active employments of his profession. In 1780 he went to Amsterdam where he devoted himself to literary and philosophical studies, and to such employments as were suited to the state of his health and the bias of his inclination.

During his residence in London, Dr Cogan was instrumental in establishing the Royal Humane society, one of the most efficient schemes of benevolence which have been devised for the relief of suffering humanity. The reports of the society for the first six years were drawn up by Dr Cogan, who also contrived instruments for taking drowned persons out of the water, and suggested various improvements in the means of resuscitation.

After retiring from his profession in London, Dr Cogan lived a studious and quiet life in Holland till the French Revolution, when he resolved to quit the continent and take up his final residence in England. During a part of his absence he had passed his time in travelling over Germany and the Netherlands, and had made notes of the incidents and reflections that occurred to him in his wanderings. When he returned to England, he revised his journal, and published it in a work consisting of two volumes, entitled 'The Rhine.' He now took up his residence at Bath. Here his attention was turned to agriculture; he made experiments in farming, and was so successful as to gain several premiums from an agricultural society to which he belonged. While residing at Bath, he published his 'Philosophical and Ethical treatises on the Passions.' These were received with approbation, and have been several times republished. At the same place, also, his letters to Mr Wilberforce on 'Hereditary Depravity' made their first appearance. Next in succession were his 'Theological Disquisitions,' in two volumes, embracing a view of the Jewish dispensation, and of Christianity. These are made to harmonize with his previous ethical treatises, and are intended with them to constitute a general system of morals and religion. Dr Cogan's last work, the 'Ethical Questions,' appeared in 1817, and treats chiefly of metaphysical subjects.

The author's latter years were mostly passed in London. He expired in the 2d of February, 1818, in the eighty-second year of his age.[1]

Vicessimus Knox, D. D.

BORN A. D. 1752.—DIED A. D. 1821.

THIS learned divine and popular writer was born at Newington-green, in Middlesex, on the 8th of December, 1752. His father, the Rev. Vicessimus Knox, LL. B. was a master of Merchant-tailor's school. The subject of this memoir became a member of St John's college, Oxford, in which his father had preceded him. His early compositions in Latin were much admired for their wit, taste, and purity of diction. The president of St John's, Dr Dennis, soon discovered in Mr Knox indications of superior genius, and, as a mark of honourable distinction, appointed him a speaker, with Mr Bragge, the earl of Dart-

[1] Abriged from Memoir by Jared Sparks.

mouth, Sir George Shuckburgh Evelyn, and others, at the Encœnia, when Lord North first presided in person as chancellor of Oxford. Before he left the university, and previous to his taking his bachelor's degree, he composed several essays as college exercises. These he subsequently transmitted to Mr Dilly, a London publisher, by whom they were published anonymously in 1777, under the title of 'Essays Moral and Literary.' The success of this volume was great; and a second edition being soon called for, the author was induced, not only to add another volume, but also to prefix his name. These essays are written in a very elegant style; but we should hesitate to say of it what has been said, that "it has the nerve of Johnson without the pomposity."

From college, after having taken the degrees of bachelor and master of arts, Mr Knox was elected, in the year 1778, master of Tunbridge school. Shortly after, he accepted the degree of doctor of divinity conferred upon him by diploma from Philadelphia, United States.

Dr Knox next appeared to the world as an author, by publishing his celebrated treatise on 'Liberal Education,'—a subject which, of course, must at this period have much engrossed his attention, but the strictures which it contained on the discipline and mode of tuition pursued at Oxford, raised no little clamour against the author. "Abuse at Oxford had taken such fast hold by long continuance, that it required the strongest exposition to effect any reformation: Dr Knox, therefore, arraigned it with all the force of ridicule, learning, and argument combined; and did not content himself with adducing merely general charges, but entered with a minute precision of inquiry into the sources of the corruptions which prevailed, so injurious to the whole nation. Whether in his ardent zeal for the promotion of learning, and the improvement of the rising generation, he might not have been hurried in one or two instances beyond the strict limit of candour, is now not worthy of inquiry, since beyond all question the public at large, as well as the university itself, lie under infinite obligations to him for having caused many improvements, which—since his representations were published—have been made in the discipline of Oxford. This work was universally read, and the Oxonians were extremely galled by the celebrity with which it was received, not only in Britain, but through Europe and America. In a subsequent edition the author subjoined a letter to Lord North, chancellor of the university of Oxford. Being hopeless of doing any good in his place as a member of the academical senate, the author adopted this mode of address, with a view of exciting the chancellor's attention to the abuses which he there enumerated. The evils specified in this letter were so palpable, that it is surprising any thing like an apology for them should have been suffered to appear from the public press of the university. Yet so it was: from the university press issued 'A Letter to the Rev. Vicessimus Knox, on the Subject of his Animadversions on the University of Oxford, by a resident Member of that University.' Report at the time gave this furious, declamatory, but weak and affected performance, to a college-tutor of no mean reputation; but it was soon found and acknowledged, even in the university itself, that he rather injured the cause than supported it."[1]

About the year 1787 Dr Knox published a series of miscellaneous

[1] Public Characters, 1803–4. London, 8vo.

papers, under the title of 'Winter Evenings,' &c., in three volumes octavo. They have gone through several editions. 'The Elegant Extracts,' in prose and verse; 'Family Lectures, or, a Collection of Sermons,' in two large volumes octavo; and 'Elegant Epistles,' though compilations merely, nevertheless confer no small credit upon Dr Knox, the editor, for their judicious selection and arrangement. On the downfall of the aristocracy in France, Dr Knox published a work entitled, 'Personal Nobility,' in a series of letters to a young nobleman, on the conduct of his studies, and the best means of maintaining the dignity of the peerage.

In 1793 an event occurred in the life of Dr Knox, which made considerable noise at the time. A sermon which he preached at Brighton, at the period when the country was in a general ferment in consequence of the French revolution, gave offence to some obscure persons, militia officers of inferior note, whose very names were not discovered, but who in a most unmanly way showed their resentment by making a riot at the theatre, to which the doctor had accompanied his lady and family of young children a few nights afterwards. The immediate subject of this celebrated sermon was, that "offensive war is a high crime against humanity and Christianity." No allusion was made to the measures pursuing in this country. The sermon was certainly more in opposition to the spirit prevailing in France than here. It was agreed, however, on all hands, that a more eloquent discourse had seldom been delivered from the pulpit; and indeed few have been so famous since the days of Dr Sacheverel. The composition was elegant, and strongly impressive from its peculiar energy, propriety, and harmony. Dr Knox treated this unpleasant business with good-natured contempt; and followed up the subject of the sermon by giving to the world a translation of Erasmus's celebrated comment upon 'Bellum dulce inexpertis,' inserted among his adages. Critically considered, this is one of the best translations that has ever appeared. The translator gave this tract the title of 'Antipolemus.'

A volume of 'Sermons upon Faith, Hope, and Charity,' by Dr Knox, appeared in 1794, they met with a very favourable reception. As an antidote to Paine's pernicious writings, Dr Knox published his 'Christian Philosophy,' in two volumes 12mo, in 1796. 'Considerations on the Nature and Efficacy of the Lord's Supper' was published in 1800. In this treatise Dr Knox argues that "special benefits are annexed to the reception of the eucharist," in opposition to the opinions advanced on this subject by Bishops Hoadley and Pearce, and Drs Sykes, Balguy, and Bell.

Dr Knox died in 1821.

THE END OF VOL. VII.

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